



UNIVERSITAT DE  
BARCELONA

## La Flor y Muerte de un Barrio

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

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# 1. THE PATH, THE FIELD, THE ROAD MAP AND THE TOPIC

... a house where no one lives is in fact not a real house ... (Marx 1973: 91).

Spaces where chances are plotted, where seeds are sleeping, where the minute is an abyss, in glass landscapes, and magnetic storms (Lefebvre 1983: 248).

This neighbourhood is one reborn from its ashes, just like the Phoenix. Because it now has young people, married couples, small children. They are all coming in now! (Catalina, at the meeting of the Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga Neighbours' Association held on 28<sup>th</sup> March 2008).<sup>1</sup>

## 1.1. The path (to the field and of this thesis)

### 1.1.1. Voices on heritages and neighbourhoods; but not classes

The path to the field was not straight. Despite being born and brought up in Ciutat, I never knew Es Barri, even though, as a child I stayed at my grandparents' apartment a two-minute-walk away from it.<sup>2</sup>

I first took an interest in it when I began working for the *Conselleria de Turisme* [Ministry of Tourism] of the *Govern Balear* [Balearic Government] between 2001 and 2003, first as a grant holder carrying out research on heritage tourism and later employed by the Balearic eco-tax. The tax was charged on a per night basis for the duration of a tourist's stay and its revenue was to be invested in cultural and environmentally friendly tourist projects. One such project involved the rescue of two heritage sites in Es Barri, the abandoned and derelict remains of which had long been the subject of real-estate speculation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Catalina (not her real name), who is in her mid-sixties, owns a 160-year-old family-run business in Es Barri: Ca'n Buades (not its real name either). Initially limited to selling matches, it now specialises in disguises and party material. Although throughout the thesis I have changed most of the names for the sake of anonymity, I have used the real ones for the most prominent characters.

<sup>2</sup> Ciutat, also known as Palma, is the capital city of both Majorca and the Balearic Islands (Spain). The Centre is the old town and Es Barri is one of its neighbourhoods, where most of my fieldwork took place. Not one of these places has just one name and in the case of Es Barri even its borders are contended. Names and borders are set by different groups inhabiting Es Barri. On the odd occasion these groups are business groups. See Image 1, Appendix of images.

<sup>3</sup> Valdivielso (2001) offers a brief compilation of views on this tax and highlights the hegemonic struggle for power it embodied, thus transcending the initial assumption that economy is void of politics. Amer (2006) evinces this struggle in the tension between Balearic developers and hoteliers. I wrote my MA final dissertation on how the eco-tax was aimed at expanding the extractive base of tourism towards culture and the environment (Morell 2000).

These buildings were Ca'n Serra and the Quarter d'Intendència. The first was a Gothic civilian palace dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries that always seemed too expensive to restore; the second were abandoned military barracks that date back to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Mestre Quetglas 2003).<sup>4</sup> Whereas the first still awaits decisive intervention, with time, the Quarter d'Intendència has been restored and used for many different activities such as conferences and exhibitions. Also, it is the headquarters of Palma Activa, the local development agency that cares for the promotion and wellbeing of entrepreneurship and «creative economy». Since the mid 1980s, Ca'n Serra, a heritage icon, has been used constantly of by politicians of all sorts who have made a series of promises about what they wish to do with the premises.<sup>5</sup>

However, it was not until I became an ethnographer for the Med-Voices project (Mediterranean Voices: Oral history and cultural practice in Mediterranean cities), that I began to confidently tread Es Barri. Med-Voices focused on heritage from the immateriality of everyday life found in historic centres, rather than on their monuments.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, at the Med-Voices team of Ciutat, we explored the statement offered by the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (2003). We did so by evincing the then fashionable concept of the intangible as an integral component of a series of strategies that brought together actors and institutions in the spheres of development, conservation, and tourism. Indeed, as it

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<sup>4</sup> This publication on the archaeological and historic evidence found in Quarter d'Intendència was commissioned by Diversitat 21 SA, the company managing the funds raised by the eco-tax. Diversitat 21 SA allocated these funds while working out the philosophy that legitimised the tax.

<sup>5</sup> After a public competition in 2010, the City Council of Ciutat commissioned a comprehensive project for Ca'n Serra by a UTE (in Catalan, *Unió Temporal d'Empreses*). UTE is a Spanish legal term meaning that two or more companies or individuals who have previously submitted an expressly committed joint offer to a public bid, are finally awarded the contract. UTEs are incorporated through a public deed by a Notary Public and do not have legal personality. They extinguish at the end of the contract. The UTE at Ca'n Serra was to carry out archaeological and restoration interventions worth €425,000, and to write the rehabilitation project of the building, ([http://www.palmademallorca.es/IMI/PORTAL/PRD/RecursosWeb/DOCUMENTOS/1/0\\_33313\\_1.pdf](http://www.palmademallorca.es/IMI/PORTAL/PRD/RecursosWeb/DOCUMENTOS/1/0_33313_1.pdf), 03/05/2010). In 2015, the rehabilitation has not started yet.

<sup>6</sup> The Med-Voices website contained a fair amount of information on the 14 cities involved in the project in the form of a multimedia database. In addition to this, the local team of Ciutat produced many other outputs, such as publications, talks, conferences and an exhibition. Above all, though, we were devoted to networking with the organisations encountered in the field.

would later be put, intangible heritage needed to be valued (Scott 2009). Where its value resided, though, was something to be assessed (Franquesa and Morell 2007).

The project was part of the Euromed Heritage II Programme, financed by the European Union (EU) through the MEDA (Mediterranean Economic Development Area) Instrument of the European Commission's EuropeAid Co-operation Office.<sup>7</sup> It was a result of the Barcelona Declaration signed in 1995 in which cultural heritage had to play a major political role in the search for what the EU officially viewed as signs of respect, tolerance, peace and stability. The exact wording found in the summary of the declaration, always after the main, economic and political, bullet points, is «the social, cultural and human aspect aims to develop human resources and promote understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies».<sup>8</sup>

The EuroMed Heritage programmes attempted to reconcile the Mediterranean shores under a common Eucharistic heritage financed by the EU and developed by civil society.<sup>9</sup> Together with more recent and larger projects, such as those of the Cross Border Cooperation Programme of the Union for the Mediterranean, they all aimed at a «transitional urban Mediterranean» (Leontidou 1990) a «macro-regional fantasy» (Bialasiewicz et al 2013). New morphological challenges now draw other meanings for the Mediterranean urban (Bocquest 2013), making out of it a valid category that grasps

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<sup>7</sup> The MEDA Instrument was replaced by the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) in 2007, known as the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) from 2014: [http://www.enpi-info.eu/main.php?id\\_type=2&id=402](http://www.enpi-info.eu/main.php?id_type=2&id=402), 19/02/2013.

<sup>8</sup> See: [http://www.europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/externalrelations/relations\\_with\\_third\\_countries/Mediterranean\\_partner\\_countries/r15001\\_en.htm](http://www.europa.eu/legislation_summaries/externalrelations/relations_with_third_countries/Mediterranean_partner_countries/r15001_en.htm), 24/09/2010.

<sup>9</sup> «Civil society» played a key role in EU parlance and it became a major coveted actor in those policies geared towards «empowerment». Such a strategy had already been implemented in the case of the former European «communist» block in the 1990s. Although this is not the place for a lengthy engagement with such an overcharged term, it is interesting to critically assess the abuse it has been subject to by looking at its current meaning. Hardt (1995) explores the evolution of Hegelian civil society and comes up with a social dialectic that rescues both Gramsci's hopes in the democratic outcome of civil society's relation to political society and Foucault's and Deleuze's concern with authoritarian control. In their critique, Goonewardena and Rankin (2004) advocate for abolishing such a bourgeois category, since it represents a liberal political will incarnated in its drive towards a formal «complete political emancipation» that is, nevertheless, economic. A recent example of this can be found in Díaz-Pérez (2014), especially in his obvious demise of categories based on class and class struggle when conflating an amalgam of different sets of concepts under the civil-society rubric (third sector, social capital, public sphere, and civility).

the organisation of the region (Brenner and Katsikis 2013). Altogether, Med-Voices involved an incomplete critique of the use of culture policy makers made.

Likewise, Bianchi, working at the project's coordinating team in London Metropolitan University, denounced this perverse use of culture (2005). Bianchi addressed the issue of the uses of heritage in the Mediterranean partnership and shrewdly acknowledged the logic of capital that lay behind the discourse of culture. Culture, he argued, played a double game. A decade earlier, Selwyn (1996) became well aware of the dangers involved in treating tourism as a means for a joyful ecumenical order. After collecting data from the Majorcan mass-tourism municipality of Calvià, near to Ciutat, home of the well-known resort of Magalluf, Selwyn concluded there were indicators that proved conflict was latent at several levels. In the search of an equal, fair and balanced tourist model tagged as «sustainable tourism», cultural conflict was waiting around the corner in terms of language, historic legacy, landscape and, although not explicitly named, labour.

The «heritage allure» and its closest acolytes such as landscape, soon became the means by which EU funds penetrated into non-EU Mediterranean civil-society, and was not acknowledged as a meddling strategy in the non-EU Mediterranean shores. It was actually revamped as a «process of development of a population [that] cannot be pursued without building it on self-esteem and appropriation of cultural identity as conditions for opening minds to dialogue, citizenship and social responsibility» (EuroMed Heritage 2007: 9). There remains doubt, however, about whose minds were to be opened. The following quote illustrates the goal was beyond words: «The long-term concern is to develop not just the perception but also the feeling of a shared destiny» (ibid: 10). Culture –of which heritage is just an offspring- would serve as a «polite» neo-colonisation of the Mediterranean.

On a different level of cultural pillage, Solanilla Mestre (2008) explored the controversial issues that surrounded the Med-Voices in terms of the ownership of life histories, interviews, images and other suspect heritageable items uploaded to the website. Med-Voices tackled the prickly issues of power and legitimacy involved in the making of heritage while contributing to the controversy. The local Med-Voices team of Ciutat designed its research agenda in agreement with the general goals of the

project, especially those about the commodification of heritage in planning. We also found inspiration on Herzfeld's work on the Cretan town of Rethymno (1991). There, Herzfeld explored heritage as a conflictual field in which the social time of ordinary citizens, their understanding of what everyday life was about and their practice in representing this understanding, contrasted with the monumental time imposed by bureaucracy and the development of the concept of heritage that the authorities had.<sup>10</sup>

Likewise, the central idea of our project was to rescue what we came to name «the social dimension of heritage», by uniting four core issues: urbanism,<sup>11</sup> citizen participation, heritagisation, and everyday life. We also had to take into account tourism as a feature of obliged reference at all levels in Majorca, and not least in the Centre of Ciutat, which by rule of decree, on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2012 became an Area of Great Tourism Influx,<sup>12</sup>. Back in 2003, we observed space was being valued following a generalised desire to reformulate mass tourism, within which the eco-tax was only one more piece in the political economic puzzle. Alternatives to this prevailing tourism model pivoted on heritage, and made the privileged arena of the Centre its object of desire (as Carrión 2005 would have it for historic centres in general).

At the Med-Voices local team of Ciutat, we devised a framework based upon the municipal PERIs –*Plans Especials de Reforma Interior* [partial renewal schemes aimed at

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<sup>10</sup> Herzfeld has linked the conflictive nature of heritage to gentrification (e.g. 2009a and 2010). This later work coincides with that developed by the local Med-Voices team in Ciutat, as well as with that of other authors (e.g. Moreh 2011, and Donaldson et al 2013).

<sup>11</sup> In order to keep nearer to Catalan and Spanish I prefer to use the term «urbanism» rather than «urban (or city) planning». I also use the terms «planning» and «planning scheme», the latter referring to each of the concrete implementations of a general planning programme. My use of urbanism as an instrumental project does not match Wirth's conception of urbanism as a way of life (Wirth 1938) but builds on Lefebvre's *oeuvre*. Other interesting views are those that maintain urbanism, together with urbanisation, to be at the heart of the urban dialectic, that of the state (a fix) and the process (a flow), the built and the lived (Merrifield 2002).

<sup>12</sup> The Area of Great Tourist Influx meant all businesses in the Centre could open on a Sunday between April and October so as to contribute to the promotion of Ciutat as a «city-break» destination. However, most small businesses could not afford to recruit extra labour and hence were unable to compete with large companies. Furthermore, bars and restaurants were allowed to occupy more public space for outdoor tables and chairs (a space known as *terraces* in Catalan). This questioned the eligibility of who was to use public space. Moreover, since 2006 Ciutat also enjoys further prerogatives in comparison to the rest of the Balearics thanks to a law that economically enhances its political capital in comparison with the rest of the island (Parlament de les Illes Balears 2006b).

specific areas]- active in the Centre: Es Puig de Sant Pere, Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria-Sindicat and El Temple. This choice brought together: (a) the importance of heritage in the renewal schemes; (b) the influence heritage had on public opinion; and (c) the controversies about everyday life renewal schemes sparked off. Renewal manifests the interests of a business industry (see Images 17 and 18, Appendix of images), as well as the «citizens' involvement» and it displays different versions of «city making» of which we stressed the long heritage of resistance and deviation (see Images 19, 20, and 21, Appendix of images). At this time, gentrification had become a visible process.<sup>13</sup>

We therefore combined the spatial and temporal frame brought in by the renewal schemes with a power dimension embodied in the socio-topological segments of the top, the middle, and the bottom. We approached the top segment through the analysis of the authorised voices of officialdom, planning schemes, legal documents, and press. The middle segment became the crucial part of our research. It included any kind of organisation or association rooted in the Centre. Some, like Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga Neighbours' Association,<sup>14</sup> became our target groups. Finally, the bottom segment, «ordinary» people, responded to our goal for testing the impact of the planning schemes since our main hypothesis was that the Centre had become a projected place instead of an inhabited space. As Merrifield (1993) argues in his critique of Castells' thesis on the substitution of the «space of places» by the «space of flows» (2001), space is a dialectic that brings together process and thing. Projects, we then argued, always hold a particular fix in mind while inhabiting flows.

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<sup>13</sup> Since its inception, gentrification is understood as the substitution of the working-class population that inhabits a given built environment by members ascribed to the middle and upper classes (Glass 1964). Nevertheless, this substitution is normally not stated as such in the field and it is usually referred to in terms similar to those of Catalina, quoted at the beginning of this Part 1, p. 9. Moreover, class, which is supposedly central to gentrification, is not subject to enough scrutiny within the existing literature. Therefore, this thesis aims to remove self-indulgent uses of class by looking at how class happens. This will be a recurring idea throughout the text.

<sup>14</sup> «Neighbours' associations» (*associacions de veïnats*), are not «residents associations» since they also involve people who run businesses. The implications of this will be important, since their interests do not always match those of residents. However, businesspeople and residents often form alliances too, such was the case when the major 1990s renewals took place and they all equally opposed a vast demolition process. For purposes of simplification Section 2.6. the neighbours' association is referred to as a resident's association.

One of the most noticeable outcomes of the tension between projecting and inhabiting is that of naming. Es Barri [the Neighbourhood] epitomises this inhabited space in a many ways. Most people speak of Sa Gerreria [The Pottery], which is the name of the area's main planning scheme. Some people prefer «Canamunt», since it is the first part of the name of the association of neighbours, the second being «Ciutat Antiga» [old town], also known as «Centre». Yet there are many other names, such as «Barri Xino», «Es Brut», «Sindicat» (see Image 1, Appendix of images)<sup>15</sup>. To complicate things further, Ciutat is internationally known as «Palma de Mallorca» while most locals refer to it as «Palma» or «Ciutat». At one time it was simply called «Mallorca», like the island. One of the best illustrations of this naming tension, is found in a press feature from 1989 entitled «A Chinese-Arab vase about to break»:<sup>16</sup>

Two years ago, Mayor Aguiló showed to the press the renewal project of the neighbourhood of Sindicat. «Where from?» –many asked themselves. «Ah: of the Barri Xino!» they would reply. Aguiló had decided to call this area Barri Sindicat in order to use a euphemism, and thus forget whatever was related to prostitutes, drugs and crime. However, it is difficult to change people's habits and they still call it Barri Xino. Interestingly, ARCA [Association for the Revitalisation of Old Towns] and FAVP [Federation of Palma Neighbours' Associations] have managed to recover an old and little used name, but one that people have remembered. They call the neighbourhood Sa Gerreria because of the street of Sa Gerreria that crosses it, while conferring character to the place. Nowadays, Sa Gerreria is the "good" name of the neighbourhood, although many still call it Barri Xino. The thing is that Sa Gerreria is a *nom de guerre*, the flag name chosen by those against the City Council's PEPRI (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 16/09/1990).

Mayor Aguiló, the Social-Democrat Mayor of the time (who also happened to be the first democratically elected Mayor of Palma after the dictatorship) was born in a square

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<sup>15</sup> Barri Xino (in Spanish Barrio Chino) is the moniker for those areas of Spanish inner cities where prostitution and drug trafficking took place, especially in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. I explain this profusion of names in more detail in several of the publications presented here, especially in Section 2.3. Fernández (2014) presents an excellent argument for the need to get rid of the Barrio Chino in Barcelona. For more on the Barri Xino in Ciutat see Section 1.4.3.

<sup>16</sup> «Chinese» because of the Spanish epithet «Chino», «Xino» in colloquial Majorcan Catalan, and «Arab» because the street layout of Es Barri dates back to when the Muslim rule (903-1229). I have not included press features in the reference list. Furthermore, I have not included the authorship or paging of these, only the name of the newspaper and the date in which they appeared. Like all other quotes and interview excerpts (most of them originally in Catalan and Spanish), I have directly translated them into English.



of Es Barri, and governed the municipality between 1979 and 1991, but he had problems naming the neighbourhood. The question was not at all trivial. When I interviewed former Mayor Aguiló in 2007, he said he referred to where he lived by the name of the square in which the family home is found («del Bon Consell», now «Llorenç Bisbal»). This was the only «neighbourhood» he ever knew because, like many middle- and upper-class children of his time, he was only allowed out on to the terrace on the top of their building. Besides, the absence of a name for the whole of the neighbourhood was not a concern for the better off.

In 2008, when I met Jaume Belló for the second time he was 80 years old (see Image 33, Appendix of images). A former dockworker who lived above Mari's grocery, with his wife, Jaume spent a good deal of his time there chatting with other pensioners. When asked what his neighbourhood was called he never acknowledged any of the names I knew. For him the name and borders of his neighbourhood were those of the street of «Hostal d'en Bauló». Pepe, a cartoonist at an important Majorcan newspaper, gave a similar account. He was born in the street of Sa Gerreria, the one that now gives its name to the whole area of the PERI and which is widely used to officially designate Es Barri. Pepe lived his childhood and youth there and always referred to his neighbourhood as that of «the street of Sa Gerreria»:

We would actually play football against those of the square of Quadrado [literally next to it], we would fight with stones against them!

Other people of a more recent stock, mostly squatters, use the Spanish term «Barrio» when referring to the imprecise area that roughly coincides with the area covered by the PERIs of Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria and El Temple. I view «imprecise» as a positive quality. However, my main reason for using the term of «Es Barri» is partly because «barri» and «barrio», depending on the language used, was the term most people used to refer to their neighbourhood in our encounters. The most probable reasons are: genuine use, wishing to avoid stereotyping, and even confusion by the existence of so many names. There are as many neighbourhoods as personal experiences and collective practices.

Many authors refer to the relation people have to their immediate space as «place attachment». Most of the literature that draws on place attachment is related to the phenomenological work developed in the 1970s by human geographers such as Tuan

(1990) and Relph (1976), and to later dealings coming from a cultural anthropology that owed much to behaviour and the environment (see the edited volume by Altman and Low 1992). Here, place attachment belonged to an urban field of inquiry that transcended the physical setting and focused on people's experiences and understandings while serving affective functions of security, bonding and self-esteem, group identification etc. (ibid: 10-2). An updated approach can be found in another edited volume (Manzo and Devine-Wright 2013).

In this later publication, the various authors delve into place making practices, how emotions tie to the environment, the ways in which meaning is built from belonging etc. A focus on place attachment helps to include and exclude what makes a neighbourhood from the inhabitants' point of view and where the boundaries of the neighbourhood, of what it is to be, are to be set. At the level of social interaction, the mere observation of the multifarious encounters of everyday life allow what has come to be known as place attachment, often portrayed as the act of sharing affective feelings between one another through living the place, and hence developing such affective feelings into different philias, rootedness, identities etc.

Place attachment is not just there, it is in the making and it includes choice of residence and lifestyle, the «neighbourhood fit» sought by those sociological middle-class individuals Benson (2014) draws on. Choice is not within everyone's reach. Whereas attachment to place might be a choice for some, it is a matter of «that's all there is» for many. Place attachment is not about a mere affective tie to place itself but to people. Yet people are not mere individuals. Benson's insight had already been expressed in a similar vein by Halbwachs who wrote on collective memory from a standpoint different from that of the environmental psychology that pervades place attachment studies:

The group not only transforms the space into which it has been inserted, but also yields and adapts to its physical surroundings. It becomes enclosed within the framework it has built. The group's image of its external milieu and its stable relationships with this environment becomes paramount in the idea it forms of itself, permeating every element of its consciousness, moderating and governing its evolution. ... It is the group, not the isolated individual but the individual as a group member that is subject in this manner to material nature and shares its fixity (Halbwachs 1980: 130).

«Genius loci», «sense of place», «rootedness», etc, relate to «place attachment». «Sharing fixity», or «fitting somewhere», can be read in terms of attachment. In this light, Jaume Belló's practice of neighbourhood, rather than something individual, is with those who gathered with him in Ca na Mari (referred to as Ca na Pepa in Section 2.3.). Yet place attachment might only account for the social interaction one observes on the surface of the field. Likewise, one will need to explore the forces that constitute this place attachment. Senses are only a part of the story, one that can be very emotional indeed.<sup>17</sup> Places, writes Harvey, «like space and time, are social constructs and have to be read and understood as such» (Harvey 1996: 324). Thus, the constitution of place, will only be tenable after comparison, reflection and analysis.

This applies to the neighbourhood dealt with here. The boundaries and the contents of Es Barri are established by the very practices of the different groups that make the neighbourhood. Despite being written in singular, Es Barri is a plural space made of the interactions among different groups. The question then is how these groups are made. I will return to the idiosyncrasy of some of these groups, especially the one to which Jaume Belló belongs. No matter how socio-topological the schema we followed in the Med-Voices project was, and how much it cared for the nevertheless partial local dimension of the state the PERIs offered, we never fully worked on the core issues that bring about gentrification, namely: capital and class.

I am personally shocked by the fact we neglected the ways in which class took place in the field. Of course, as Thompson so rightly put it in his now praised Preface to *The making of the English working class* (1963), rather than being dealt with as if it were a category, class happens. This does not make the notion of class necessarily any «purer» than those of preservation and scale that «heritage» and «neighbourhood» respectively bring to mind. In fact, one could argue that these also «happen». If none of them happened, they would all be doomed to remain mere abstractions in levitation, belonging to the world of theory, one that is often depicted as completely severed from the field when not just a trend we impose on it as academic researchers:

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<sup>17</sup> Places are made by social groups that establish practices according to their interests. These practices tend either to alliance or to contention. The anthropological literature is full of the spatial dimension of social relations. See García (1976) for a territorial understanding of these.

In their own way, do not anthropologists succumb to ... temptation when they permit themselves, as they so often do, to re-interpret indigenous customs and institutions with the unacknowledged aim of making them square more adequately with the latest body of theory? (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 44).

Admittedly, we do tend to shape the field to our own ways but this is a two-sided story. The notions we explore in the field come from theory. Moreover, if class were to be a fashion, the same could be said of preservation and scale. In fact, the project we worked for was interested in the «heritages» that were not «heritage» yet! Not that we were there to instil heritage in our subjects of study, but just by following their everyday practices we granted an expert aura to the potential heritagisation of their material outcomes and immaterial doings. The «cultural» dimensions of life Med-Voices took an interest in, showed how «social» the making of culture was! Heritage was not waiting there to be discovered but rather being produced on site.

At this point, I need to make a first attempt at explaining what I understand by class. «Classes», render intelligible the relations among them in a similar vein to the argument Durkheim and Mauss (2009) made for their so-called «primitive» classification systems, rather than responding to concepts that logically classify them, that is, the ways in which classes happen determine these concepts to the extent of drawing boundaries amongst them. Classes are constitutive of specific relations. Whether these are about domination, oppression or exploitation will depend on the situation under scrutiny. This reasoning supports the descriptive view that holds that classes define their level of consumption and that class-consciousness plays an important role.<sup>18</sup>

Some classes just «are» by politically controlling and economically appropriating the produce of the labour of other classes. This is the generalised subsumption of labour to capital and, hence, to the state that enables such subsumption, and to the fact

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<sup>18</sup> Halbwachs made a similar claim on consumption concerning the sociological problem of how to represent classes (2002a and 2002b). Although based on a rather synchronic understanding of social reality, rather than a more processual, diachronic and relational approach, Halbwachs had some good insights on the inner collective dimension that bonded classes together (2003). His «collective memory» is no other than a class consciousness that emphasises the mortar that internally binds the members of groups together. Internal cohesion, and the consumption it entails, becomes an important part of the subjective build-up of class as much as its external conditioning determines the objective class positions they occupy in the production process.

that labour and production are not ineluctable workplace prerogatives. I understand such a reading of what social classes are, is not necessarily opposed to that given by Marx when viewing classes from a relational point of view. At the end of the day, classes are the bearers of particular class relations and interests (Marx 1976/1979/1981: 92). Now this may sound oxymoronic, but what I am trying to come up with is the dialectic that embodies the existence of groups and of the relations that make them.

Most importantly, since I am advocating an urban understanding of the making of class, I wish to come up with the historical aspects that accompany this ongoing formation. Following Thompson's lead (1963), I contend class-consciousness does not necessarily involve «class» as a keyword people are aware of or make a fuss of in everyday practice. Language obviously changes and class struggle no longer exists in the wording it used to, nor is it presented as such. However, the fact that it is not spoken of does not mean it does not exist. Vocabulary and forms have morphed into movements, networks, etc. That is, the common class experiences that are felt by people may be articulated in their interests and expressions other than class.

In fact, often people met in the field clearly avoid the prickly issue of class, since «class» no longer seems to signify «class». Indeed, on the one hand class incorporates new meanings as time goes by. Meanings, that although not necessarily true, definitely become real with use. On the other hand, though, and under the latest capitalist conditioning of life, what used to be class issues are now referred to as matters concerning the plebs, the multitude, etc,<sup>19</sup> if not just a bunch of individuals. As if time had been stopped:

When, in discussing class, one finds oneself too frequently commencing sentences with 'it', it is time to place oneself under some historical control, or one is in danger of becoming the slave of one's own categories. Sociologists who have

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<sup>19</sup> Bensaïd (2006 and 2011) critiques these «post-» terms coming from authors such as Foucault, Hardt and Negri, etc. For him, the notion of «multitude» is theoretically confused, sociologically unconscious, philosophically doubtful and strategically void (Bensaïd 2006: 46-69). Thompson said «multitude» was what was left when stopping time and attempting at a pure synchronic analysis (see the Preface to Thompson 1963: 11). Moreover, the immaterial labour of the post-autonomist approach that supports the idea of multitude is flawed with an idealism that deters any kind of empirical engagement (see Camfield 2007: 48, who builds upon the critique Thompson (1978a) makes of Althusser). None of these reflections has deterred the use to extenuation of the term (e.g. Cañedo 2012, for a recent urban anthropological use in Spain).

stopped the time-machine and, with a good deal of conceptual huffing and puffing, have gone down to the engine-room to look, tell us that nowhere at all have they been able to locate and classify a class. They can only find a multitude of people with different occupations, incomes, status-hierarchies, and the rest. Of course they are right, for class is not this or that part of the machine, but *the way the machine works* once it is set in motion –not this interest and that interest, but the *friction* of interests- the movement itself, the heat, the thundering noise. Class is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly, or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and, ultimately, the definition can only be made in the medium of *time* – that is, action and reaction, change and conflict ... (Thompson 1963: 357).

Take for instance the following assertion. Long after the Med-Voices, in a relatively recent article, Merrifield (2010) echoes in the English language the quasi-situationist, and somewhat autonomist, *L'insurrection qui vient* (Comité Invisible 2007). According to the Comité, what now unifies whatever new transformative subject there might be, is no longer class (nor race nor neighbourhood) but fear. Workers are only to be found in the form of their vestiges - that is, pulverised versions dissolved in a myriad of flexible and shifting temporalities (op. cit. 2007: 33); what once was referred to as «revolutionary» has become, as the title of the manifesto-like text indicates, «insurrectionary».

The whole has been urbanised. In its expansion, the metropolis has rendered what it comes to call nature and heritage into «authentic» commodities. Take heritage for instance. Together with other powerful concepts, such as that of the neighbourhood, heritage has become a powerful concept. Often viewed as the survival of the past, they are actually also claimed as a source for society's future fulfilment:

... *historic centres*, long the headquarters of sedition, wisely find their place within the metropolis's chart. They are returned to *tourism* and to ostentatious consumption. They are islets of faerie markets, maintained because of their fun fair condition and their aesthetics, as well as their strength ... This taste for the "*authentic*", and the control that goes along with it, accompanies the petite bourgeoisie in its *colonisation of popular neighbourhoods* ... [who] comes here in the search of a *neighbourhood life*» (ibid: 39, my emphasis).

The appeal of this call is one that acknowledges the changes our contemporary societies have gone through in recent decades. It does so to the extent of blatantly relating the end of labour, at least as we know it, or as they have told us it is, with the

increased attraction of capital embodied in the expectation of the arrival of people who now consume via tourism and gentrification, that is, as the Comité puts it, via colonisation. Of course, the state is in charge of matching the new forms labour takes with the specific capitalistic requirements of our time.<sup>20</sup> However, dismissing class as the Comité does because of a lack of thorough strategic organisation in front of the growing flexibility and liberalisation of economic conditions does not actually invalidate its existence and the ways in which it happens.

One should acknowledge that class has not always been confined to a strict reading of the relations maintained between capital and industrial labour, waged labour, or even workplace labour. It might now be the right time to stress this and call for attention to new forms in which class relations shape our actual existence to enable not only a more profound critique of political economy but also a critique of everyday life. In this vein, precisely what appears intriguing is the use classes actually make of social space (which, as we will now see, can relate to space-as-land, that is the square-metre of land), even the way they labour this space and, more precisely, how they encapsulate space into apparently highly specific scales. After all, the «neighbourhoods» mentioned by the Comité, but also the PERIs we worked with at the local team of the Med-Voices in Ciutat, are nothing but a particular conception of scale and work exclusively with that scale in mind.

In addition to this, scales, just as all other spatial manifestations, are also laboured and around this labour and its exploitation, classes re-instate their condition. At the end of the day, scale, or for the Med-Voices case, «the neighbourhood», is something people labour, just as they labour preservation, that is, «scale». Therefore class is, at the end of the day, at the base of both of the practices that make scale and preservation

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<sup>20</sup> For a 1970s explanation of the involvement of the state, see Lefebvre (1976c/1976d/1977/1978). More contemporary forms of this shifting nature of capital and labour are those that work on the biopolitical production and cognitive capitalism (Hardt and Negri 2000, 2003, 2004 and 2009; and Lazzarato 2006). However, following Lefebvre (1976c/1976d/1977/1978), I argue the view that holds the internalization of these externalities is wrong in so far they have never been external; they have always been part of the productive process. A different matter is the geographical division of production and hence the increasing geographical specialisation of biopolitical production and cognitive capitalism to degrees never experienced before. Majorca definitely falls within the specialisation of tourism to the extent that it becomes a leading region in which urbanisation is not only a full industry, but also pervades it.

true. Back to the Med-Voices: although we did use the expression «space», we never gave one single definition of it. The range of facts, issues, and processes this term deals with are vast.<sup>21</sup> Compare the almost orthogonal geographical understanding of space as «land» of both economic geographers and cultural geographers alike, they are all geographers after all. Harvey (e.g. 2006, 1985a and 1985b) and Tuan (1990 and 1977) serve as respective examples of these.

Whereas the former pursues an understanding of space as land through what has come to be known as Marxian urban political economy, the latter emphasises phenomenological, experiential, perceptual, attitudinal, and affinity-prone approaches to the understanding of space, again as land. Yet, as I argue in this thesis, since space is social, it is more than just land. We can encounter similar reflections on social anthropology's dealings with space in Lawrence and Low (1990) or in the volume edited by Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003). Nevertheless, in order to consume space as land there is the need to produce this land, and thus labour it. Labour here may take a meaning that is more general than we are used to nowadays. Labour is the mere fact of creating value, that is, use values, by merely living. In tune with Marx's introductory quote to this first part, «a house where no one lives is in fact not a real house», Julio Cortázar once wrote:

Because a bridge, although one may wish to build it and all oeuvre is a bridge towards and from something, it is not truly a bridge if people do not cross it. Hey, a bridge is a man crossing a bridge (Cortázar 1973: 27).

What actually makes land and the built environment a social space, is our own labour. Of course, one can argue that space, as in land, is unrepeatable since land is in itself finite. However, what if instead of solely looking at the Cartesian material space, that

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<sup>21</sup> For a fairly developed yet brief genealogy of «space», see Shields (2006). Claval (1984) also offers a summary on the different nuances social space can express: (a) an area inhabited by a group, product of human activity; (b) the insertion of individuals within patterned mobilities, networks and organisation; and (c) territory and symbols and culture. For Claval space is more than a mere physical geographical matter. In fact, he maintains that the major contribution of Marxism to geography is that space is the product of human activity, a contribution he nevertheless accused of being dogmatic and not fully scientific (Claval 1977). At the time, in this same last issue in which Claval went partially against himself in what he understood as space (ibid.), the Collectif de Chercheurs de Bordeaux harshly critiqued his views (Collectif de Chercheurs de Bordeaux 1977). Claval mellowed down his comments on space as the product of human activity a decade later (1987).



is, a space that appears as land and as built environment, we look at space as the infinite improvements on the former and as its multitudinously possible representations? What if space becomes social? In other words, land and the built environment will only be social space if people make of them the base of their social relations and hence produce it anew by setting plots and planting seeds among people and groups of people. Moreover, classes vary much in the terms Henri Lefebvre reminds us of in the introductory quote to this section. Indeed, we should always be aware of the fragility and power of space.

This thesis aims to shed light on how space is no more than a product of social organisation, hence, of social space, as Lefebvre (1991) understood. What interests us, is not so much the objects themselves but the processes that produce them with meaning and that are nevertheless carried out by people. By emphasising the peopled character of gentrification as the congealment of the more or less solid abstractions class, scale and preservation bring to mind, my aim is to stress the relational production of subjects, that is, of citizens, neighbours, residents, activists, businesspeople, entrepreneurs, consumers, developers, politicians, etc.

As a matter of fact, urbanism, heritage, tourism, local and regional state policies, urban mobilisation and all of the other dimensions of the phenomenon of the gentrification process I have encountered on the ground, serve to help us think about how class, scale and preservation relate to each other. Above all, though, these abstractions help to formulate new questions on how to construct updated urban critiques of both political economy and everyday life.

### **1.1.2. On the organisation of this thesis and its main goals**

Indeed, the previous section has been a kind of a mishmash of concepts, timelines and personal experiences. Yet, regardless of how messy it may have seemed, I think I have managed to convey the idea that we are caught in an age that has left class matters behind. It has done so by priming other images of a more cosy character that either long for a presently self-built past that will never return or that bring about the equally self-built immediate scale of the nearby. Having set this clear, this thesis does not really work against the paraphernalia of neighbourhoods and heritage, scale and

preservation, at the end of the day forms of space and time, but actually enters into them by bringing class issues found in my fieldwork back on to the academic stage.

It does so by relationally exploring the spatial and urban dimensions that class bears within a long-standing situated process of gentrification in what is perhaps one of the most touristified milieus of our time: urban Majorca. By looking into the gentrification dynamics that have taken place during the last four decades (1973-2013) in a specific neighbourhood of the Centre of Ciutat, this thesis explores class as a useful analytical category for understanding urban society.<sup>22</sup> Thanks to the combination of state-led area-based policies, the social organisation of residence, and heritage-making, as well as to the specificities of the Majorcan property market which is heavily framed by the global tourism industry, this thesis argues for the need to expand the category of class by understanding the urban political practices that *reproduce* social space.

My main theoretical contribution consists in challenging the different and often opposed mainstream scholarly views that maintain gentrification as a mere urban reflection of previous precipitated class formations. Rather, I contend that gentrification is one of the most illustrative examples of how social space becomes a pivotal constitutive moment in the urban making of the working class since its everyday life serves as the *reproductive* basis from which to extract surplus value comprehensively. This happens in ways that do not necessarily match the class struggle within what is traditionally understood as the capitalist mode of production. The relationship between authorities, developers, cultural and tourism entrepreneurs, and residents of all sorts, has led me to think of a form of exploitation beyond the workplace that explains the urban organisation of labour, and new forms of cultural hegemony and class struggle in the urban environment.

In order to sustain, and ethnographically ground, such a hypothesis, I have aimed at grasping the class (trans)formations encountered in the field by looking at how the social relations the production of space embodies are directly related to the changing fittings capital and the state maintain. I have illustrated this relation by looking into the

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<sup>22</sup> Henri Lefebvre developed the term «urban society» in *The urban revolution* (Lefebvre 2003). Rather than being driven by «need» as in the agrarian period or by «work» as in the industrial one, urban society is marked by «enjoyment» (Lefebvre 2003: 31).

diverse governing practices the neighbourhood holds but, most importantly regarding the social relations of the production of space, I have thought anew labour's capacity for containing and conveying class struggle.<sup>23</sup> In this sense, Henri Lefebvre's understanding of urban society (see Lefebvre 1996) becomes essential for an updated political development of what the working class is about. However, besides the political dimension, one should also bear in mind the economic determination of this working class. Here, Neil Smith's rent-gap theory proves extremely useful (see Smith 1996 for his latest update, and Image 43, Appendix of images).

Yet, rather than looking at the rent gap from the perspective of the inexorable expansion of capital, I aim at teasing out the necessary exploitation of labour upon which each moment of the rent gap rests. Such a move questions the usefulness of the «middle classes» and the «underclass», as well as the «vicinity effects» of their daily tasks. In this light, both types of «classes» are no other than one united by their cooperation in the development of the surplus the rent gap demands. Given the silence on class found in the field, though, and since these are disparate groups, what remains to be seen is whether there will ever develop a common awareness that informs the making of a historical subject that subverts the prevailing urban order.

The thesis aims at questioning the ontological status of class by epistemologically working out how theory and field meet. This first part brings together important insights. Section 1.2. is of an eminently ethnographic kind. There I show the degree of transformation the field was subject to. As explained in Section 1.1. I came to work on intangible heritage and neighbourhood practices thanks to the EU-funded Med-Voices project. However, I soon noticed that class, rather than scale and preservation, was the main concept I had to explore. The area had been literally emptied of the remnants of the working-class, together with an undesirable underclass so as to make space for the so-called 'middle classes'. Nevertheless, as I capture in Section 1.2.2., I found an important contradiction after the first wave of displacement took place.

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<sup>23</sup> I take the expression «governing practices» from Ruben and Maskovsky (2008) who aim at emphasising the agential dynamics in the exercise of power rather than focusing on what they view as the extremes of a discussion evolving in between the Foucauldian governmentality and the neoliberal governance. For a brief development on this, see my appropriation of the term in Sections 2.3., 2.5. and 3.1. when looking at the neighbourhood scale.

Those who had residentially gentrified the neighbourhood were against those who had commercially gentrified it with bars and turned it into *Es Bar-ri*.<sup>24</sup> I develop on this conflict by looking at three different, intertwined stories: (1) That of the Bar Flexas, the pioneer bar that was partially responsible for the second recovery of the long-gone neighbourhood summer celebrations; (2) that of the transformation of the premises of the social centre *S'Aixopluc* (The Shelter) into the *Molta Barra*; and (3) that of the development of a pub-crawl scheme, as a response to the *festes* monopoly Bar Flexas enjoyed, which met with ferocious opposition from many new residents associated under the banner of the neighbours' association of Canamunt.<sup>25</sup> Just as with residential gentrification, commercial gentrification does not equate to full displacement.<sup>26</sup>

The owners of premises might remain in the area, albeit gentrifying their own businesses just as if they were a hermit crab looking for a better shell so as to remain in place. When this is not possible but the business owner has enough strength, rather than a hermit crab we encounter a limpet. Section 1.2.3. deals with how two women in local business managed to remain in the changing neighbourhood. While Rafi changed her shell by seeing an opportunity to invest in a bar, Mari clung to her vanishing grocery in a time when organic-box schemes became the trend among many pioneer newcomers. Although neither Mari nor Rafi resided in the area, they were portrayed as the remnants of what the neighbourhood was like before gentrification.

Section 1.3. looks at the abstract dimensions that emerge from the field. I discuss several theoretical aspects related to the character of the urban in social anthropology

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<sup>24</sup> *Es Bar-ri* is a play on words: «Bar» meaning bar, pub; and «Es Barri», The Neighbourhood.

<sup>25</sup> Words are important. Notice I avoid referring to newcomers as «gentrifiers» and to long-time residents and other old-timers as «gentrified» (either those who remain in place or those who are literally displaced). The use of «gentrified» and «gentrifier» might seem attractive at the level of prose but they are wrong on an analytical level that aims to achieve explanation. With regards to the gentrified, they no longer live in the gentrified area or, at the most, they have become part of the renewed social space. As for the gentrifiers, they are certainly not the newcomers but those the capitalistic landed class and the statist bureaucratic caste (including planners) that create the conditions in order to benefit from gentrification. This is an important distinction in the construction towards a collective urban labour.

<sup>26</sup> Since displacement represents a threat (Sakizlioğlu 2014), it should not be surprising to find examples of resistance against displacement (Newman and Wyly 2006; and Slater 2014). The literature on displacement is vast and varied: Marcuse (1986), Chesney (2005), García Herrera et al. (2007), Bernt and Holm (2009), Slater (2009), Ghertner (2014), and Stabrowski (2014).

(Section 1.3.1.), and to Henri Lefebvre's work on the production of space (Section 1.3.2.). I then examine how the here-and-now moment of ethnography may be useful for situating social theory, often assumed as distant (Section 1.3.3.). The section ends with a brief summary of the techniques and methods used in and out of the field, including «self-reflective» considerations (Section 1.3.4.).

Section 1.4. offers a review on what I think is the ABC of gentrification. No matter how powerful the coetaneous illustration of Es Bar-ri might be, in order to fully grasp gentrification there is a need to set the basis of what I understand by gentrification. After briefly examining what gentrification is roughly about from an angle looking from both a geographically and disciplinary periphery (Section 1.4.1.), I focus on some of the outcomes of the prolific economic geographical imagination that deals with the inexorable expansion of capital in space, especially the rent gap theory (Section 1.4.2.). Likewise, in Section 1.4.3. I explore the connection between gentrification's phases of disinvestment and reinvestment.<sup>27</sup> Whereas Section 1.4.3.1. swiftly looks at how «the lowest and worst uses» of Es Barri led it to become a no-go area, Section 1.4.3. 2. focuses on how State intervention cleared the way for «the best and highest uses».

Part 2 works as an interlude between Parts 1 and 3. In Section 2.1. I present five publications all of which have been published in the course of the last ten years (2005-2015). With these publications I show the evolution an object of study goes through when the researcher, informed by the transformation his own training involves, focuses on the same object as time goes by. I believe I fully capture this argument by combining these five intertwining publications. Some aspects already discussed in Part 1 reappear here but there are also some new insights that I briefly develop in Part 3.

Whereas Section 2.2. serves to introduce the field in a broad and intuitive sense and to think of heritage by working from its edges, Section 2.3. brings together the political economy of heritage tourism with the production of the neighbourhood that is necessary for the gentrification of Es Barri. Section 2.4. deals with the creation of value via the making of heritage and the cultural hegemony over the working class this

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<sup>27</sup> Rent gaps are best summarised as the capitalisation of the difference between the existing value of a site and its potential «highest and best use». For more on rent gaps see Section 1.4.2. (also see Smith 1996, especially in pp. 64-7).

heritage serves. Section 2.5. focuses on the interscalar production of the neighbourhood scale and how its governing practices shape Es Barri for it to neatly serve gentrification. I illustrate, in Section 2.6, how the hypothesis of the «urban labour» works. At the end of the day, we are dealing with the themes of preservation (cultural heritage), scale (neighbourhood), and class (urban labour).

Part 3, the final part of the thesis, works as a conclusion and is made of two rather different sections. In Section 3.1. I return to gentrification by arguing that what we confront in Es Barri is a comprehensive gentrification, that is, a combined process of built-environment redevelopment and a class-removal strategy, all of which came from from actions that range from city-planning measures to the provision of social services, and the necessary make up of the displacement that is taking place by using the ideal of the neighbourhood scale and the preservation of heritage. «The highest and best uses» the rent gap involves was framed by state-led renewal. Moreover, the crusade of civilisation which the social sanitation of the area entailed, the intervention of all possible levels of government, and the way all aspects were covered, confirms that the gentrification process I witnessed was indeed comprehensive.<sup>28</sup>

Section 3.2. returns to the main hypothesis developed in Section 2.6. and it sums up the thesis by arguing that gentrification is organised from above but actually laboured from the bottom<sup>29</sup>. In this light, gentrification is not only about capital but also about the active labour of a working class that has suffered from dememory but nevertheless has moved on and has maintained, albeit often unknowingly, other struggles from which to remake itself it. However, this is not a homogeneous class. I argue that the disinvestment and reinvestment of Es Barri, always mediated by the state, is possible thanks to those who were evicted, and who have often been depicted as the underclass, and those newcomers who (re-)build the social space of the neighbourhood upon arrival, the so-called middle classes.

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<sup>28</sup> «Comprehensive» not only means the encapsulation of different state scales, but also relates to the diversity of targets: the built environment, generational matters, health and employment strategies for the poor, attempts at (re-)generating business clusters, new Courts, consumption patterns of urban land occupation, etc.

<sup>29</sup> The search for the «best and highest uses» is a necessary condition in order to understand the role of the «potential rent» within the rent-gap hypothesis of Smith (1996).

In Section 3.2. I end the thesis by underlining the class-in-itself character of the «urban labour» hypothesis since rent gaps are about the abstract structure of capital's interaction with the urban realm. Nevertheless, the flesh and bones of this urban labour is now expressed in a language of «movement» that invokes the geographically and historically situated practice of the neighbourhood transformation I have witnessed. In short, the conclusion of this thesis is about class, as in class struggle, its recent dememory, the heritage it is built upon, and the heritage it bequeaths, one that, nevertheless, is still about struggle. Whether my 'urban labour' hypothesis is part of this legacy or actually helps to open paths is yet to be seen.

What does remain, though, is the field. A field that, contrary to the Phoenix image Catalina invokes (see the introductory quote of this first part of the thesis), was always alive. The question is the degree to which old life is allowed to remain when new life comes in. The following section offers some examples that grasp these changes. The first of these is about the latest open conflict the neighbourhood has witnessed, one between residents and bar owners. The latter two examples, how a neighbourhood entrepreneur adapted in order to remain in place, and the fading away of a grocery, are perhaps the most flagrant, yet quiet, illustrations of the neighbourhood's gentrification.

## **1.2. The field: Change, change, change...**

### **1.2.1. A neighbourhood of opportunities**

In 2006, Sasa, a Czech female in her mid twenties, came to Majorca as a nanny. Shortly after, she left her job and rented what for almost a decade had been the bricked up basement of a corner building in a small picturesque square of Es Barri, Plaça Quartera. Together with a friend from the days when they lived in Prague's Old Town, and with the help of her Swiss boy friend, she opened a shop called Zazo. This would probably best be described as a trendy Southeast Asian design flower-shop, in which one could also buy other imported ornamental artefacts. Sasa hoped that word-of-mouth would drag buyers from the nearby thoroughfare of Via Sindicat into the shadier backstreets of Quartera. In her hope for the relative success of the business, she and her boyfriend rented the first floor above the shop so that their residence location would secure her maximum optimisation of the use of, and the time spent in, the business below.

As time passed though, Sasa realised that she was relying on a small captive market made up of faithful customers and specific season sell-offs such as Christmas and Valentine's Day. On the odd occasion, other newcomers would shop there in order to liven up their new homes. None of these, though, actually helped to recoup her investment or to bring a steady income<sup>30</sup>. Although I had spoken to her several times, I was surprised to see her attending the neighbours' association meetings of Canamunt in 2009. Until then Sasa had not been bothered with neighbourhood politics arguing that the changes in the neighbourhood were good and implying that these happened in such a natural way that there was no need to get involved.

Her mind was set to her entrepreneurial spirit and this did not involve getting to know the members of Canamunt, let alone having a say. By 2009, though, things had changed. She then conceded that getting involved in the neighbours' association might bring her nearer to her neighbours and, thus, help her to understand better how she could put at their service her business. On the one hand, it seemed as if by becoming a member of Canamunt Sasa was settling in place. Not only was she already ordering an organic box from Canamunt's co-op but was also adamantly expressed her opinion on the inconvenience of the proximity of Zaqueo, a community hall that continues to serve warm meals to long-term unemployed, homeless people and addicts of all strands (see Image 40, Appendix of images).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Sasa and her colleague to the risk of not buying insurance. When Rafi's daughter (Rafi being the owner of a nearby bar) broke Sasa's main shop window while playing ball, Rafi had to pay Sasa a third part of the costs., The other two thirds fell to the parents of Rafi's daughter's play mates, nicknamed *El Champiñón* (The Mushroom) and *El portugués* (The Portuguese). Rafi was really upset and could not help gossiping about on how Sasa had not insured her business. Now she, Rafi, was to pay part of the damage.

<sup>31</sup> Zaqueo (taking the Spanish form of Zacchaeus) is the name of this community hall. This is an institution devoted to feeding and sheltering those in dire need. Situated in Mercadal Square, right in front of Rafi's, and active since 1998, Zaqueo states:

You have seen them in the street: They park vehicles, clean windcreens, sell handkerchiefs, panhandle, rummage in the rubbish containers, prostitute themselves, or simply commit crimes. ... None of them is employed, nor has a place of his own, nor enjoys family support, nor home, nor shelter, abandoned and unprotected by society, in the most absolute solitude, they only have the street left. They are women and men, many of them unrecoverable drug addicts, alcoholics, ex-convicts, immigrants that escape from poverty and fall into misery: Spanish, Maghribians, Latin-Americans, Rumanians, Bulgarians and North-Europeans, they all share a common feature, that of being extremely ill-fated and of being lonely and abandoned: they are not included in figures, they do not «produce», they disturb, they are in the way, they muddle up things, but



Sasa thought Zaqueo and its clients should go elsewhere since such an image of poor penniless people queuing up was not encouraging business in Es Barri. Despite her obvious lefty leanings, the fact was that for her, settling in place meant a NIMBY attitude towards those who carried stigma, the stigma she contributed to give them.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, it looked as if by getting involved in «neighbourhood affairs», Sasa actually sought to gain enough clients so as to maintain, if not increase, her original investment. By attending the Canamunt meetings, some business owners managed to influence the doings of the association. Yet those who could actually influence were not people like Sasa but the trendy *tapas* bars that would soon appear. In Sasa's view, neighbours, supposedly new neighbours, had become her potential clients.

However, if this was her strategy, it failed because her shop soon closed down. Despite the effort made to keep her business afloat, Sasa was not able to recoup her original investment, or even cover the high rent. Moreover, by the end of 2009, a bar craze had takenover Es Barri. Owners of commercial premises, including the one that Zazo occupied, began charging higher rents knowing that those who already had businesses would not be able to afford the prices. Just like many other business people, Sasa eventually left. Not long after, Zazo's shop re-opened in the form of a new restaurant, «not a bar» as its owners, Héctor and his wife, Verónica, repeatedly reminded the board of the neighbours' association of which they too had become members.

At the time, Canamunt rightly feared a mass influx of bars opening in the area. Héctor, and Verónica, both in their mid-thirties, had been living in Quartera since 2004

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none of them aimed at becoming what they have become. Do not think they are where they are only by their own means, because we all push them into life's ditch. Zaqueo does not judge them, it simply admits them, sees to them, gives them food and bed, and also understanding, affection and love (<http://www.zaqueo.org/objetivos.html>, 25/05/2012).

Due to the crisis, Zaqueo nowcaters for more than twice as many as it used to. Whereas in 2009 it attended around 100 people per day, now it serves 250. For more figures, see the press feature: «The Zaqueo association offers food every single day of the year» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 12/05/2012). For charitable food provision, and its relation to the «foodie gentrification» frontier, see Miewald and McCann (2014). Notice that across this thesis, when quoting daily press features I give the name of the newspaper and the day it was published. Furthermore, all press features in Catalan and Spanish here appear translated into English.

<sup>32</sup> See DeVerteuil (2013), who advocates for a return to the study of NIMBY practices. Notice that this is a term that locals do not use in their own languages (Catalan and Spanish).

in a revamped flat. I remember interviewing them there three years after their arrival. Their flat mixed a trendy pop look with a taste for history in the form of uncovered bare old sandstone walls. Héctor and Verónica had met in 2004 and they soon took the decision to buy a property each within the Centre and live in one together while renting out the other one. Initially the investment was separate. They spent a month looking at 10 flats with a single real estate agency, and then settled on the one in Quartera, in Es Barri<sup>33</sup>

Initially, though, they had wanted to move to Sa Calatrava but its rocketing prices made their project unfeasible,<sup>34</sup> since their wages and savings did not allow such a venture.<sup>35</sup> What drove them to Quartera was its relatively low price, the light, and the square where they projected plenty of joyful moments in the event of having children (see Karsten 2014 and the re-invention of social space by family newcomers, she writes «gentrifiers»). They also wanted it to be on a first floor because these buildings have no lifts. The only thing they disliked was the impractical layout since its rooms were badly distributed. However, this was a minor issue since they could always pull walls down and erect new ones where they thought best. They chose to live in the Centre because «everything was happening there».

They were good clients of the trendy revamped Bar Flexas, and celebrated the social mix promoted there in terms of the openness towards sexual orientation, a clear progressive distinction marker for many people in their thirties and forties, regardless

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<sup>33</sup> Rather than offering exhaustive interview excerpts I describe the situations that refer to these.

<sup>34</sup> Franquesa (2010) accounts for capital's workings on Sa Calatrava's built environment and the gentrification of its networks. He echoes it is one of the most expensive places in Spain. Even the former Balearic President went to live there: «Bauzá [the President of the regional government of the Balearic Islands in between 2011 and 2015] modifies the law that affects his millionaire, irregular little apartment» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 04/03/2012). Many people think of Sa Calatrava as being part of Es Barri, probably due to the common renewal schemes they shared in the early 2000 and to the drug trafficking found in both areas in the 1980s and the 1990s.

<sup>35</sup> Verónica had been working in Es Barri as a social worker with elderly people and other needy people under different schemes sponsored by the municipal social services in the context of the neighbourhood's regeneration. This allowed her to compare the improved neighbourhood with the decayed no-go area. She was therefore able to grasp in a qualitative manner the rate of value increase the properties had. As for Héctor, he had recently been made redundant from a managerial position at a large supermarket chain after 16 years of service, for which he received considerable compensation after a polemical court case.

of their sexual leanings. Most of all, though, Héctor and Verónica acknowledged and rationalised on the fact that in recent decades this area had received larger and steadier investment in the form of renewal schemes that offered confidence in the real estate market. They were fully aware that if their flat were to be resold in the future, they would always make a profit although Héctor acknowledged that they would have done better had they bought it earlier:

In any case, we already paid a high price because the area had already started to revalue. One can only think of reselling and making a profit once a good deal of the mortgage has been paid. True as it is though, the Centre is receiving attention and it is becoming a kind of Raval in Barcelona or Chueca in Madrid. This here is something similar. It is all young people, bars with young people, with a cool bohemian atmosphere ... True, it is clearly an investment. Take for instance a flat in Son Gotleu [an impoverished neighbourhood of the mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century expansion] in which you will never make a profit because the deceleration cycle of housing prices there has just begun. On the contrary, 100 or 200 m<sup>2</sup> in the Centre will never lose value.

They acquired their flat with some hard bargaining. Thanks to its awkward layout, they reduced the price from €240,400 to €210,350 (they had paid €153,250 for the other flat elsewhere in the Centre). Verónica initially thought it was too much but two years later she realised they had got a bargain. Much to their joy, in 2007 prices in the area were a lot higher. Then, 70 m<sup>2</sup> flats were selling for between €360,600 and €480,800. They both knew that public investment played an active role in this increase:

It is not only the fact that we like the area. As you can imagine, this is an area that increases in value year after year. You can see this with the renewal of streets, squares, buildings, and the opening of businesses. Two years ago [2005], this had nothing to do with what it is now.

The apartment had completely changed. Like many newcomers, Héctor and Verónica enjoyed homesteading. They felt their home was the result of a production carried out by them. They went to work pulling down walls and building new ones, selecting what «history» was to be seen, and following the latest DIY interior design fashion: «we did it ourselves», Verónica proudly stated. They also put their own touch, selecting state-of-the-art furniture.<sup>36</sup> In this they were different from those who would

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<sup>36</sup> Much in tune with Zukin's loft pioneers (1988), Lees et al (2008: 5-7) view «homesteaders» as newcomers who redesign their new homes by themselves overall uncovering certain past

simply buy an end product. Although their main interest was the use values of the building, they always kept in mind the exchange value too.

On completion, in 2010, after two years of living there and eventually forming a family, they bought the business lease of the premises Sasa had left, and converted the flower-shop into a restaurant named after the date of birth of their son. The restaurant functioned until 2012 with Héctor as manager, cook and waiter on the payroll, and Verónica working extra hours after her social-work job. However, it did not receive as many clients as they had hoped. Furthermore, they were approached on several occasions by nightlife entrepreneurs who wanted to turn their business into a bar linked to the flourishing pub-crawl network that had been going on since 2010. When their second child was born, Héctor decided to return to his old supermarket management position and they sold the restaurant lease.

Both the cases of Sasa and of Héctor and Verónica follow a common pattern in so far as they combine residence and business. In addition, they all sought the support of Canamunt and finally became members. Despite her NIMBYism, Sasa always said it was important for her to be involved with the neighbourhood movement. She even distributed Canamunt's organic boxes until a new solution was found. As for Héctor, he only became a member of Canamunt when on 26<sup>th</sup> March 2010 he announced he had rented the business premises. Héctor explained he was a neighbour and the father of a toddler and he swore he would not dream of staying opening late. Many other owners, mostly of nightlife bars, eventually became members of Canamunt.

One by one, they all announced their good intentions towards their neighbours, as if by such an act, they would redeem whatever evil they carried out. In what follows, I will account for how this neighbourhood turned into a bar area by describing the different trajectories and strategies of the main bars through their changing relations towards the Canamunt Neighbours' Association.

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elements. Here, «homesteading» involves a DIY attitude that tends towards a self-sufficiency that should not be confused with the «social homesteading» Brown-Saracino uses, which is about actively supporting old-timers in gentrifying neighbourhoods (2009: 13). At a later phase of Es Barri's gentrification, especially since 2008, we encounter an increasingly social homesteading attitude (e.g. the case of Mari, in Section 2.3. I call her Pepa). However, this is more of a use of an image of bygone days that the person represents than real support.

## 1.2.2. Es Bar-ri

### 1.2.2.1. Bar Flexas and the *festes*

Bar Flexas was a bar before the days of the Barri Xino. However, it had not always been a bar. Decades earlier, Es Barri hosted the transport agencies coming into the city from across the island. Mr. Flexas ran the managed the transport coming from Andratx, in South-Eastern Majorca. When these businesses moved out, Mr. Flexas converted the place into a bar. In the days of the Barri Xino (see Section 1.4.3.), Bar Flexas catered for a range of customers: from the drug-dealing and prostitution underworld to the aged remnants of the working class.<sup>37</sup> It closed down when the different renewal schemes came in. In 2004, Tina, a cultural service provider who I have named Bel in Section 2.6., moved into Es Barri with Sito, her partner. They were good friends of Toni and Concha, who worked at a bar elsewhere in the Centre next door to Tina's office.

Toni and Concha wanted to run their own business and Tina found out that Bar Flexas was to let. Toni and Concha soon re-opened it, inspired by an aesthetic that paid homage to the *Movida madrileña* [Madrid Scene] of the 1980s.<sup>38</sup> Concha is a national media star: La Terremoto [Earthquake] de Alcorcón, in clear reference to her hometown in Madrid. In October 2010, she became a cabaret artiste at El Molino in Paral·lel (Barcelona). The bar also served food cooked by Hernando, also known as Estrella [Star], who was also involved in camp-culture and transvestism as a means of subversion.<sup>39</sup> Estrella cooked for her customers everyday, but she accomplished another important role. She was the direct link with the most important Majorcan band of the *Movida madrileña*, Peor Impossible [Worse Impossible] founded in 1983, the most important cultural product of that first «democratic» decade. Before moving to Madrid,

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<sup>37</sup> Beltran and Seguí's graphic novels (2011 and 2014) depict the Barri Xino as a drug-dealing area specialising in sexual services where gang life predominated among the young males while desperation characterised the older generations. In the second volume, Beltrán's father appears drinking his life away in Bar Flexas (Beltran and Seguí 2014, 54). There is a fair amount of literature based on the Xino (Pomar 2005(1988), Palou 1993, Capellà1995, Bennassar 2005, etc.)

<sup>38</sup> See <http://www.barflexas.com>, 06/08/2015.

<sup>39</sup> See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pf0jYiznQ64> (23/08/2012) for an idea of what went on. For a taste of what the bar looks like see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=57Pu0GX8sFI&feature=related> (23/08/2012). La Estrella also has her own youtube space: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2TvAJe94mLE&feature=related> (23/08/2012).

Peor Impossible were present in Es Barri.<sup>40</sup> Lavativa, a radical and irreverent local magazine, interviewed the oneiric and carefree band:

There's no message [in our songs]. Yes there is. It is coded. They are funny melodies ... if the City Council provides the means, we would be prepared to play for free. We want the thing to roll on. What we are not prepared to do is to show our faces ever. Our asses yes, occasionally, but never our faces ... We do what we like. We do not subdue ourselves to any fortuitous nor affected influence, nor idealistic of any kind. Our songs don't reflect any of our experiences, they are only dreams (Lavativa 1984: 49).

Bar Flexas also fed its reputation by organising different parties such as its re-opening anniversary, which in 2008 became the revamped *festes* of Canamunt (*festes* meaning fiestas in Catalan) thanks to their friendship with Tina who had become a member of the Canamunt board in 2007. Altogether, the bar was, and still is, a cultural pole of attraction for Ciutat's edgy bohemia. I use «bohemia» purposefully. The people at Bar Flexas considered themselves to be transgressive, bohemian, and different from the rest, with initiative in the arts and in show business. Before I carry on with the story of Bar Flexas and the *festes*, allow me to make a brief digression on bohemia.

The view of the Bar Flexas people as bohemians partially coincides with Lloyd's argument for the cumulative imagery of nowadays bohemia, in an attempt to embrace all kinds of artists and practitioners of cognate fields that strive to make a living out of their inspiration and dedication (2006: 17). Furthermore, regardless of the industrial-post-industrial divide Lloyd actually acknowledges (for an early vaticination of post-industrialism see Bell 1978) that he emphasises continuity among the «bohémias» that accompany each period. According to Lloyd, the latter, neo-bohemia, differentiates

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<sup>40</sup> For a brief history of the band, see <http://www.popdelos80.com/peor-imposible-susurrando/>, 12/02/2014. Some of Peor Impossible's hits are «Susurrando [Whispering]» and «El Mutante [The Mutant]», which are to be found in their first work: Peligro (1984). The following year, they recorded their first LP, *Passión* (1985), which included new themes like «Souvenir» and «Un Pagès en Motorino [A Countryman on a Moped]», sung in Catalan and in which they wished they would encounter a Majorcan male farmer on a moped able, literally, to fuck them well.

One of the first four founding members of the band was Rossy de Palma, who later became Pedro Almodóvar's pet actress. 20 years after their first appearance, the Consell Insular de Mallorca (2003) paid tribute to the band and it acknowledged it as the first Majorcan popular avant-garde band of the democratic period that began in 1979. It has to be said that this band soon moved to Madrid where it appeared in many musical shows and its night scene. Tina was involved in this publication thanks to her contacts at the time in the Consell Insular de Mallorca.

from the first because it enhances post-industrial capitalist enterprises, especially in the realm of property speculation, entertainment provision and new media production.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, what interests Lloyd is how activities that society has normally considered as marginal, those of the bohemians, can now suddenly activate important capitalist strategies (ibid.). The incorporation of bohemia's lifestyle has influenced economic development policy discourse, especially that of property speculation although at the cost of important contradictions for contemporary bohemia (Forkert 2013). Whereas there is a reconciliation of art and capitalism in consumer society, it is not clear that the desire for a personally meaningful and exciting and glamorous lifestyle matches the lucrative nature of this lifestyle (Forkert 2013: 149).<sup>42</sup> These contradictions are revealing in so far as they indicate a drastic shift in our understanding of bohemia since the term can now represent an actively and expressively bourgeois stance.

Take Landauer's appreciations. In 1904, Landauer explained to Julius Bab, there «are terms that have developed historically and can only be understood historically» (Landauer 2011: 304-5). Landauer, who was there distinguishing «bohemia» from «anarchism», understood «bohemia» to be «a collective name for a certain personal lifestyle,» that involved negotiating poverty as well as spiritual and artistic productivity, and sensitivity. He was worried by the fact that there had been an attempt at elevating «this curious mixture of voluntary misery, essential weakness, and secondary strength to a *principle*, and hence a transformative ambition». For Landauer, a bohemian was a person who made «a *vice* of necessity». Thus, a main feature of the bohemian would be the inept rejection of productive labour.

Although our people in Bar Flexas seem to fall into a bohemia that has anarchist leanings, on the economic base they need to make a living that, unlike other groups of a clearer anarchist credential also found in Es Barri, does not make a vice of necessity.

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<sup>41</sup> These are activities that actually make of bohemia's creative industry an entrepreneurial capitalistic activity that, rather than illustrating the industrial-post-industrial divide, expands industrial activity beyond the factory in the search for new profitable economic frontiers. Likewise, services, knowledge, and all of the so-called creative economy have become «industrialised». Just because the companies of Western countries have managed to outsource production, it does not stop them from being an integral part of the global productive process. «Creative workers» also suffer harsh working conditions and insidious labour exploitation.

<sup>42</sup> Brooks (2000) explores the codes of etiquette and morality of bohemian bourgeoisie (bobos).

Bohemia here is more related to codes of conduct, courage in transgression and enhancement of the community ties. Yet the productive side of this group is not bohemian per se. These bohemians make business out of their creativity and Bar Flexas, where they meet, is the best example of this creativity geared to turn use values rehearsed in their community into exchange values when involving the wider public. It may be argued such a shift in the purpose of their creativity involves the existence of a «creative class»(Florida 2002, 2005a, 2005b; recently re-developed in Florida 2014).

Richard Florida's saga has received considerable attention in recent times. According to him, urban areas with an elevated concentration of high-tech workers, artists, musicians, cachet bohemians, and even homosexuals (!?), equate to chief economic development because they all contribute to an open and dynamic professional environment that further attracts more creative people, companies and, at the end of the day, capital. The creative class is thus portrayed as a post-industrial class that seems necessary to any state-of-the-art urban-growth policy; that it, the class many local politicians from across the world have been trying to attract during recent years.

Florida's argument for re-centring urban economy on creative industries has received much support. See for instance Milligan (2003), who advocates for including such a research programme in urban sociology; or Banks (2009), who argues that the fading work/leisure divide has been overlooked because of the emphasis placed on commenting on Florida. Others attempt at complementing Florida's thesis. This is the case of Heebels and van Aalst (2012), who seek to understand Berliner creative clusters from the individual entrepreneur standpoint. They argue these individuals are the ones who connect creativeness to economic change. It is also the case of Perry (2011), who establishes areas of managerial urban policy application. Finally, there are those who stress the importance the creative industries have for urban growth (Pratt 2008).

Then there are those who critique the creative class thesis *en bloc*, the best known of whom is Peck (2005), who equates this alluring creativeness to elitist projects of urban development (see Peck 2012 for an empirical work on Amsterdam). Other arguments of this kind are found in Krätke (2010), who calls attention to the «dealer» nature of the creative class and its destructive tendency precisely in economic development; O'Callaghan (2010), who deems quixotic the obsessive emphasis on



creativity as a fit-to-all solution; and Van Holm (2015), who denounces the displacement of the poor which the attraction of the creative class entails. Moreover, whereas Leslie and Catungal (2011) point out how such creativeness increases class inequalities, de Nicola et al (2007) denounce the lack of a class struggle in Florida's account, not to speak of his dismissal of class as a political category rather than a result of economic stratification.

Wilson and Keil (2008) go further and accuse Florida of privileging capital. They claim the only creative class is that of the poor, the contribution of which is the main source of urban economic growth. Novy and Colomb (2013) even turn the tables by building on Harvey's insights on the mobilisation of cultural producers in oppositional urban movements (Harvey 2001). The application Florida's buzzword has had on recent urban policy is legion. What really intrigues me, though, is not the validity of his liberal social stratification thesis, but the use local and regional authorities make of it.<sup>43</sup> Unaware of its academic foundations, Ciutat has mimetically followed the creative economy trend, albeit humbly, by observing other cities.

This is noticeable in the allure held by «creativity», «entrepreneurship», «innovation», etc. As the Crafts' Boulevard (Passeig per l'Artesania, P'A) of Es Barri shows, creative economy initiatives do not necessarily succeed. In the Ciutat of the late noughties, the avant-garde of this creative class, many members of which were customers of Bar Flexas, was made up of hipster bar owners, IT designers, journalists, artists, cultural entertainers, writers, media workers, furniture upholsters, retro-bike makers, vintage clothing shop assistants, etc. Together with teachers and lecturers, they all filled the spaces left by the personae López lists in the poem I use to introduce the thesis. Since this group specialised in nightlife and pub-crawls, they had their own way of living the *festes*.

Notice that this was a relation initially based upon friendship among members of Canamunt and Bar Flexas.<sup>44</sup> Historically, the *festes* of Es Barri had been linked to the

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<sup>43</sup> The success of the «creative class» has meant an adaptation of the term to different national settings. For a Spanish example, see Navarro and Mateos (2010).

<sup>44</sup> See Boissevain (1974) for a classic exposé of network theory linked to friendship. The aim is to show the degree of cohesion among people thanks to everyday life.

potter's guild present in the central part of Es Barri known as Sa Gerreria [The Pottery], a name most of the inhabitants use to refer to Es Barri. Every first Sunday after Pentecost, the potters celebrated the Catholic festivity of the Holy Trinity. They kept the Saint Christ of Trinity at the Church of Socors, in the street of the same name. They would have a mass and bring out the image in a procession. The whole neighbourhood was involved and many people would come from other parts of the city. The following poem, called *The Trinity*, was published in 1887 by the well-known local writer Miquel dels Sants Oliver under his pseudonym Clavell de Moro (Moorish Carnation). It offers a full picture of what these particular *festes* meant in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

Let us go to Sa Gerreria because there are *festes* in the street. Myrtle has been scattered already; the young are already out; the open-air dance will begin; torches are already burning; they are already carpeting the street with peanut shells... The Trinity is the oldest *fiesta* of the young: It is the first of all the ones that take place in summer: that is why the whole guild of potters spends on them what it has left. You, potters of Sa Gerreria, who organise street *festes*, who make small buckets and tubs, and moneyboxes and pots; who make clay bells, pigeon troughs, varnished earthenware jars, pitchers and washbowls, casks, adobe slabs and tiles, and blanchmange and chick-peas. Potters of Sa Gerreria, the torches will turn blue! (Oliver 1887; collected in AAVV Canamunt 2010).

The popularity of these *festes* was maintained well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An image a neighbour showed me and which was taken in 1926 portrays a packed street with a municipal procession opening the parade, surrounded by children. There are also a couple of examples of the Majorcan festive bestiary such as a *gegant* [giant], a traditional creature still typical nowadays in the local *festes* across the island. Dancing around the *gegant* there are several *caparrots* (big heads) impersonating different characters following a representational mix of social order, cultural prejudice and cross-dressing. The *festes* involved a mass, a procession, a parade, games, supper in the street and dancing. This scheme is the one Pau Vives, the carpenter mentioned in Section 2.4. (see Image 2, Appendix of images), remembers from the late 1950s:

By then, the whole of the neighbourhood paid each month. I don't know what they paid. Perhaps fifty cents [of a peseta], because the *festes* of the Trinity were the most famous ones in all Palma and with what neighbours paid they decorated the streets, they organised a parade, because they carried the Saint Christ of the Trinity ... They organised street parties ... The very same people of the neighbourhood organised them. There were no elections although there was a

board of representatives and those who wanted to organise the *festes* they became part of it and with the money they collected, they gave blancmange to everyone on the day of the Trinity, blancmange with sponge cake. Moreover, they then went to the offices of well-known brands, such as Coca-Cola or Gorila Shoes for them to give toys to the children ... Everybody helped out. The whole neighbourhood collaborated (interview held on 20/02/2008).

Pau brings in two important aspects of the *festes* that are intertwined. First, there is the involvement of the neighbours in the organisation of the *festes*, these did not come from «above». They were «democratically» organised by the people who lived in a time of right-wing dictatorship when their direct involvement in public affairs was relegated to their homes and, exceptionally, to their neighbourhoods. Second, no matter how «democratic» these *festes* were, they were made possible by the involvement of private interests, amongst them small neighbourhood businesses. Pau recalls Master Macià, the owner of a toy and sweet shop immortalised by the author-singer Toni Morlà («En Macià», in Morlà 1983), who was in charge of organising the children's activities.<sup>45</sup>

The Trinity *festes* ended at some point of the early 1960s. Pottery had declined, and tourist services and building activities were gaining strength. The youth of Es Barri left for the new modern neighbourhoods. The disappearance of the *festes* roughly coincided with emergence of the Barri Xino but that did not mean everybody in the neighbourhood stopped organising *festes*. While the buildings of many streets went through a filtering process that involved an abandonment and decay, and hence the entrance of the so-called marginal population linked to drug trafficking. Other streets, previously of a slightly higher status, maintained part of their population, which meant there were enough neighbours to organise *festes*, although only at a street scale. The most popular ones were those of the street of Posada de Lluç.

By 1985, different renewal schemes were announced for some of the Centre's neighbourhoods, one of which was Es Barri (Ajuntament de Palma 1985). In 1989 the concretion of the renewal scheme for Es Barri (then referred to as PERI Sindicat) was discussed by the municipal authorities. It initially meant the requisition, displacement

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<sup>45</sup> In a black and white image Pau showed me Master Macià wears a suite; Pau and his brother are in it too. A *xeremier* (Majorcan bagpiper) and a *flabioler*, who plays a flipper flute and a small drum, are attired in the traditional suits. Each boy holds the *caparrot* (bighead) he will wear at the parade (Image 3, Appendix of images).

and demolition of most of the neighbourhood. Several activists belonging to FAVP [Federation of Palma Neighbours' Associations] mobilised against these drastic measures and organised a campaign against the destruction of the heritage of the neighbourhood and the eviction of its inhabitants (see Image 7, Appendix of images). As the minutes from meetings of the time found at the Canamunt archives prove, the campaign sought the involvement of FAVP in the *festes* of the street of Posada de Lluç.

The *festes* adopted a clear political stance that gained momentum from 1991 with the creation of the Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga Association of Neighbours (as part of FAVP), and the decision its members took to rescue the *festes* of the Trinity as a means of reinstating a continuity with the past. The *festes* aimed to involve different generations. This is evident in the programmes for the *festes* that would normally take place during the second week of June (see Image 8, Appendix of images). The programmes invited people to attend the various activities, consisting of a parade and a live concert with amateur artists such as the author-singer Xisco Bonnin singing in Catalan or young Flamenco ensembles belonging to the neighbourhood's vibrant gypsy community. There was also traditional dancing, cinema in the square, games for children and so on (see Images 9 and 10, Appendix of images).

The *festes* programmes accomplished two more aims besides indicating what activities would take place and when. The first was to raise funds. The programmes included advert for the businesses that were in the area, each of which would contribute with a small amount of money. The second aim was more of a moral-political kind since they served to instil the idea of the neighbourhood in the neighbours (regardless of whether they were newcomers, in those days early individual pioneers, or old-timers from the days of the Barri Xino or even from before). Take for instance the programme for the 1992 *festes*:

There you are. This dark and sinister neighbourhood, still loved by all of us, is being decorated. Colours are back in the street, garlands are lit, stages are mounted, pennants and bunting adorn the neighbourhood. Music will once again be heard all over the place, housewives are preparing blancmange, and the youth gets dressed up for the *fiesta* in garments made by loving hands. Children will laugh aloud with the clowns and they will enjoy the parade. The elderly will have their homage and the recognition they deserve after living for so long in the neighbourhood (Associació de Veïns de Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga 1992: 1).

The *festes* aimed at the inclusion of different groups that until then had been living apart from each other on grounds of ethnicity, age and income. This was not a «popular front» of a «radical democratic» kind, as Laclau would have it (e.g. 2007) but a heterogeneous working class formed under the aegis of the urban that later aimed at influencing the outcome of the renewal schemes the authorities had plotted. One would think that the awareness of this political aim was reserved for the activists who mounted the neighbours' association in the first place. Yet there was a clear strategy for politicising the neighbours so that they would collectively make of the *festes* a key feature of their larger campaign. Take for instance their fourth bulletin issue of June-July 1994 in which Canamunt explains the true role of their *festes* under the title of «The need for the *festes*»:

Just before summer, our «Trinity Festes» have begun, recovered by the Association after years of silence. It is true they do not resemble those of the old days but times change and our neighbourhood too. Therefore, we need to struggle so as to renew, so that houses are fit to live in, shops are open and the neighbourhood is full of life. However, the struggle to achieve this is hard and it opens many frontlines.

One of these frontlines is the very same street: There are many people that fear moving around our neighbourhood, and we have to get citizens back, walking through our streets. The Association, with the organisation of the various popular *festes* (Saint Anthony, the Trinity, sweet fritters in the street, etc.) we have encouraged our neighbours to step out into the street and to say with their presence «we live here and wish to continue doing so». So far, we have not managed this. Perhaps people have not understood the aim of the *festes*, but as someone said, change comes walking, and that is what we are up to (Associació de Veïnats Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga 1995: 1)

The quote makes of the *festes* the pillar of Canamunt. Under a festive appearance, the residents sought to bring attention to the authorities of the social reality of Es Barri and, most importantly, it served to show how many people were actually opposed to a specific real estate market dynamic that seemed to influence the renewal schemes that would soon take place. The *festes* were the means to achieve a collective awareness, to gel diverse people in common actions and to keep the neighbourhood alive, since being alive meant a threat to corporate interests. As Canamunt knew, businesses were important to keep the neighbourhood alive. As the years went by, the number of businesses, already decimated because of the Barri Xino, decreased.

The commercial desertification of Es Barri in the 1990s can be inferred from comparing the different *festes* programmes that included adverts for the businesses that contributed to them. Whereas in 1992 there were 45 ads, the 1998 programme only involved 21! Other programmes I have had access to indicate this pattern: 1993 → 42; 1994 → 40; 1995 → 34; 1996 → 34. In 2001, the *festes* had finally disappeared again and Canamunt was relegated to being a mere spectator on the brink of extinction. With the arrival of newcomers, Canamunt revived. In September 2007, 50 people attended the meeting that revived Canamunt. Soon after, Canamunt announced it would celebrate its 2008 *festes*. These would be very different from those of the 1990s. Rather than relying on businesses to sponsor them, the *festes* would join the anniversary celebrations of Bar Flexas.

While the parties of 2005 and 2006 had been relatively small, in 2007 attendance grew. Thanks to Tina, Bar Flexas had the opportunity to keep its already enlarged celebration under the cover of the Canamunt *festes*, from then on to be held in the second week of July. The alliance between Bar Flexas and Canamunt was mutually beneficial. Bar Flexas would organise the main show of the neighbourhood *festes* in Quartera according to the bohemian taste it had developed. Furthermore, Bar Flexas would access public space for free, thus attracting higher numbers of partygoers and selling more drinks. By law, public space can only be used for free for the organisation of *festes* by non-profit organisations such as the neighbours' associations.

Therefore, thanks to its ability to organise successful parties (i.e. attracting high numbers of attendants, the quality of the show, etc.) and to its links with Canamunt and its *festes*, Bar Flexas reinstated itself as a valid neighbourhood interlocutor. More than 3,000 people attended the main venue of the 2008 *festes* that consisted of a show in Quartera performed by a group of local transvestites (see Images 24, 25, and 26, Appendix of images). However, at subsequent Canamunt meetings many residents expressed their concern about the magnitude of the party. It had affected them with noise and dirt. They argued that if this were to carry on in future years, it would become unsustainable.

Therefore, in order to maintain the Canamunt alliance with Bar Flexas, for the 2009 party the show moved out to the seafront, to the park that lies near the Cathedral. Since

this park was outside of the limits of Canamunt, the organisation sought the help of the neighbours' association of Sa Calatrava, since the park is within the limits of this association. This offer went hand in hand with the idea that Sa Calatrava was considered by many as part of Es Barri.<sup>46</sup> Thanks to the help of this other neighbours' association, the Bar Flexas party carried on under the banner of the Canamunt *festes*.

The success of the Bar Flexas party in 2009 was incredible. The *festes* had definitely opened up to rest of the city and a certain sense of grandeur took over the owners of Bar Flexas, who began to consider themselves to be the saviours of Es Barri. Take the 415<sup>th</sup> issue of *youthing*, a well-known cultural nightlife event-guide, which appeared in July 2010. This issue included a call to attend the 2010 party of the 6<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the opening of Bar Flexas in which it presented itself as a circus (see Image 27, Appendix of images). It would be included as the grand finale of the official programme of the Canamunt *festes*, now revamped as post-Trinitarian:

*Parc de la Mar* [Sea Park] (at the end of Portella Street). Palma 20:00. Free. Camp, pop, dance, camp, rock, theatre, drag queens, makin' magic. Ladies and gentlemen, hybrids, teenagers, boys and girls, dogs, lizards, cats... An incredible, amazing, decongestant, incomparable, nondescript, unobservable, reprehensible circus. It seems hard to believe that Flexas has made it to its sixth anniversary. ***What was there before they arrived in Palma? Nothing at all! There was only horseshit from the horse-drawn tourist wagons and the neighbourhood camels*** [Spanish slang for drug-dealers].

They opened a little bar, maintaining the decoration, the name... something innovative when most of the night bars simply bought decorations from multinationals, for it to look like an Irish pub or a Caribbean cafeteria and at the end of the day they ended up in the ditch. ***They resurrected a neighbourhood that even as far back as in the 1950s decent people had to think twice [before moving there]*** (my sainted mother told me) and they have created a style that is being imitated to extenuation and boredom. They are, however, lacking in something

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<sup>46</sup> The Neighbours' Association of Sa Calatrava also benefitted from this experience. This association had gained notoriety in 2004 and 2005 by opposing several real estate developments encouraged on completion of the renewal scheme (PERI) that took place there in the 1990s (Franquesa 2010). However, by 2006, just after Franquesa ended his doctoral research, the neighbours' movement of Sa Calatrava deflated. This coincided with the rise of Canamunt in 2007 and both associations, who had already collaborated by opposing the PERI of El Temple (a renewal scheme on the border between both territories) and on the real estate harassment that took place there, talked of joining into a larger association. Although this fusion never happened, the party of Bar Flexas served to maintain Sa Calatrava's association as a key actor.

the former seem to have plenty of, style. Just as they did last year, they have had to move the stage of their anniversary bash to the Parc de la Mar in order to accommodate the number of people thronging their stage to laugh and healthily enjoying the matchless fiesta each of its artists exude. This year the line-up is almost insurpassable. Chico y Chica are back with their show. And so are Dani Garcia and La Cukis, Vivian Caoba, Nenita Danger of Las Fellini, the great, unique, exciting, beautiful, Terremoto de Alcorcón and the unbeatable La Estrella (of *Peor Impossible*, one of the few original quality bands that 1980s Palma, and even beyond, ever gave; their records are still visionary). New artists like The Bankers and their old-timers' cool rock disembark again to rock the Rock [a slang name for the island of Majorca]. Handsome and with plenty of style, they will thrill the audience. Jack Night from Fuenlabrada will perform and dance an enjoyable session, Las Tipazo DJs, from Bilbao, will make our sphincters vibrate.

Cross-dressing, karaoke, camp, *in one of the fiestas that should be protected* and that cheer up Palma's summer beyond the straightjacket institutional commonality. Thanks Bar Flexas. We wish you hundreds more years with that jauntiness and that grace (Bar Flexas 2010, unpagued document, my emphasis).

The text portrays Bar Flexas as being a «neighbourhood bar». It thus evokes its proximity and warmth together with an immobility and a rootedness that strongly gels with the claim the bar made for being a saviour, the first one to «clean» the «horse shit» («horse» is slang for heroin in Spanish and Catalan) or «camels» (slang for drug dealers). In a way, this was a pedigree Flexas held against many other bars that were appearing in Es Barri. Altogether, there was a search to maintain the status Flexas had acquired with Canamunt. The claim Bar Flexas made to being the first bar in Es Barri is telling because in the mid-1980s the neighbourhood had already been an area with a large number of drinkers moving from bar to bar (Géminis 1985).

Es Barri even hosted a large number of sailors from the American sixth fleet in search of vice that mixed with the cabaret environment, the hotels with rooms rented by the hour and drugs. The impact the sixth fleet had on the sexual labour market of the island (mostly in Es Barri) was impressive: «Stories of the US Navy when 'invading' Palma. In the moments of most splendour, in the 1970s, sailors would alternate colossal alcoholic surfeits with acts of charity and they would spend €18,000 a day» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 09/01/2011). This press feature also includes that the average daily expenditure in the 1970s amounted to 30 million pts. (nowadays around €180,303.631). Beltrán and Seguí (2011) also catch this ambience (Image 4, Appendix of



images). One of their feature comic stories is about how a Puerto Rican couple hires Beltrán to guide them to the red-light district.

Es Barri, was a bar-ri long before Flexas was taken over by cross-dressing campers. Nevertheless, those former bars did not only cater for a clientele of sex, they also attracted people like many of the sailors of the American navy on a night out. As Jaume Belló recalled, when he was in his forties (in the mid-1960s) his street alone, together with the adjacent square of Farina, hosted eight bars and many cellars. Now there are only two, they are new (e.g. Molta Barra), and they belong to the *Ruta Martiana*. In its claim to be the first bar to open, Bar Flexas states it was the first newcomer bar to open, hence providing a nuanced meaning to «newness» and aptly establishing a turning point for Es Barri.

There is another aspect that is also of interest that relates to the uses of territorial scales. The taste of the neighbourhood that Bar Flexas appealed to in the media, burst out of the very neighbourhood. The public was not from the neighbourhood. In 2008 when the *festes* still took place in the neighbourhood, more than 3,000 people attended the main venue, although there were only around 1,500 partygoers at its peak. 3,000 people might be a slight exaggeration, but for what I saw, it is still near enough (see Image 26, Appendix of images). Interestingly, the figure is actually the same as that of the population of the statistical unit of Es Sindicat, the one that embraces Es Barri; that is, 1% of the total population of the municipality of Palma.

The Bar Flexas celebration turned out to be very different from a neighbourhood *fiesta*. It became a *fiesta* for the whole of Ciutat, just as the local TV commentator at the regional channel, IB3, mentioned at the time (10/07/2010): «these *festes* are the summer *festes* of Palma». Unlike many other cities, Ciutat does not have a summer *fiesta* of its own. What the city does have are the *festes* of the different neighbourhoods that comprise, such as those of la Trinitat. Although the Canamunt *festes* still include the anniversary party of Bar Flexas at the seafront as the *grand finale de fête*, in time they have added many other events that share the irreverent post-Trinitarian mood (Madrid 2013 looks into them from an event management perspective).

Among these, there is one that has caught much attention: the mock-procession of Sant Rescat [Saint Rescue] (see Image 28, Appendix of images). This patron saint is an

invention from 2011 and it works as a festive response to the current crisis. Unlike other vindictive actions, Canamunt chose to incorporate into their *festes* an artistic critique (as Boltanski and Chiapello 2005 would have it). They also attracted media attention: «Sant Rescat dyes the streets orange. The passacaglia of the *festes* of Sa Gerreria gathered together a hundred people who followed the saint the neighbours' association has invented» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 06/07/2012).

It is clear that the content of the *festes* still contains a radical message but it is one that has changed with time. It is no longer a matter of proving the street is alive in order to condition renewal but to reinstate a community identity built upon understandings that are politically alternative to the mainstream practices that take place in Ciutat. Just like the 1990s, the people mainly involved in the *festes* are newcomers, both residents and bar owners, of whom some see themselves, and here lies the difference, as those who have made neighbourhood a prosperous and attractive place, free from undesirable elements. As we will see, this idea is recurrent among the different groups that make up Es Barri nowadays.

Yet plenty of prosperity and much attraction have their limits too since they may spark off unforeseen conflicts. Before we get there, though, in the following section I will introduce a new bar to our story. In this case, instead of an alliance between the neighbour's movement and a bar, what we will look into is how a particular site evolved from fostering use values akin to the anarchist and autonomist leanings of the organised squatter movement into one of the most successful bars of Es Barri.

#### 1.2.2.2. From shelter to cheek

One of the bars that did the most to boost the exchange values of Es Barri to its fullest was Molta Barra, which takes its name from a play on words: «A lot of bar» (as in the bar of a bar) and «a lot of cheek». As some residents argue, the owners of the bar could have not found a better name. In the days before the Barri Xino, the building where Molta Barra now stands had also been a transport agency, just as Bar Flexas had also been in its time. It was also an inn, the *Hostal del Gel* [Ice Inn], a piece of local civil architecture from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Since 2004, the building has been a grade two listed building. When I first entered the building in October 2003, three women had just

opened one of the most interesting businesses I had ever encountered in Ciutat: S'Aixopluc [The Shelter]. S'Aixopluc was a hybrid business.

Since the premises were relatively big, the trio had thought of combining a vegetarian restaurant with a bar, a stage for performances that ranged from plays to concerts, and a separate area for the free exchange and sale of second hand books and clothes. What struck me that very first day was to see Spanish gipsy women of the neighbourhood, a remnant of the last decades of the Barri Xino (see Image 22, Appendix of images), looking at clothes while some punks drank beer at a table after having smoked spliffs in the square outside. This was an unusual sight. S'Aixopluc brought together many of the different groups that remained in Es Barri despite renewal. Its social concerns were eventually overtaken by the institutionalised social office created by the earlier mentioned Urban project of Palma in 2000.

It is important to dig a little in search of the roots of the S'Aixopluc people. Two of the three women who had opened S'Aixopluc, Ema and Maria, had been directly involved in the collectively organised squatter movement of Ciutat; «collectively organised» as opposed to individual choice and squatting for necessity, that is, organised as a political means to transform property-based society. In Spain, the squatter movement, known as *Moviment Okupa* in Catalan, has a strong social character and many common squats become neighbourhood social centres of one kind or another. The movement, though, despite its national and local differences, is widespread across the globe (Vasudevan 2014), and basically responds to both a specific urban logic (Prujt 2013) fit for the autonomist organisation of urban struggle (Martínez López 2012). Nevertheless, always depending on their historical and geographical situation, the different urban movements that opt for squatting tend towards successive waves of institutionalisation (Prujt 2006 and Martínez 2013).

The last squat Ema and Maria were involved in was that of the street of Botons [Buttons] in Sa Calatrava (largely accounted for in Franquesa 2010a). This squat is important for the future development of urban movements in Ciutat since the shift from the *veïnal* [neighbours', residents'] movement to the *Okupa* movement signalled an important turning point. The Neighbours' Movement (which I have often characterised as Resident's Movement) had its own roots in the pre-democratic

Spanish transition of the 1970s (Borja 1975 and 1976). It represented the struggle of the working class in a time when political parties and trade unions were banned. Proscribed as the working class was from any kind of political expression or of any disaffection to the then labour conditions, it could only manifest itself explicitly in the realm of collective consumption (Castells 1977a and 1977b). With democracy, the movement lost strength and radicalism, much of which was taken over by the nascent Okupa Movement, often viewed as a generational expression of a different urban context in Spanish cities.

The squat at Botons was the outcome of a set of coincidences and of the collective organisation of different individuals, amongst them Victor C. López (the author of the poem that gives title to this thesis). His friend Simon initially paid a small sum to establish himself and he later invited many other people he knew from previous experiences in the squatting scene of Ciutat, especially from the 1994-1996 experience of the *Casal Llibertari* [Libertarian Centre] on the then outskirts of the city.<sup>47</sup> As Victor remembers, this particular squat in Botons Street was occupied for more than five years. The derelict building had been abandoned by its owners who instead of improving it decided to let it fall down so that it could be declared a ruin and therefore make it easier to sell for complete demolition and rebuilding from scratch.

Botons was a large building with many rooms and it had access to adjacent abandoned buildings. Besides becoming a home to several people who discovered the convenience of combining individual and collective premises which allowed group activities while maintaining a certain degree of privacy, Botons was turned into a hive of social initiatives that ranged from art sessions, to a space for arranging antiwar performances or for musical band rehearsals. By joining efforts with other important groups with Libertarian leanings in the area, such as that of the *Loco Circo de la Vida* (of which Victor became a part, and which is now an official association of jugglers and

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<sup>47</sup> In Spain, the term «libertarian» is not as contested as elsewhere. By «libertarian» we understand those different organised groups of people that seek to abolish capitalism and private ownership of the means of production in favour of their common ownership and management. This does not mean it is a unified movement. There is a myriad of tendencies, varying according to the given situation: Libertarian anarchism, libertarian communism, libertarian socialism, free-spirit individuals that share part of these projects, etc.

jesters), the Botons people even extended their influence to the nearby square of Sant Jeroni (in Sa Calatrava). Since 1995, every 19<sup>th</sup> January this Libertarian alliance celebrated the *festes* of Sant Kanut (Saint Canute) which they themselves invented in Sant Jeroni, instead of joining the municipal *festes* of San Sebastià (Saint Sebastian), the official patron saint of Ciutat which is also celebrated on the 19<sup>th</sup> January.<sup>48</sup>

The Botons experience ended abruptly in 1999. The developer who had acquired the building some years earlier, after doing business in the post-Olympic scene of Barcelona, began to acquire the adjacent derelict buildings that the squatters had been moving into before his arrival. Once he had the whole block, he decided to pull it all down so as to begin to build a new project that would «rescue» the historic legacy of the buildings. By then, the developer had the support of several church instances (incredibly present in the area in the form of churches, convents and Catholic aid groups) the neighbourhood association of Sa Calatrava (then led by an alliance of conservative factions), and the then conservative government of the city.

The developer was so confident that he ignored the squatters and pull down the building without giving them any notice. Fortunately, although there were people in the buildings, including Ema who was then pregnant, there were no injuries. Having lost their home, but most importantly, having been subject of a crime, the people of Botons decided to take the developer to court. After a long trial, he was obliged to pay compensation to them all. A few years later, the very same developer would also lose another court case after harassing a resident and a couple of business owners in El Temple, a protected heritage building he had acquired, so they would leave before the end of their lease. This would be the first case of property harassment in Spain.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Both Sant Sebastià and Sant Canut share 19<sup>th</sup> January in the Catholic calendar. The coincidence could not be greater. In Catalan «canut» means «spliff». By writing it with a «k» the name denotes its alternative leanings. The self-organised Sant Kanut *festes* became the irreverent dope-smoker alternative to Sant Sebastià and twenty years later it is still functioning although outside of the city; that is, out of sight, at a different site from the original one so it can officially host the hundreds of people who now come together not really knowing how it all began.

<sup>49</sup> See Sections 2.2. and 2.5., and Franquesa (2010) for more details on this particular case. The developer then decided to move his business to Lima's historic centre (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/international/3359174/A-palace-revolution-in-historic-Palma.html>, 11/08/2015) from where he went to Detroit, in the USA (<http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20150228/NEWS/303019974/developing-a-strategy-packard-plant-owner-eyes-bids-for-historic>, (11/08/2015).

Emma and Maria knew how they wanted to invest their share of the compensation they received from the Botons affair. Together with Stefi, they opened S'Aixopluc. Punk concerts co-existed with vegan menus and all-inclusive bartering among the several groups renewal had left aside (e.g. mainly the gypsy community and the leftovers of the squatter movement from when Botons was at its height). The municipal social services were on good terms with them and referred some of their cultural activities to them. Likewise, S'Aixopluc became an off-the-track political statement in a neighbourhood that between 1997 and 2002 had been the object of mass-individualised evictions while Canamunt was disappearing from the map.<sup>50</sup>

Such oppositional autonomous politics, though, also build upon the appreciation for certain values that are becoming scarce. Stefi, the third owner of S'Aixopluc, who never lived in Botons, would actually delve into what attracted her to Es Barri:

I ... fell in love with this area. It was what I was looking for because it was still alive. There were children in the street. I had also been working in a project ... for three years, organising activities for children in each square of Palma. Children ... were able to go out into the squares to play from 17:00 until 20:00, you know, and not having them all in their houses playing with the Play Station and watching the box ... [T]here should be life in the street, and not all these people locking themselves in their houses and ... when we saw this was a beautiful street, because there are loads of children running up and down, all the gossip ... in the street, they talk to each other from window to balcony and... There is life, you

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<sup>50</sup> Vives Miró has calculated Es Barri decreased from 1,921 inhabitants to 556 between 1993 and 2001 (2008b). Moreover, access I have had to documents of the social worker of the Local Housing Authority (LHA) in charge of dealing with compensation of those evicted, confirms that the main profile of those evicted were the unemployed (mostly old age pensioners or drug dealers). This social worker, who had married one of the main architects of the LHA that wrote the Urban – El Temple Project proposal funded by the EU, is viewed by the old timers as the one who had the power to decide who was to leave and who was to stay. Some were actually brought in from the previous PERI that had taken place in the nearby Sa Calatrava.

Take for instance Filomena, who passed away recently. She was an eighty-something year old pensioner originally from Sa Calatrava who now and again visited Rafi's and was an assiduous client at Mari's place. Filomena thought this social worker was not a good person. She thought she only managed to get a place in Es Barri, near her neighbourhood, because the former Mayoress Cirer (2003-2007), of the *Partit Popular* (Conservative Party), personally asked the mentioned social worker to intervene. It seems that in late 2007, the change of government towards the Progressive Coalition of Mayoress Calvo (2007-2011), of the Social-Democrat Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears made the social worker in question ask Filomena to pay an extra €30 in rent, plus community charges. The social worker denied such power and explained she was the executor of orders given from above, regardless of the political party in office. The truth is, though, that the power she had came from below.

know, and this is the nice thing about it. You say to yourself, «See, there's a little bit in Sa Gerreria that they haven't managed to kill yet, they haven't managed this ethnic cleansing, they haven't managed it here for the moment».

The use of the street inspired the openness of the centre; completely the opposite of what Stefi argued was the case of the nearby recently founded Municipal Social Centre of Flassaders. Júlia, the first manager to run this social centre, would spend hours organising activities with S'Aixopluc since she felt she did not have enough social resources to deal with the neighbourhood. After all, she was an outsider without the resources S'Aixopluc had. Whereas S'Aixopluc had earned the neighbourhood by getting involved, the Social Centre of Flassaders was condemned to be an institutional tool without a concern for the different groups of Es Barri.<sup>51</sup>

Even in the eyes of the remains of certain oppositional movements such as those represented by FAVP, which had literally vanished from the scene in 1999 only to shyly re-emerge again in 2003 as a result of future redevelopment plans at the southern tip of Es Barri (El Temple), the trio from S'Aixopluc had amassed an important amount of legitimacy. This had been possible by aiming to join under the same roof different groups that in one way or another had been since the mid-1990s under the threat of state-led displacement, that is, witnessing the eviction of well-known families, the demolition of their properties, and the rubbish piled up in empty plots of land, the disappearance of businesses, the lingering networks, the proliferation of drug-dealing on streets they had managed to avoid it until then, etc.<sup>52</sup>

Other people, though, left S'Aixopluc tired, even Barbara, who was responsible for finding the site where Maria, Ema and Stefi would open their project. Barbara arrived

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<sup>51</sup> Opened in 2000, the Social Centre Flassaders [Blanket makers] was one of the several built projects of the Urban – El Temple Project, mainly funded by the 1997 EU URBAN Community Initiative. Between 1830 and 1964, its premises had been a textile factory. In 1964, when the factory closed down, several monumental areas of the Centre were declared an Asset of Cultural Interest. Since its inception, the Centre Social Flassaders has hosted courses and has rented rooms mainly for cultural, educational and political events. Thanks to a persevering campaign carried out by the heritage conservationist group ARCA (created in 1987), but also continued from academy, especially history of art (e.g. Llabrés Umbert 1991a; and 1991b, and Gené i Ramis 2002 and 2003), its chimneys are now considered part of the industrial heritage of Ciutat (see Image 6, Appendix of images).

<sup>52</sup> As Sakizlioğlu (2014) rightly points out after reviewing the case of Tarlabası, in Istanbul, waiting for displacement is part and parcel of the process of gentrification.

from France in 1996 with a Majorcan friend who wanted to return to the island after his retirement. Barbara changed from publicity marketing to painting and in 2000, when she received a family inheritance, she moved into Es Barri with her young daughter and bought a flat just above S'Aixopluc, which was empty and bricked up. With time, she realised the building needed repairs but the other owners, living elsewhere in Ciutat, were not interested in renovations. They wanted the building to become useless so they could make larger profits. Thus, Barbara was on her own when she complained to the authorities that the building was slowly but steadily on the way to ruin.

Yet Barbara thought the neighbourhood was attractive enough to stay. Just as Stefi acknowledged, what Barbara liked the most was the fact that children could play in the street without having to worry excessively about what they were up to. Barbara also treasured the diversity she saw in the neighbourhood (e.g. the gypsy families, which she thought were the true colours of Es Barri). Barbara recalls that when she arrived, everything was shut except for one single bar, which is now shut. According to her, this was a dead neighbourhood because the few that remained, and even those who had recently arrived like her, had to go outside of Es Barri to buy whatever they needed.<sup>53</sup> As she recalled being told, this had been a very active commercial neighbourhood in the 1970s but with the arrival of drugs, it was left to die:

The City Council has left the neighbourhood to rot. This has happened elsewhere, in Paris, in Berlin. They leave it to rot and then they recover it and sell it to speculators.

Her story is one of avoiding the embourgeoisement of the neighbourhood by engaging with the organised opposition of the squatter groups and the neighbours' association. Barbara viewed the neighbours' association as a contradiction. For instance, not long

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<sup>53</sup> This statement should be taken with a pinch of salt. As we know, Es Barri (its borders and name) varies depending on the group or even individual we ask (see Image 1, Appendix of images). Although commercial desertification had indeed taken over the neighbourhood, there were a few businesses that managed to remain. Think of Mari's grocery just around the corner from Barbara's! There was also a bakery, an odd electronics shop, a watch maker, a carpenter, all of which were still there in 2003 upon my arrival to the field.

Many were the businesses that abandoned the area, especially when the bulldozers came in in 1997. The importance of small business for neighbourhood life was one of Jacobs main topics in her masterpiece on city life (Jacobs 1961). See Coen (2008) for a different view coming from Bolivia in which the socio-economic small shops reproduce the neighbourhood.



after 2000, the few neighbours that gathered around the neighbours' association were divided between those who wanted a parking space outside their front door and those who wanted to fight against social exclusion and the displacement of the poor. As for the organised squatter movement, her relation was somewhat more complicated. Not only did she join a band as a guitarist, the Ricky Celtic Band, with whom Victor would play too, but she also found under her flat the perfect place for the three women who were looking for somewhere to establish *S'Aixopluc*.

The owner of the large premises did not want to rent it because he feared it would bring problems with his neighbours. Nevertheless, Barbara, the neighbour living above, gave the owner's phone number to Stefi, Ema and Maria and told them to tell him the project was fine with her. At the beginning, she remembers, *S'Aixopluc* brought different people together. They attracted children and women, and they created new relations between people. However, the three women soon became tired and in 2005, they left the premises to a group of people also linked to the organised squatter movement. They installed a doorbell and, consciously or not, thus closed the premises to the street and the neighbourhood, turning it into a kind of a private club and, according to Barbara, did not show enough respect to the neighbours.

They would play loud music for only four people until 3 am. Someone denounced them for noise pollution and they shut for good in 2006. Yet the premises opened again a little after this closure. In 2007, a clique of four friends in their forties, who had met in their late teens when they worked as leisure-activity monitors for different public authorities, decided to put some money together and open a *tapas* bar. They called it «*Molta Barra*». The owner of the premises made a six-month deal with them. They would have to pay him €1,500 per month and carry out the necessary refurbishment, to which they also had to add the cooks' salary. *Molta Barra* soon became a success. This was partly due to the fact that the clique of friends had plenty of contacts and knew how to entertain the public, and partly due to their cheap prices.

Their initial aim was to have exhibitions and the odd reading of poetry, some of which happened. However, it soon became a drinking bar and one of the main competitors of *Bar Flexas*. Because of the people gathering there, both places attracted the attention of the police green patrol in charge of measuring noise pollution. From

February 2009, it became really active and entered Bar Flexas and Molta Barra on several occasions. Apparently, Molta Barra was fined constantly and in April 2009 Bar Flexas had to pay a fine of €6,000 for the noise they had made months before at their large 2009 Carnival party. By then, there were other problems in the Es Barri. In May 2009, next door to Molta Barra, the drug dealers working in Ca na Mari's street, and mainly specialising in hashish and heroin, had been searched by the police.

Some of them were suspicious of Sasa, the Czech shop owner, since the police went to speak with her immediately after taking their names. This happened not long before Sasa left, which does not necessarily mean drug dealing was the cause of her leaving. The case is, though, that far from disappearing, drug dealing was gaining presence in the neighbourhood. Three weeks later, in June 2009, Rafi, herself the owner of an old-timer's bar, was very upset. Without saying why, she told me her son was either to be condemned to six weeks of community services or to enter the juvenile detention centre. I happened to know he had been hanging out with the drug dealer's near Ca na Mari. Eventually he escaped the charges.

Meanwhile, Canamunt had been designing the 2009 *festes* with Bar Flexas in the light of the great success they had acquired in 2008. They were moving them and organising a larger event. The owners of Molta Barra were not happy about this. They had not been asked to get involved despite of their business gaining momentum and their presence in Canamunt since its «resurrection» in 2007. It was clear that they did not enjoy the same long-time friendship the members of the Canamunt board had with the owners of the Bar Flexas. According to Rafi, one of the Molta Barra cooks who used to visit her before his shift, had told her the owners of Molta Barra wanted to be involved in the *festes* so as to be able to reap the obvious profits that came with them. They thought Bar Flexas had moved the *festes* out of Es Barri and both monopolistically exploited the clientele for themselves avoided the competition.

Soon, Molta Barra began to organise an opposition to Canamunt by extending their discontent to Bar Boya, Bar España, La Ruta del Té, La Gran Taberna, and Pizzeria Mamma Mia. They all ganged up against Bar Flexas. Tina, the friend of Bar Flexa's owners, confirmed Molta Barra's anger: «It's all getting very messy». All of these different views were made explicit at the meeting that took place on June 2009 in

which the members of the Canamunt board held discussions with several representatives of the different bars (including Bar Flexas and Molta Barra), who were now members of Canamunt.<sup>54</sup> The members of Canamunt's board had already agreed it was too late for the other bars to join the *festes*. There were only three weeks left and Bar Flexas had already done all the work. The atmosphere was not at all friendly.

Mario, the Italian owner of Pizzeria Mamma Mia that had opened in 2008, burst within rage. He accused Canamunt's board of being extremely partial. «Of course everyone wants nice bars!», he yelled. If Canamunt wanted, he would bring in the best bars ever so that everybody could benefit. However, if he wanted, he threatened, he could also bring in gypsies and return to the days of the Barri Xino so as to devalue everyone's life investments.<sup>55</sup> Mario also boasted about organising a bar association that looked out for their interests, one that would organise its own *festes*.

In fact, he suggested he could organise another neighbours' association with another name (!). The members of the Canamunt board could not believe what they were hearing. Ferran, then the official spokesperson of Canamunt, clarified the *festes* of 2009 were to be organised only with Bar Flexas since everything was already done. They offered the ones of 2010 as long as there was clear support from the other bars to organise something. The people of Bar Flexas said they understood that this was a fair deal but clarified that their anniversary was theirs and they definitely would not share it with others. In any case, there was room for everyone for future events. They gave the example of Bar España, whose owner, Joseba, was present. His fake San Fermín bull-celebration had been included in Canamunt's 2009 *festes* programme.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Since these people representing their businesses were now considered neighbours, not residents, they attended the meetings. The bar topic was discussed on 20/03/2009, 22/06/2009, 19/11/2009, 29/01/2009, 23/04/2010, and 17/09/2010.

<sup>55</sup> Besides being a racist remark, this particular threat confirms an urban myth of the neighbourhood that many non-ideological collective squatters, that is, not belonging to groups organised according to a political agenda, but instead responding to necessity, had been moved in by certain developers in order to scare old residents away and to bring the area down. I have to admit it has been impossible to confirm this but the fact that it is a well-spread assumption confirms to a certain extent its plausibility.

<sup>56</sup> The San Fermín *fiesta* organised by Bar España coincided with the festivities that take place in Iruñea-Pamplona (7<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> July). Partygoers met at mid-day on the Saturday of the San Fermín in Plaça Major, on the borders of Es Barri, to be chased by a wheel-barrel with horns.

As for Molta Barra, its people saw their way in by adopting a more conciliatory tone. They suggested the need for a common solution for the following 2010 *festes* so as to avoid a conflict. That meant Molta Barra had to network with the other bars. In a joint effort, in what was left of 2009 and throughout 2010, the different bars approached Canamunt to express how they felt about what they viewed as preferential treatment towards Bar Flexas. Yet far from Molta Barra's initial move for avoiding conflict, the fact is that its owners encouraged it. Molta Barra played at two different levels. While in public it showed a disposition to dialogue and agreements, in private it worked at undermining the relation Bar Flexas maintained with Canamunt, and it even questioned Canamunt's legitimacy for acting in the name of Es Barri.

In mid-August 2009, Molta Barra organised a meeting for bar owners to discuss what was to be done. Rafi was also invited. A couple of days later she told me that only six bar owners gathered in Molta Barra and that the outcome of the meeting was to wait before creating a bar association. They had been told they would be able to get involved in the 2010 *festes* and until this was secure, it was better not to make a move. Nevertheless, what if the association was, as Mario had also mentioned, a neighbours' one? A week later, Sasa asked me if I knew there was a new neighbours' association in Es Barri. I replied I knew that the bars were speaking of creating a bar association but Sasa insisted this was an association for both residents and businesses.

A couple of days later I went to Molta Barra. It was closed to the public but the door was open. I noticed that Biel Oliver, from GIB, the major developer in charge of the intervention unit 2B (see Image 23, Appendix of images), a privately-owned state-led renewal behind most of the evictions of Es Barri, was sitting at a table with two of the owners of Molta Barra, Mario from the Pizzeria Mamma Mia, and the head of the Federation of Palma's Associations and Entities (FEPAE), an organisation created in 1996 by members of the *Partit Popular* (Conservative Party) in order to undermine the FAVP, historically linked to the *Partit Comunista* and other parties and organisations on its left. It was clear that they were plotting something big. I asked if I would be able to interview someone from Molta Barra in the near future and then left.

A few weeks later, I knew this new coalition had had problems getting enough residents to join their neighbours' association initiative. A month later, in October 2009,

I managed to interview one of Molta Barra's owners. Berto, a mountaineer who had taken the Majorcan flag to the world's highest peaks, and who had previously been working on improving old houses in the area, was of the opinion that there was only one way out. Eventually Canamunt would have to admit this, despite its current support for Bar Flexas, an accusation he implied but never explicitly made. He avoided speaking about their attempt at creating a new neighbours' association; it obviously had not worked. All the efforts, he argued, had to go towards creating a bar lobby that defended their interests. As for the following 2010 *festes*, they would have to include the other bars or else there would definitely be trouble.

Molta Barra was already part of Es Barri. Just as Bar Flexas would later write in the 2010 *youthing* advert for its 6<sup>th</sup> Anniversary (Bar Flexas 2010), Berto also thought the improvement of Es Barri had to do with Molta Barra's presence: «As a matter of fact, if it weren't for the 30 bars operating in the area and of the 20 new ones that will soon open, this would be a dead no go area». On a different order of things, when asked about the drug dealing in the area, he said it was something to be dealt with but by the authorities. Interestingly, that same October 2009, Rafi told me she had been offered €300 by two police informants to keep cocaine in her bar. Cocaine was moving fast around Es Barri now. That same month Rafi's older daughter told her a friend of hers scored cocaine from the cooks of Molta Barra...

Nevertheless, with the promise of a collective involvement in the 2010 *festes*, the tension seemed to cool down and it was not until after Christmas 2009 that the bar question came back on the scene with new businesses making their appearance both in Es Barri and in Canamunt. At another Canamunt meeting held on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2010, Murphy, the co-owner of the newly opened Ca La Seu,<sup>57</sup> introduced himself, just as

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<sup>57</sup> Ca La Seu had been the longest lived business in town reaching 500 years without closing. It specialised in selling esparto grass and wicker products. *Seu* means «cathedral seat», and *Ca La Seu* can be translated as «the Cathedral's Place». The Cathedral had been its main client for centuries. See Sabater (2001) for a very human approach, but nevertheless folkloric, in which he interviews the last couple of the family that ran the place for generations before selling it to its last owner. This publication was part of the EU-funded Urban project. Ca La Seu also received plenty of attention from the local media, particularly small illustrated magazines publications specialising in «life style» and the world of «vintage» (e.g. del Castillo 2006). A little after its 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary, it closed down. The last owner argued he did not earn enough to maintain it. In 2010 the press announced the changes to come: «Ca La Seu will turn into a cafe-museum. The

Héctor had done. Murphy was worried because he had heard Canamunt was not pleased with the expansion of bars in the area and he, a father of a toddler too (he made sure to mention this) had invested all his savings in reforming the business. He whined he could not consider losing that. It seems that new bar and restaurant owners needed the tacit moral approval of Canamunt so as to get their permits.

Not that Canamunt granted permits, a City Council's prerogative, nevertheless, it could morally sanction new openings and if necessary mobilise residents against what was starting to look like as the theming of the neighbourhood in to a bar area, or as I heard someone playing on words: A «Bar-ri». By April 2010, everyone was accusing everyone else of drug dealing, including Rafi, who had nothing to do with the feud *Molta Barra* had set with *Bar Flexas*. Drugs, though, were the least of the bar owners' problems. In May that year, Rafi told me a young man leaving *Bar Flexas* had been caught by the police with a piece of hashish. They then entered and found *Estrella*, with a large brick of hashish too, and with €400 in cash. They took her to be questioned at the police station and fined her. Later in the week, Tina confirmed this was true.

Except for the case of *Estrella*, whether all of these pieces of information were true or not is hard to say. What the gossip did indicate was that at least in discourse, drug dealing was alive and well in *Es Barri*. The *Xino* had not disappeared. Moreover, I never clarified if all this talking about drug dealing had anything to do with the battle that was going on between the coalition of *Bar Flexas* and *Canamunt* against all the other bars. At a previous *Canamunt* meeting, those bar owners who were members of *Canamunt*, with the exception of *Bar Flexas*, reminded of the board the threat *Mario*, the pizzeria owner, had made a year before.<sup>58</sup> They were definitely going to found a new business association to defend their interests in the neighbourhood.

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emblematic wicker workshop of *Sa Gerreria* would have been 500 years old in March, although the new business will maintain its essence» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 26/01/2010). *Ca La Seu* would soon become a bar with the charm of its products now featuring as decorations. Most importantly, its owners would become members of both *Canamunt* and the *Ruta Martiana*.

<sup>58</sup> *Mario* was not present at the meeting. He had closed his business some months before. Rafi suspected there was other business going on in that pizzeria that was related with *Oliver* the developer of *GIB*. She hinted at the possibility that they were trying to undermine *Canamunt's* presence by creating a network that would favour an association opposed to it and likely to create a profitable environment for real estate speculation.

Until July 2010, tension kept growing. There were plenty of meetings discussing the pros and cons of having so many bars. Some residents argued for forbidding new openings and restricting the hours. The bar owners that were members of Canamunt defended their interests. Tension also worked on a different frontline. The Canamunt board accepted the new bar association on the basis that people were free to do as they wished. They appreciated the efforts bars had made in designing drink-mats asking clients not to be noisy and paying mimes who asked passers-by to keep quiet when going from bar to bar or while just hanging around outdoors, but they expected major moves. By the end of May 2010, Xisco, a Canamunt board member, told me that he had heard several bars of Es Barri were finally meeting to create the association of bars.

Bar España and Molta Barra led the organisation of meetings. I managed to get in touch with Joseba, the owner of Bar España, and he allowed me in. The first meeting of what would soon become the delegation of the Majorcan Association of Cafeterias, Bars and Restaurants for the area of Canamunt took place in June 2010.<sup>59</sup> Although I thought a turnout of eight was impressive, the bar owners there maintained it was not so great since they had contacted 100 bars! Besides the bar owners of the area, the representatives of the Bar Section of the Association were also present, as well as the head of the whole Association, Pilar Carbonell, who in 2015 would become the General Director for Tourism of the Balearic Government.<sup>60</sup>

The meeting focused on the constitution of a bar delegation for the area, deciding its limits and a name, Barri Antic [Old Neighbourhood] being the name with most support, although it included a much greater area than that of Es Barri. There were two

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<sup>59</sup> See: <http://www.restauracionmallorca.com>, 06/07/2015.

<sup>60</sup> Almost 30% of these 100 bars had opened in the last five years. Notice that Berto had mentioned there were 30 bars open in Es Barri and 20 to be opened soon. Numbers did not coincide. This was because the 100 bars referred to belonged to a wider area in the Centre, not only Es Barri. Nevertheless, 100 is not the full number for the whole Centre either. The Centre is rather large and its monumental core is fully dedicated to catering for tourists, especially in the high season. My suspicions are that this was a number for the Statistical Units of Sindicat and Sa Calatrava, where the area of Es Barri I have in mind roughly represents more than three fifths. This same area was the one covered by the Urban Project the EU funded in 1997. This would confirm that for these bar owners their neighbourhood of activities coincided with that of the squatters. Such a coincidence is not fortuitous since both groups lived off the different phases of renewal (read gentrification).

other important matters: the relation of the delegation with the association of restaurateurs; and issues involving campaigns to avoid restrictions on opening hours while containing noise levels, although by law *tapas* bars –the category to which most of these businesses belong- cannot play music. A future strategy for promoting the association was established. The model they would follow was that of TaPalma, a *tapas* festival involving several businesses across the city that had become an important drive for attracting tourists, although from what I have seen, most of its consumers are actually locals. Nonetheless, the meeting served to unit bar owners in a common cause and triggered their organisation in order to defend their common interests.

As for the conflict that had arisen with the neighbours of Canamunt, the attitude in the meeting was confrontational. One of the owners of Molta Barra, not Berto but Txema, in charge of the financial side of the business and in dealing with the press, announced that what they had to do was completely ignore the neighbours' associations and carry on with their business: «At the end of the day», he said, «people are not really bothered about the *tapa* itself, let's face it, they come to drink. The *tapa* is only a decoy, a label, whatever you want it to be, but it is not what attracts them all to us. So let's milk it until there's none left and then move elsewhere». This logic of moving business around town relates to capital's «sea-saw» in the urban environment (see Section 1.4.2.).

### 1.2.2.3. Mars on Earth

Besides the anniversary celebration of Bar Flexas once again taking place outside of the neighbourhood, the 2010 *festes* involved other bars organising a range of different activities in the neighbourhood. Molta Barra, La Ruta del Té and Ca La Seu organised the concert of the main venue in the neighbourhood and different bars helped to organise other activities in the various squares of Es Barri:

The 'Gerreria' experiment. Or how bars cohabit with neighbours (*Diari de Balears*, 17/05/2010).

Residents create a 'noise control group' (*Diario de Mallorca*, 14/08/2010).

'Sa Gerreria could be like the Soho of New York' (*Diario de Mallorca*, 24/08/2010).

Everybody looked happy. They realised that by cooperating they could actually achieve more and this did not necessarily mean making use of the newly found



delegation of bars. On 20<sup>th</sup> October 2010, 15 bars got together and began the *Ruta Martiana* pub-crawl.<sup>61</sup> They served a small *tapa* and a draught beer for the reasonable price, so they announced, of €1 (see Image 38, Appendix of images). At the beginning of 2011, the number of bars belonging to the *Ruta* had risen to 25. However, from March 2011, the pub-crawl project started to notice the outcome of a new regulation that affected the use of public space in the municipality: «Regulation of the Civic Use of Public Space» (Govern de les Illes Balears 2011).<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, it took two and a half years for the City Council of Ciutat to take action against the increasing sprawl of bars in Es Barri. Moreover, it took another extra year to put an end to it. The following press headlines give an idea of how the *Ruta Martiana* developed from 2010 to 2012:<sup>63</sup>

Neighbours and restaurateurs demand more police presence in Sa Gerreria. Residents complain about the noise and the bars attempt to avoid it (*Última Hora*, 10/12/2011).

Restaurateurs, hoteliers and businesspersons support the *Ruta Martiana*. The neighbours of Sa Gerreria warn the bars that if pressure measures are taken, they will act through the courts against those who break the law (*Diario de Mallorca*, 16/02/2011).

The Martian Route attracts tourism and employs more than a hundred people (*Diario de Mallorca*, 26/02/2011).

The City Council proposes the implementation of regulations against drinking in the public space in the Martian Route and constitutes the monitoring committee that will inform about the measures to be adopted by the uncivil use of the street (*Diario de Mallorca*, 29/03/2011).

The Mayor promises to implement the special scheme of Sa Calatrava in Sa Gerreria if she repeats her mandate. The measure would impede the opening of more bars in the area, although it would not exclude the existing ones (*Última Hora*, 08/04/2011).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> «Martiana» is a play on words that joins *martes* (Tuesday) and *marciana* (the feminine adjective for Martian). In fact, *martes* is the day of the week the Romans originally dedicated to Mars. This was an expanding Tuesday pub-crawling itinerary set by most of the bar owners of the neighbourhood so as to make a profit during the week by bating clients with free *tapas*.

<sup>62</sup> Notice that this is a regulation for the whole municipality not only for the Centre. However, it arose from with the conflict among residents and bar owners.

<sup>63</sup> Local newspapers are fraught with these. I have managed to archive more than 40 between January 2010 and February 2012. The actions against the bars that organised the pub crawl actually went further.

<sup>64</sup> See Franquesa's monograph (Franquesa 2010) for an account on Sa Calatrava's business desertification, one that includes the prohibition of opening catering businesses (meaning

Restaurateurs of Sa Gerreria ask noise regulations to be more flexible (*Última Hora*, 10/08/2011).

The City Council will forbid crowds as from 22:00 in Sa Gerreria. Yesterday evening, the commission in charge of monitoring regulations against the mass-consumption of *botellón* [mass drinking of alcohol in public space] unanimously agreed to declare this neighbourhood an area of special intervention (*Diario de Mallorca*, 17/02/2012).

Besides the corporate response to the opposition of residents, the evolution of the *Ruta Martiana* shows how quickly businesses flourished around a specific theme. In October 2010, members of Canamunt found out there that were 11 new bar applications waiting for approval by the City Council. What was most striking, though, was that some of them were already open to the public without a proper license. Nightlife entrepreneurialisation had definitely caught on but at the cost of entering into conflict with the newcomers of the mid-2000s. Meanwhile, a new organisation appeared, *Sa Gerreria, t'Estim sense Renou* [Sa Gerreria, I Love You without Noise], a platform of residents, most of them members of Canamunt, who were against the noise caused by the bar customers (e.g. *Diari de Balears*, 14/04/2011).

The main aim of *Sa Gerreria, t'Estim sense Renou* was to channel the residents' anger without compromising Canamunt by organising the discontent of residents in direct protests and boycotts against bars. Likewise, the board of Canamunt, which was made up of residents, and most of whom were against the proliferation of bars, avoided direct accusations. Since by then, Canamunt was made up of residents and bar owners alike, the last thing it needed was an unnecessary division and debate within its structure. *Sa Gerreria, t'Estim sense Renou* policed the neighbourhood and took to court those bars that breached the law, such as by not having a license. This was the case, for instance, of Fernando's Clínica Veterinaria Bar, just next to Molta Barra and part of the *Ruta Martiana*.

Just before the opening of the bar, the place had been for some time a bookshop run by Fernando's partner, Natalia. Under the name of *Clínica Li(Ve)ter(in)aria*

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restaurants, cafes, bars, *tapas*-bars, pubs, disco-bars, discotheques and so on), following strict regulations ever since 1999 (Govern de les Illes Balears 2001a). Sa Calatrava is often named as the example to follow by those who are adamantly against bars in Es Barri. It ought to be said that Sa Calatravas desertification actually affects the opening of any kind of business in the area.

[Li(Ve)ter(in)ar{y}(ian) Clinic], the bookshop aimed at a wide alternative public. However, it was not successful. Natalia's suspicions were that the business was too hidden from Via Sindicat, the main commercial thoroughfare that bordered the northern tip of Es Barri. Three years after its opening and after several attempts at revamping the place, the couple decided to invest in a bar since they saw from what was happening around them that they could make a profit in a short time. However, the bar did not meet the required regulations and he always played his music loud.

He was soon fined and before getting into deeper trouble, he closed and left. Although I have not entered yet in the proper gentrification process of Es Barri,<sup>65</sup> it is by now obvious that gentrification did not follow a single pattern there. Besides the different modalities of gentrification this neighbourhood hosts, homesteading gentrification, pioneer gentrification, state-led gentrification, new-built gentrification, owner gentrification, tenant gentrification and even brownfield gentrification, they have all faced another gentrification process that has almost gentrified them all: Nightlife entrepreneurialisation. Thus, gentrification seems to be a non-stop race towards an ever-lasting increase in newcomers, whether in the form of residents, or, as in the case of nightlife entrepreneurialisation, of visitors too.<sup>66</sup> Attracting visitors, though, is not that surprising in an island that lives off tourism.

The link between nightlife entrepreneurialisation and tourism bears implicit a tendency towards a gentrification other than residential that enters in direct conflict with it. This is proven by an open newspaper letter entitled «Palma: Restaurateurs' property?» written by another neighbour's association made up of residents that live on the Northern margins of Es Barri, within the limits of the Canamunt territory, and called after the name of its two main squares: Banc de l'Oli and Plaça de la Mercè.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> I address general theoretical and methodological aspects concerning gentrification in Section 1.4. A systemised account for how it worked in Es Barri is to be found in the different publications that make up Part 2.

<sup>66</sup> See Nofre i Mateo and Martíni Díaz (2009) and Nofre (2013) for examples of nightlife gentrification in Sarajevo and Lisbon.

<sup>67</sup> Because the FAVP [Palma's Federation of Neighbour's Associations] had been patrimony of the left, although it always claimed it had room for everybody, in 1996, in an attempt to pull down such an important political bastion, the *Partit Popular*, the largest right-wing political party founded a counter-federation of citizens' associations and entities for Ciutat, one that also

This open letter supports in a way the views held by *Sa Gerreria t'Estim sense Renou*. It actually furthers the links of nightlife with tourism, but from a critical point of view that signals the contradiction of the improvement of the urban environment via gentrification and that vindicates who is to enjoy, and how, its revalued outcome:

We fully find ourselves in the process of writing a municipal regulation regarding the occupation of public spaces by bars and *terrasses*. Because *we are citizens committed to a specific model of city and we are concerned for the future model of tourism*, we believe there are a set of reasons that lead us to draw the limits on this occupation.<sup>68</sup>

... *those of us who arrived to the old barri many years ago*<sup>69</sup> have witnessed how restaurateurs harvest the fruit of our initiative. Many years ago, we chose to live in an area of Palma that was degraded,<sup>70</sup> with all the inconveniences this meant during those first years. We invested our savings rehabilitating flats, sprucing up and painting façades. We came to agreements with the City Council ... and suggested the embellishment of squares and streets. The very same City Council invested many public resources. *Now that we are achieving the neighbourhood we wanted, concessionary terrasses arrive and take advantage of our regeneration task and start their business.*

... [C]ertain restaurateurs claim that they contribute to 'energising the neighbourhood' and 'scaring drugs away'. Let us not mix things. To energise a neighbourhood is to provide it with a diverse fabric: social, cultural, sport centres, green zones... and businesses, of course, but businesses of all sorts and not just bars and *terrasses*, as seems to be happening in Sa Gerreria and other adjacent areas. ... As for drugs, it would be a good argument if it were not for the fact that some residents and the police already dealt with this before they arrived. In addition, it would be a good joke if it were not for the shame caused by the *Martian Route's* havoc: broken bottles, urine in the streets and... subtle distribution of drugs. ... to encourage *terrasses* is to encourage the use of public space as a place to drink and smoke, no less.

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included businesses: FEPAE (Palma's Federation of Citizens' Associations and Organisations). Whereas Canamunt is part of FAVP, Banc de l'Oli and Plaça de la Mercè belongs to FEPAE. Notice that *Sa Gerreria t'Estim sense Renou* originates within Canamunt but actually tends towards the discourse used by Banc de l'Oli and Plaça de la Mercè. The FAVP and FEPAE divide is briefly mentioned in Sections 2.2., 2.3., and 2.6.

<sup>68</sup> Area outside a bar or café where tables and chairs are placed for clients and often celebrated as a quintessential aspect of the Mediterranean public space (e.g. Lacarra 2006).

<sup>69</sup> 'Old *barri*' here refers to the whole of the Centre as opposed to the newer areas of the city.

<sup>70</sup> The early arrival the Neighbours' Association of Banc de l'Oli and Plaça de la Mercè refer to is that of pioneer newcomers at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. They settled in a area that although often considered part of the Xino was only on its border.

... The younger defenders of these establishments argue Palma was a dead city without life. What they name 'dead', some of us call 'calm'. If they brand it 'lifeless', we reply 'placid'. As Villalonga described at the beginning of *Dame's death* [Villalonga i Pons 1987], we ought to remind them this was one of the identity features of the old *barri*: 'Venerable, noble and silent'.<sup>71</sup> We also ought to remind them that there is no need for all cities to be the same, nor to copy foreign models, and that perhaps Palma's charm (or at the least its old *barri*) is its calm. Yet there have been associations like Canamunt, that at first and for the best of the area, far from rejecting restaurateurs, collaborated until the appearance of avaricious hurly-burly.

This leads us to the other defenders of the proliferation of *terrasses*: tourism entrepreneurs. We ought to consider what they think of in a city that lives off tourism. But theirs is not the only way of thinking. In addition, because of a very simple reason, it is not the most important one either: the inhabitants of the old *barri* are those who came to live in it. In fact, they live in it and live it twenty-four hours. On the other hand, business owners only come to enrich themselves. ... Because of all of this, we consider it urgent for the City Council to listen to the neighbours before anyone else concerning this regulation. ... At the end of the day, the street belongs to all, but especially to the people that have chosen it to live in (Neighbours' Association of Banc de l'Oli – Plaça de la Mercè, in *Diario de Mallorca* 13/10/2011, my emphasis).

I am aware how lengthy the transcription of this letter is. Nevertheless, it summarises the conflict that hatched a couple of years after, and it also sheds light on the different attitudes towards the bar phenomenon. It accuses Canamunt of encouraging bars in the first stage of the process. It is also interesting because the small area this neighbours' association comprises has no bars directly linked to the *Ruta Martiana*. It does have a few bars, one of which offers a daily menu and it also has a couple of brothels in the area out of which there are always aged sexual labourers waiting around for clients. In any case, though, it is true that pub-crawlers will cross these squares on their way to the bars that constitute the *Ruta Martiana* down south.

There is another observation to be made. Both the residents of Banc de l'Oli and Bar Flexas claim to have respectively cleaned out the «horseshit and camels» (despite

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<sup>71</sup> Interestingly, this novel of Villalonga i Pons, written in 1931, the very same year the Second Spanish Republic began, is a satirical portrait of the values held by the Majorcan aristocracy and intelligentsia of the time (Villalonga 1987). Thus, although the use of the image of silence for Ciutat is aimed at being a critique to those making noise, it also contains a powerful, conservative image of what the Centre should be and for whom.

the implication of the latter in the drug-dealing business) and improved and embellished the area. It is as if socially cleansing the neighbourhood would be something to boast about publicly. However, no matter who claims the merit, this is undeserved since the «cleaning» was carried out by several developers with the support, and in many cases incentives, given by the City Council in the multiple renewal schemes that have been taking place for more than 20 years now.

Thus, the quote catches two aspects that are crucial to this thesis. First, it points to a contradiction within capital's geographical inexorable expansion in the built environment by opposing the interests of those directly involved in the initially different and finally opposed residential and commercial processes unleashed by gentrification at large, and seldom characterised as if they were independent under the respective academic rubrics of «residential gentrification» and «commercial gentrification». Most of Es Barri's newcomer residents, who occupy the various emptied and renewed or rebuilt flats, opposed the bar mono-crop that had concurrently settled in the ground floors of the buildings they lived in and where it was said many other types of businesses once were.

Yet, this clash of interests has never been unique to Es Barri, or to Ciutat, let alone urban Majorca. Take for instance the case of the Lower East Side of New York City that Ocejo (2011) brings forth. He there offers an extremely clear example of the clash between pioneer newcomers and the activity that surrounds the opening of new bars by developing a cultural analysis of the social configurations present (see also Rankin 2008 for commercial gentrification in Toronto, and Zukin 2010 for food gentrification in New York). As illustrated above, to a certain extent this is also the case for some pioneer newcomers of Es Barri. Interestingly, this is not necessarily always the case. Take for instance the adjacent neighbourhood of Sa Calatrava analysed by Franquesa (2010a). There, rather than the establishment of the bar mono-crop we find in Es Barri, what we encounter is a crude business desertification.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> At the end of the day, backed by the rent prices encountered the reason most residents gave for these two cases, that of Es Barri and that of Sa Calatrava, is the same. The only businesses that can actually recoup within a fairly short time the initial investment required, are bars. Any other business will need either a much longer period of time or very wealthy customers. The difference between Es Barri and Sa Calatrava, though, is that the residents of the latter managed

The second aspect to bear in mind from the text of the Neighbours' Association of Banc de l'Oli and Plaça de la Mercè, is that it puts special emphasis on the way in which certain pioneer newcomers improved the neighbourhood by their own means, adding value to the built environment just like Héctor and Verónica did later in Quartera. This clearly signals a kind of labour performed by the residents that aims at the establishment and development of use values in their new neighbourhood, as if by doing so they would actually appropriate it by turning it into their own image. However, the product of this labour that «improves» the neighbourhood, easily becomes a decoy for attracting non-permanent visitors, other users such as those who seek nightlife. Thus, commercial gentrification can actually deplete, as these residents claim, on the result of their «labour».

I will call this task of adding value to the built environment, but also the previous one that devaluates it, «urban labour» (see Section 2.6.). By urban labour, I mean the collective production of an urban environment, both social and built, that necessarily requires a previous devaluation, which I also understand crucial to gentrification (Clark 1995). This environment may be a built one, but is also social. For the case of the *Places* Banc de l'Oli- and de la Mercè people this urban labour is the one of their investment in «improving» the neighbourhood and saving it from degradation. One might think that this falls into mere improvement activities, however, as they signal, those who reap the product of their «regeneration task» are others, not them.

Whether or not it was intentional, the implementation of the redevelopment schemes has laid out the conditions for attracting new people (either residents or bar owners) into the neighbourhood who now see themselves as those who have made of the neighbourhood a prosperous and attractive place, free from undesirable elements. However, plenty of prosperity and much attraction have their limits too. In fact, they may encourage the emergence of further undesirable elements, if not spark the conflict about the values that make the neighbourhood.

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to put pressure on the authorities to ban the opening of bars at an earlier stage in the gentrification process (Sa Calatrava's state-led renewal began some ten years earlier) because at the time, and this was the same case for the area of nowadays Sa Gerreria, rather than the attraction of swathes of pub-crawlers, bars represented drug-tafficking, hence attracting a type of population rejected by the neighbors that were not involved in the business.

The evolution of the conflict in Es Barri spiralled from celebrating the conversion of old workshops and boarded up shops into cafés and bars, to criminalising certain uses of public space.<sup>73</sup> It did so to the extent that the mayor that governed the city between 2007 and 2011 made an electoral promise to eradicate what many perceived as a pest. The subsequent mayor (2011 and 2015) belonging to a different political party, *Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears*, enacted this promise by turning a delimited area, the one containing the *Ruta Martiana*, into an Acoustically Polluted Area (from here on APA) and by restricting the opening hours of the bars within it. The fact is, that to any neophyte on Es Barri's historic relation to rest of Ciutat, this war on bars would rather look like Es Barri had never been a bar zone before.

In 1993, before the renewal of Es Barri, members of Canamunt carried out research on the social and demographic reality of the neighbourhood (Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt 1993). This study would prove to be a key document within the overall renewal scheme being put together by the City Council (Ajuntament de Palma 1995). The study acknowledged that the commercial fabric of the neighbourhood had been collapsing for the last fifty years. The figures were clear. Of the 149 businesses in Es Barri at the time, a 36.8% were functioning bars, or had been functioning as such until very recently. As for the remaining businesses (food-related, other low-frequency customer businesses as well as specialised ones), almost 45% had literally closed down.

This data proves Es Barri had been a bar area for an incredibly long time. However, bars were not only present in the days of the drug trafficking in the Barri Xino (1970s, 1980s and 1990s). Because the area had historically also been the main point of entry for goods and products from rural Majorca, its squares hosted different specialised markets (as their names remind us: oil, cheese, flour, hay, charcoal, etc.). It had plenty of inns and taverns, some of them carrying the names of the villages they traded with the most, in turn giving these names to the streets where they were to be found (e.g. Santanyí's Inn). Furthermore, as Escartín (2001) magnificently studies, this

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<sup>73</sup> I here highlight two very different publications concerning public space. From a point of view that holds space as building on its material physical attributes see the contributions published in the volume edited by Low and Smith (2006). For a Spanish taste of what public space is about see Cañedo (2011), who relates public space to urban policies, and Delgado (2012), who explores the recent ideological comings and goings of such a space.



area was also the most densely industrialised part of the city with potters, ironmongers, glass blowers, furriers, shoemakers, and so on (also giving names to many streets). All of these people ate and drank in taverns, inns and bars.

In many ways, bars were the most salient trait of Es Barri for centuries. One might argue the renewal schemes of the mid 1990s and early 2000s were the main reason for the disappearance of bars and these began to become active again with the first pioneer newcomers, bricklayers, and the local government announcement of renewal. As the previously mentioned study reminds us, the bar theme-park of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s known to everyone as the Barri Xino, was the largest morsel of the geography of evil to be found in Majorca, to the extent that it still haunts the consciousness of many an inhabitant of Ciutat, with its drug and sex sale paraphernalia. If a bar was not a strip pole dance club or hostess bars, it certainly facilitated contacts with prostitutes of all ages (see Section 1.4.3. for more on the Barri Xino)

Beltrán and Seguí's graphic novels (2011 and 2014) are perhaps the best literary testimony to those days of bars where forbidden –at best immoral- vices, were to be found (Image 4, Appendix of images). The new millennium's bars have been of a different kind. Although their names are extremely varied (Ca La Seu [The Cathedral's Place], Molta Barra [Long Bar/Very Cheeky], La Ruta del Té [The Tea Route], Cero'58 [Zero'58], Es Fum [The Smoke]...), they all cater for the same public. This is mainly a mature youth looking for places to drink, chat, and have a couple of *tapas* before heading out. Because of the *Ruta*, people have used public space in their pub-crawls, often drinking there rather than inside (see Image 39, Appendix of images).

We have seen what the association of Banc de l'Oli and La Mercè had to say about Canamunt's role. The creation of the «radical» platform against bars, *Sa Gerreria t'Estim sense Renou*, was very much in tune with Banc de l'Oli and La Mercè, but not associated to it. Furthermore, the relatively recent creation of the bar association in charge of watching over the rights of the bar owners and the branding of the area as a *tapas*-bar area did not help to mellow the situation. From what has been said so far, the complex process that links the rise and death of different clubbing and pub areas within and across the city shows how a kind of competition among different urban cuttings is set.

Some may specialise in restaurants, like the neighbourhood of Santa Catalina, others cater for a public on a lower budget specialising in «free» *tapas* along with a drink.

Nevertheless, the bar scene also involves a logic equally based on «catch it as quick as you can» and on «let it go in time». For the case of Es Barri, it is as if there had been a slow bar decline giving place to a swift bar gentrification process. Those bar owners that knew when to enter and when to leave made money and moved elsewhere in the city, those that arrived at later stages paid more to hire their premises, and those who remained until the end most probably became trapped. The local extremes that are normally invoked in the discussions I have been following for Es Barri, are those already mentioned for La Llotja and Sa Calatrava, both also to be found in the Centre. Whereas in La Llotja in the 1990s public space was literally taken over by thousands of youths going from bar to bar, or just stopping to chat in the street until the early hours of the morning, and thus encountering the opposition of the neighbours' association of the area, in Sa Calatrava the opposite happened.

Here, thanks to a municipal regulation ratified by the Government of the Balearic Islands, the opening of bars and restaurants is directly banned precisely in order to avoid the «La Llotja effect» experienced in earlier years. The municipal regulation involved the whole seafront of the Centre (Govern de les Illes Balears 2001), also including La Llotja since the regulations that had been ratified by the Government of the Balearic Islands a couple of years earlier were not enough (Govern de les Illes Balears 1999). As for the case of La Llotja, since the early 1990s it was prolifically covered by both the press and the different media that grassroots organisations managed. Take for instance the oppositional frontline FAVP [Federation of Palma Neighbours' Associations] began in 1994 on the case of La Llotja through its periodical *El Correu de s'Arraval*:

Strange as it may seem, the story [of the case of La Llotja] does not go far back in time. By mid-1992 bars *de copes* [drinking bars], as they were then known, that is, nightlife businesses where one goes to have a drink, were little over half a dozen. Just over a year later, the figure has increased so much that it is even impossible to specify since a new bar opens every day. One finds it hard to believe that this "invasion" has not been encouraged by a small group of businesspeople with money to place and with the ability to side step the rules (*El Correu de s'Arraval* 1994, 2).

Yet the unconditional support of FAVP to the public administration in bar matters did not translate into immediate solutions. It took time for the residents to see a positive outcome. In the set of interviews collected in the local magazine *ONA* in 1997, five years after the case of La Llotja began, there was still no definite answer. The publication gathered the impressions of different political-party leaders and they were asked about the two main urban issues of the Ciutat of those days: the bar question in La Llotja and, ironically, the renewal that had been pending in Es Barri for the last 20 years. Carlos Ripoll, then in charge of town planning in the City Council, stated on La Llotja's bar question:

... the aim is to not repeat the problem of La Llotja in other areas. As public and private initiatives make the neighbourhood more attractive, people want to walk through it and enjoy themselves, and then is when what has happened in La Llotja happens, for which everyone is to blame, it is not the residents' fault, but I think no one was aware of what could happen, not either politicians or restaurateurs, or media. It was even argued that since this is a tourist city this increase could not stop. La Llotja is a problem about people in the street rather than about bars. This is a Mediterranean city, with pleasant weather, and when you are out for a drink or a dance, at one moment or other you end up chatting in the street. People end up accumulating there and they make so much noise that residents cannot rest. The PERI [Special Scheme] for uses of public space is meant to avoid similar situations in the future. Moreover, we will carry out a more exhaustive control in La Llotja. ... what is inconceivable though, is that La Llotja will disappear, this is impossible (Carlos Ripoll, Councillor for Town Planning of Ciutat, in Oliver 1997).

Although the Councillor's account of what happened in La Llotja might fall into typical local politics clichés it is revealing in so far as it locates, albeit jokingly, the driving economic force that when unbridled increasingly bounds towards excess: tourism understood from a liberal free market point of view.<sup>74</sup> History seems to repeat itself not far from La Llotja, only ten years later and in very similar terms. To bar or not to bar, that is the question... The tension is now one in which whereas many bar owners

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<sup>74</sup> 1997 was the year the EU URBAN Community Initiative landed on Es Barri so as to «save» it from decay, degradation and, eventually, collapse. Carlos Ripoll was the politician of the *Partit Popular* in charge of fitting the Urban into Es Barri. After the arrival of the Urban, he was catapulted to the EU and became a European Parliament member. He is most probably the best example of how local bosses can climb ladders when they find the appropriate conditions. See Section 2.5. for further details on this «snakes and ladders» idea.

advocate for the unavoidable market forces, residents bring in measures to change the sign of such dynamics by restricting opening hours and the further arrival of more bars. Not all bars hold similar views though. There are two clear different views.

On the one hand, there is Bar Flexas that welcomes such limiting measures since it is not involved in the *Ruta Martiana* and has an exclusive relationship with Canamunt. On the other hand, most of the remaining night-bars profoundly disagree. As they officially maintain, although high specialisation in nightlife industry is something to be avoided, declaring Sa Gerreria a ZAC [Acoustically Polluted Area] is too extreme a regulation, which contributes to a higher neighbourhood desertification in terms of businesses. Yet this does not translate into the disappearance of nightlife. The city is big. The «*Ruta Martiana* effect» has expanded across Ciutat's geography, beyond the Centre, creating the appropriate atmosphere for the growth of the bar businesses in certain central and/or improved areas.

Biel, the spokesperson of the neighbours' association that led the opposition to what he viewed as a nightlife theme park, praised the new regulation for the closing times of bars (Govern de les Illes Balears 2012b). Nevertheless, he remarked, this regulation had come too late: not only had many neighbours been severely affected by the pub-crawl, the route itself had died of success. He suggested that the decrease in clients (according to him due to the ongoing economic crisis) and the increasing competition among bars, had led bar-owners not to close at ten in the evening, but to close for good. Whereas Biel showed some kind of enthusiasm for this ruling, after all his association had fought for more than two years in favour of sleepless residents, other members of Canamunt found that ten o'clock closing was excessively early.

These residents also argued that bar clients were not *botellón* [mass drinking of alcohol in public spaces] drinkers in the strictest sense, but only crawled from pub to pub until early hours of the morning, speaking loudly in the street as they passed. As for those in business, they now faced the loss of their life investments. In later years, this expansion of bars and their *terraces* across the city, has brought much discussion. As Txema of Molta Barra had foreseen, if there were to run dry, it would be far easier to move the business. Actually, the press was already arguing that the *tapas* phenomenon had expanded: «The *Ruta Martiana* is no longer alone. Bars from

S'Escorxador, Es Molinar and Es Rafal have created their own alternative *tapas* itineraries» (Diario de Mallorca, 16/08/2011).<sup>75</sup>

The scale of the neighbourhood, which the problem had been restricted to, has been expanded to that of the city. In March 2015, before the beginning of the municipal election campaign, FAVP gathered in the Terra i Mar theatre of the neighbourhood of Es Jonquet, representatives from different neighbourhood associations of the city to speak about the uses of the public space. Among them were the representatives of La Llotja and Sa Gerreria (Es Barri). The one from La Llotja, happy though she was to limit the bars, complained about the excessive red tape it involved. The representative of Sa Gerreria, whom I had interviewed in the past and had been with at many neighbourhood meetings, argued that in Sa Gerreria there had been a conflict of interests among a *Partit Popular* supporting builders and developers, and a *Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears* supporting businesses, which for the case of Sa Gerreria is mainly bars.

Both interventions are highly valuable in that they offer views that are the product of in-depth knowledge, one coming from a daily follow-up of the problems they think neighbourhoods have. Whereas the case of La Llotja seems to send the message that the limits to nightlife capital carry the cost of overregulating everyday life (and, I may argue, every-night life), that of Sa Gerreria astonishingly links the liberal commitment to which different political options those who have governed the city adhere to. According to his argument, the Conservatives (*Partit Popular*) would have encouraged the residential gentrification in their governments: 1991-2007 and 2011-2015, while the Social Democrats (*Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears*) were behind the commercial gentrification in theirs: 1979-1991 and 2007-2011.

The implications of these declarations are important, they signal the path to follow for the whole of the city if the new elections do not favour Conservatives or Social-Democrats. There will be a need to solve organic problems related to the use of public

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<sup>75</sup> Indeed, the *tapas* phenomenon is expanding. S'Escorxador, Es Molinar and Es Rafal are other neighbourhoods of Ciutat, all of which fall outside of the perimeter of the Centre and in the case of Es Rafal is found in the urban periphery of Ciutat. Some towns and villages in the island's hinterland have also begun similar routes involving the same kind of promotion based on cheaper *tapas*, free small *tapas* with each drink, etc.

space by supporting the everyday life of the public rather than the interests of builders, developers and business entrepreneurs. So far, I have brought into the Es Bar-ri discussion elements of the increase of bars in 2010 and 2011 that affected the residential gentrification that was going on at the time, and I have summarised the *festes* of 2008, 2009 and of 2010 as the outcome of an alliance of neighbourhood grassroots and a private initiative clad in transgression. Although I have not directly linked both processes, it is by now clear, in the light of the relation Bar Flexas and Canamunt maintain, that both processes are related.

The distinction Bar Flexas enjoys, one initially based on friendship networks, is a scarce resource in a neighbourhood thriving with newer bars. At many Canamunt meetings, the owners of these newer bars who, as we have seen earlier with the cases of Héctor and Murphy, were also members of the neighbour's association, showed their discontent with the decision of the board to privilege only one bar. In a way, this discontent went hand in hand with organising their own corporate network, one solely based on doing business until the limits were reached.

By 2012, the *Ruta Martiana* was doing well until new regulations came in to put an end to it. On 27<sup>th</sup> July 2012, the press announced: «It is forbidden to drink and make noise in the streets of the Martian Route. Vigilance tasks will commence on Monday in virtue of the new living-together regulation in this area of the neighbourhood of Sa Gerreria. Agents will be able to sanction any citizens who display uncivil behaviour» (Diari de Balears, 27/07/2012). Those bars that opened outside of permitted times and sold alcoholic drinks to be consumed elsewhere, or that encouraged people to «missuse» public space (urinating, shouting, throwing drinks on the floor or even concentrating in high numbers, etc.) would be fined:

«Local police units and the Green Patrol will monitor adherence to the regulation by both the youth in the street and in the bars» ([http://www.palma.es/portal/PALMA/innov/contenedor1.jsp?seccion=s\\_fnotd4v1.jsp&contenido=65211&tipo=8&nivel=1400&layout=contenedor1.jsp&codResi=1&language=es](http://www.palma.es/portal/PALMA/innov/contenedor1.jsp?seccion=s_fnotd4v1.jsp&contenido=65211&tipo=8&nivel=1400&layout=contenedor1.jsp&codResi=1&language=es), 31/07/2012).

Nevertheless, until they were actually implemented, these regulations did not deter the opening of many other bars in what seemed like a frenetic to cash in before the end came. The regulation of closing times which Canamunt asked the City Council to implement, represented an attack on the interests of bar owners, who soon plotted a

counteroffensive. Here, the role Molta Barra played in armour-plating the *Ruta Martiana* was important. Not only was Molta Barra the most successful business in the pub-crawl-scheme, but it had also known how to network with other bars. It also took the lead at the association of bars in the face of the residents' mobilisation, especially that of *Sa Gerreria t'Estim sense Renou*.

In the middle of all of this tension, the bars, led by Molta Barra, had managed to get the Canamunt board to open the 2011 *festes* to all the bars that were interested in organising some kind of activity. Rather than joining the Bar Flexas show (after all, it was its anniversary), the rest of the bars that wanted to, joined in and held concerts in different squares thanks to the permits Canamunt got from the City Council. At the same time, this strategic move coincided with Canamunt's intention to mellow the radical stance of the anti-bar movement *Sa Gerreria t'Estim sense Renou*. Yet this did not mean Molta Barra and its allies had won the battle, their triumphs came with compromise.

The City Council will stop authorising opening permits for new leisure establishments in Sa Gerreria. The declaration of Sa Gerreria as an Acoustically Polluted Area [APA] will also mean bringing forward the closing time of the establishments to 12 midnight on Tuesdays. The APA regulation rules over the measures taken for the *botellón* (*Diario de Mallorca*, 15/01/2013).

Ever since the end of 2012 the *Ruta Martiana* began to lose strength. Those bars that had not been sanctioned by the City Council carried on working although at a slower rhythm, accepting new earlier closing times and especially the fact that no more new bars would open in the area in 2013 (*Diario de Mallorca*, 15/01/2013). Not only did these bars begin to suffer the strict regulation that the City Council began to implement, but they also faced competition from other new *tapas* areas across the city. Furthermore, since 31<sup>st</sup> July 2012, the liberalisation of opening hours for businesses as a result of the denomination of the Area of Great Tourist Influx (Govern de les Illes Balears 2012a) favoured the opening of new going out areas in the wide, main commercial thoroughfares of the Centre:

Palma's City Council has agreed to extend until 1 a.m. the opening time for bar terraces in the Area of Great Tourist Influx of the Balearic capital, corresponding to the Centre. ... The new timetable can be implemented any day of the week without exception and it will affect the establishments situated on streets that are,

at least, 15 metres wide [these are 9 streets of the Centre] and the squares that surround these (<http://www.europapress.es/illes-balears/noticia-cort-amplia-madrugada-horario-apertura-terrazas-centro-historico-palma-20120731155033.html>, 02/08/2012).

Against this threat, the bar owners of Es Barri (who by then were also calling it Sa Gerreria), reacted by asking the City Council to restrict cars in Es Barri and by offering free drinks to those buying in the commercial thoroughfare of Sindicat (Última Hora, 04/08/2012). At the end of the day, it might be true that it is all a matter of milking the cow until it has no more to give. In fact, some owners might not even be able to milk anything else. Take the case of Ca La Seu. The noise the clients of the bar made at nights disturbed several neighbours. With the threat of a Court case, and the fact that the new restricted opening hours were affecting their business, the owners decided to close the bar down. Others were less lucky. In 2012 another resident took the owner of another bar to court and won the case in 2014. The owners were heavily fined and they miraculously escaped imprisonment:

The prosecution has asked for 4 years in prison for a bar owner of the *Ruta Martiana* due to excessive noise. The City Council was able to confirm that on various occasions the bar exceeded the decibel limit, and sealed off the premises twice. ... A neighbour alleged she had suffered anxiety attacks and sleep disorders throughout the three and a half years the business was open under her apartment. ... «Other tenants left the building because they could not stand the noise», she claimed (*Diario de Mallorca*, 05/11/2014).

This bar story is only one of many other possible stories of the gentrification of Es Barri. In this case, we have seen how the «commercial gentrification» of Es Barri enters into conflict with its «residential gentrification» allowing a possible contradiction in the expansion of capital in the urban realm. As we have already seen, most businesses had already closed before the days of renewal. Nevertheless, there were still some businesses from the old days when I first arrived in Es Barri in 2003. Little by little, most of them closed. Very few offered resistance to the neighbourhood transformation but those that did became in a way the living legacy of what Es Barri had been, at least in the eyes of the newcomers. This is important because although having a business in Es Barri might make you a neighbour, it does not necessarily mean you sleep there.

I will now look into how Rafi and Mari, an old-timer's day-bar owner and a retiring grocer respectively, have managed to remain in place despite the strong



gentrification process the state-led renewal of the area has brought. As we will see, this struggle has not been without a good deal of stamina, networking, not wanting to lose out, as well as seeking to make a profit. Through the «life-hood» stories of Rafi and Mari, I want not only to explain their personal struggle in the last decades, but also to offer a glimpse of the shifting social character of their neighbourhood.

### **1.2.3. Neighbourhood business, as usual**

#### **1.2.3.1. *Casa Rafi*: The long wait for better days**

Bar Flexas, Molta Barra, and all the other bars that took part in the Ruta Martiana are bars mostly involved in nightlife business. Of course, Bar Flexas does cook menus at midday but makes most of its cash on the weekend. As for Molta Barra and most of the other Martian bars, they make their profit not from the actual *tapas*, as Txema rightly expressed at the restaurateurs' meeting, but from alcohol, like any other nightlife bar. Other bars that initially opened only with daytime in mind, such as La Ruta del Té, soon passed from tea to beer and other alcoholic beverages but because of the obvious business nightlife brought. Nevertheless, in Es Barri there are also bars that only cater for daytime customers. The thing is that they also make most of their living from selling alcohol too. Perhaps the main difference is the kind of clients they have.

Set in a charming square opposite a building that has a small Gothic arcade in Plaça des Mercadal, Casa Rafi (Rafi's) is one of these day-life bars. This 100 m<sup>2</sup> bar with a small back patio, bears Gothic traces which Rafi, the owner, found under several layers of plaster and other materials. The main feature is a sandstone arch at the entrance with the coat of arms of a noble Majorcan family which people from the museum came in to look at. Rafi and her customers sharply contrast with these noble traces (see Image 29, Appendix of images). They come from a much more humble cradles. Between 2003 and 2010 her main clients were bricklayers, casually-dressed transvestites, the occasional drug addict, a few old aged-pensioners, and alcoholics in general. An interesting snapshot description of Rafi's can be found in an online publication specialised in music and culture:

**What: Show-Café**

**Where: Plaça Mercadal (Sa Gerreria)**

**Fauna: Regular neighbourhood customers in dressing gowns and local police**

**Cool: Rafi's stories**

**Uncool: The constant ticking of the whatsapp of Rafi's son and daughter**

«D'you wanna smoke? Go to the backyard!». This is the way Rafi greets us, nodding her head towards the interior patio with a cheeky grin, full of all kinds of experiences. She has lived the evolution of the neighbourhood of Sa Gerreria; she tells us how she used to have to give the junkies the boot when they would chase the dragon in the lavatory. «If they spend more than five minutes I know they are drugging themselves». In the morning you can have a coffee with the local street sweeper, a couple of local police and some neighbours who have always lived in the area, or at least before it became a baguette-surimi-mayo theme park. At the entrance, there is a blackboard with around thirty €1 offerings: hamburgers, sandwiches or omelettes. The place would be the typical outskirts' bar, heavily tiled, plastic flowerpots and souvenir decorative plates. The neighbours come in dressing gowns and let loose their dogs in the bar. Meanwhile, the property owner's son and daughter fight each other like cats without losing sight of their mobiles. The patio is another world. Once you step out into it is like crossing a line and it might happen that when you want to leave you fall on your face. A naked mannequin wearing a wig and with her nipples painted spies on the smokers while Rafi serves «baby bottles», her word for 33cl Estrella beer bottles. If you are lucky and she stays with you to smoke a cigarette she will keep you entertained with her stories and she will show you the goods she has brought from Makro ([http://www.40putes.com/2012/04/04/casa\\_rafii/](http://www.40putes.com/2012/04/04/casa_rafii/), 29-05-2012).<sup>76</sup>

The feature is telling, not because of the urban exoticism it distils, but because of the way in which Rafi is portrayed, as if she were a kind of clownish relic. 40PUTES actually treats her, her family and her clients in a very condescending manner, as if they were a show to laugh at. However, let us get to know Rafi better since, together with Mari, they represent a fading «race» within Es Barri. Although they are no longer residents there, through their extremely humble and ordinary life stories, we might gain further insights into Es Barri.

Rafi was born in a village in the mainland province of Córdoba in 1958. She married when she was sixteen and left her city two years later in search of a better life with her husband. They followed the footsteps of different aunties of hers: first with one in Bilbao where she gave birth to her first daughter, and then with one in Ciutat in

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<sup>76</sup> *40 putes* literally means «40 whores». It is an idiom used in Majorcan Catalan to express surprise. Most of its members are involved in the indie music scene of the island.

1979, the year of the first democratically elected City Council. Her auntie in Ciutat, whom she went to live with, paid a cheap rent in the Street of Sant Agustí, one of the few examples of 18<sup>th</sup> century working-class architecture left in Es Barri, although Rafi did not seem to be aware of this. Her and her husband and daughter went to live in her aunt and partner's small flat. Since her husband worked for a shipping company, he ended up travelling around the world while she was left behind.

She remembers her first feelings for Es Barri. She found it vulgar and poor, packed with bars and full of sexual labourers in the street. Houses, she recalls, were extremely old and in decay but this did not stop them accumulating high numbers of dwellers.<sup>77</sup> Conditions were ancient. The ovens, for instance, worked with coal. After a while and always thanks to her auntie, she moved to the nearby street of Sa Gerreria but left two years later when her second child was born due to the damp building. She then moved to Sa Ferreria [Blacksmith's] Street near the Vidre [Glass] Street where the worst of Es Barri was at the time. The reason, she confesses was that this was the most affordable area in Ciutat. Together with her auntie, she established a laundry and dressmaking business specifically catering to the sexual labourers.

Since the business was not very successful, they opened a menu place with 30 tables. She remembers that her auntie would feed the poor for nothing in exchange and this made Rafi decide to leave the business and move on by her own means. In 1985, just as the first general planning scheme that included the promise of renewing Es Barri was approved, she bought the transfer on the lease of a small grocer's called Carabela [Caravel] under a Gothic arcade in the square of Mercadal and she renamed it: Arcade Grocery.<sup>78</sup> Just like Bar Flexas and Molta Barra, before the appearance of the

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<sup>77</sup> This is intriguing because official statistics from 1982 actually held that the whole of the Centre had lost one third of its population in the previous 20 years, 1962-1982 (Ajuntament de Palma 1982, preview and diagnosis report volume of the Revision of the General Municipal Planning Scheme: 115). If we are to believe Rafi, and also many other interviewees, this means either that before 1962, which is actually before prostitution and long before drug trafficking took root in Es Barri, the living conditions were precariously over-crowded, or that non-official inhabitants, that is, squatters for need, accessed abandoned housing. Without a serious study to back it up, I personally believe both things happened at once.

<sup>78</sup> Not that she knew the right jargon or wording, but in her own way, Rafi was well aware that the general planning scheme of that year stated that the area of Es Barri, known as Es Sindicat, was considered a developing unit in the form of a PERI given its state of deterioration

Barri Xino, Carabela and the Bar Cuco that was then next to it had also been a transport agency. At the time, there were three other groceries in the area too. There were plenty of people living there, not to speak of when the Americans came.

When the Americans arrived, she sold them plenty of beer. Among her customers, she also counted the sexual labourers, who bought from her things like bleach, pieces for their washing machines and, shampoo. Meanwhile, the relationship with her husband, who became an alcoholic and a gambling addict, deteriorated and they eventually legally separated. Rafi moved to a nearby neighbourhood of the so-called new city, at the other side of the avenues that were once the Renaissance ramparts.<sup>79</sup> Her most serious problems, though, began then: «The battle», as she refers to it, started at the beginning of the 1990s when several families of gypsies moved from Sa Calatrava to Es Barri because of the renewal scheme that had started there. She got caught up in a gypsy feud between the families of the Guillén and the Cortés related to drug trafficking.

Notice that Rafi views Sa Calatrava as the source of the evil drug trafficking represents. Other informants, such as Tòfol, a son of the last bootblack of the city and of Francisca, who passed away in 2015 (see Image 36, Appendix of images), holds the same theory: drug trafficking came from Sa Calatrava.<sup>80</sup> Sure, there is more to this story

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(Ajuntament de Palma 1985: 223). She actually could not believe she had been waiting for more than twenty years for the redevelopment projects to arrive.

<sup>79</sup> Although in 1990, she started living in this newer flat she had bought with a mortgage, she continued to pay the very low rent for the one in the street of Ferreria, the last place she inhabited in Es Barri. I have not really managed to find out the reason why she had to do this. During a conversation we had, she seemed to imply that she sublet her flat in Ferreria to others and that this gave her a higher degree of power against the expropriation that took place as from the mid-1990s, since tenants also received compensation. However, she did not really go into detail and she has ever since avoided talking to me about this question.

<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, some of Franquesa's informants argue it was the other way round, that Sa Calatrava became vilified as an extension of Es Barri/Sa Gerreria's social decay (Franquesa 2010). It is hard to tell who is right here but the view that holds that the decay follows illegal practices does not seem accurate enough. However, it seems that they all blame the neighbouring neighbourhood in a similar way Franquesa and I encountered when trying to locate the Xino (see Section 2.2.) Interestingly, though, Tòfol, maintains it was Es Barri that was polluted by Sa Calatrava's festive atmosphere. This is especially telling, since Tòfol was born and grew up in Sa Calatrava, and followed in many ways, and as many did at the time, the teachings of Franquesa's main informant, Toni Rotger, who actually argues the opposite, that Sa Calatrava became polluted by Es Barri and not the other way round as Rafi maintains.

than what the informants actually say. Under the headline «Exodus has begun», a press feature from 1989 explained how some residents had started to receive compensation for their derelict properties. The same press feature stated that many Roma drug-trafficking families had moved into the area (it does not clarify where from), squatting in the abandoned buildings and continued with their business thus causing panic amongst those who because of misfortune remained in the area (*Última Hora*, 12/01/1989).

Three months after this press feature, another newspaper announced that the Barri Xino had escaped the Mayor's control and was expanding its tentacles across the city towards other neighbourhoods that sooner or later would also become renewal sites. This article was illustrated with a map of the city and the different specialised areas catering for different vices (gangs, drugs, cocaine, female prostitution, male prostitution, crime and brothels.): «The arrival of the PERI means that pimps and delinquents leave for "other places"» (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 12/03/1989). These were the days of the decay that accompanied disinvestment. However, the era of disinvestment was not a bad thing for everyone. Take Rafi for instance.

Some people gossip about how she came to amass enough money to be able to buy the premises of her first bar. There seems to be a generalised suspicion that she got involved in the drug trade of the Cortés family, did dodgy business with them and this would explain why they attacked her. The Cortés owned the Bar Cuco, under the arcade. They had bought it from to a hard-working Catalan gypsy, Cuco, who apparently had nothing to do with drug trafficking and they used the place as a base. As soon as the flats were emptied, the Cortés would fill them. They actually occupied the whole building except for five different properties, amongst which, her grocery. They started to threaten her so she would leave the business and they even attacked her.

Rafi grew confident as the demolition work progressed. She was the only interviewee of a press feature to praise the work of the bulldozers. Others like Mari, were completely against it because renewal meant the loss of all of her customers (*Diari de Balears*, 20/10/2000). Once the building of the new state-funded Courthouse ended in 2000, and cameras were installed, the different drug clans gave up their

activities since these were constantly monitored and the police carried out several raids against them. That same year, these drug dealers and their families left Es Barri en masse, the authorities acquired the premises of Arcade Grocery by compulsory purchase so as to bring in needy families, open an old people's home, and in the same block, a municipal indoor swimming pool.

The drug problem was not solved, though, since new families, some of them also of a gypsy origin, restarted the dealing business, albeit on a much lower scale. Originally, the authorities were supposed to arrange a *dal* for Rafi with some kind of premises similar to those she had but elsewhere on the outskirts of the city, where what she viewed as the evicted rabble were fleeing to, such as in Es Vivero.<sup>81</sup> Worse still, the arrangement would be based on what she was paying at the time which was a low rent. At the end of the compulsory purchase process, Rafi received 1,300,000 pesetas (€7,813.16) from the City Council for the transfer rights, and 3,700,000 pesetas (€22,237.45) as compensation for the years she had left on her contract.<sup>82</sup>

With that money, she looked for and moved to another place by her own means in the very same square, next door to where she has her current bar. The price of the transfer of the lease on those new premises was worth 800,000 pesetas (€4,800). She reopened her shop and re-baptised it as *Casa Rafi*. Since there was plenty of building

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<sup>81</sup> The analysis Vives Miró (2008b) makes of the data provided by the Local Housing Authority, confirms Es Vivero as the second area out of eight to receive most of the displaced population from intervention unit 2B). Es Vivero is a peripheral neighbourhood that lacks the centrality Es Barri has. The first area to receive most of displaced inhabitants was the adjacent neighbourhood of Sa Calatrava. Unlike Es Vivero that mainly received the impoverished underclass mostly made up of different Roma communities, Sa Calatrava hosted the aged population since that is where the Urban Project built an old people's home.

However, not all the Roma left. Some, like the Portuguese gypsies of the Evangelic Church of Philadelphia, belonging to the Pentecostal Movement, remained in the area and even increased in number. When I arrived in the field in 2002, they would sit outside their homes near to the new court. Despite their strong rejection of the drug trade and use, alcohol and other vices, for Rafi, these people kept on giving a bad image to the neighbourhood. The same applied to the needy who queued at Zaqueo every evening, and which was opposite Rafi's where they would find a meal and, if lucky, a place to sleep. These were definitely not the «normal people» Rafi had been waiting for all those years. Notice that none of these people is included in the «us» she constantly uses. They are «they».

<sup>82</sup> These figures and other of the kind are based on personal communications. They are not necessarily accurate and are to be taken with caution. I record them here because, accurate or not, this is the information the informants gave to me.

works going on (the Urban Project, the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria, the new Courts, private renewals attracted by all the previous projects, etc.), she started to bring bread from a baker nearby and sold it to the bricklayers and other workers together with ham and cheese. When the baker shut down, because it got to the point where it only had junkies as clients, she began ordering frozen bread and had to buy an electric oven.

Although it was illegal, she did not have the required permits or pay the correct taxes, she began to make sandwiches at home. Then came the ready-made food she brought from home (mainly potato omelettes), and finally the machine for roasting whole chickens. Before she realised it she was selling beer, making sandwiches, and serving coffee on site. She soon after made room for chairs and tables, and overnight she had a bar and her customers had changed from being local women buying groceries and tinned food to men from outside the neighbourhood eating their lunch. Rafi decided to legalise this new business through her solicitor. They presented a project to the City Council but it was soon rejected on the basis that the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria had designated the site of her shop for renewal (R). To change from a shop to a bar would require a minimum of 50 square metres where she only had 40.<sup>83</sup>

Shrewd as she was, Rafi visited her neighbour who at the time had an empty shop behind her business and asked him if he would rent it out to her so she could add those

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<sup>83</sup> In the PEPRI, each single plot receives a generic letter that will tie future of the plot to a specific dealing. Those with an «I» remained just the same but this was only given to three sites in the PEPRI. Those with a «C» were to be conserved, and if necessary, they needed to be repaired, all costs ran by the owner. Those with an «R» had to be rehabilitated or restructured, also by their owners. «R» actually covers a wide range of actions, from recovering façades to redistributing rooms or even demolition followed by a faithful reconstruction. This depended on each single case.

Those with an «N» needed to be demolished and replaced by a completely new building or public space. Since 1995, when the last full version was written, the PEPRI went through several amendments, most of which making it easier for developers to intervene in the built environment. And because of this, but also because of unforeseen issues, an «I» and several «Rs» became «Ns», not to speak of the «Rs» that initially only needed an uplift and ended up being demolished. The last case I record of this happening is from 2009 when an «R» building housing several gypsy families collapsed: «Firemen evacuate eight families from a building of Socors Street» (Diario de Mallorca, 29/10/2009).

No one had actually predicted this would happen. As for the uses each letter has, this is also defined in the PEPRI. As Rafi mentions, in order to have a bar in an «R», there is a need of a minimum of 50 square metres, not to mention the other common requisites and restrictions for having a kitchen, handling food and as we will soon see, laying out a *terrassa* at the very front of her entrance.

extra metres to the 40 she already had. These metres had to be turned into what the law demanded: a kitchen and toilets. The owner of the part she already owned the lease on was not very happy because he saw that Rafi was going to invest more in the recently acquired back premises than in the front ones. Rafi replied that she had to do what she thought was best for her. Moreover, it did not seem very wise to invest a large amount of money in a property that belonged to someone else and for which she had a very poorly written contract, not even a lease (which was the one she had for the entrance premises she had first acquired when she moved her shop).

She then told the second owner where she was thinking of fitting the kitchen and toilets and asked him if he would sell her the whole property, to which this owner agreed. Not that she had the whole amount he requested but she then went to bargain with the bank for a mortgage tailored to her needs and that included her recently redeemed flat as a security in case she did not meet this possible new mortgage: «I went for it thinking to myself: God willing». The bank lent her €250,000 in 2004 of which she had only returned €30,000 by May 2009 at the rate of €1,500 per month. Following her own calculations, she then had around 16 years left to recoup her mortgage. From then on she went through the purgatory of asking for different prorogues so she could live out her dream of having a bar.

Meanwhile, petty drug-traffickers still used the adjacent public space for their dealings. They no longer lived in the neighbourhood but this one was still used as the market place, despite being a caricature of the activity of previous decades. In 2007, Rafi herself still had to put up with different bands of gypsy drug-dealing youths who were quarrelling over their turf. Rafi was well aware the national police knew in detail what was happening. She also knew they knew she knew. She suspects this is the reason why in February 2007 the very same national police frisked her own teen-age son, Marcelo, claiming that there was a police raid on drugs in the area. Interestingly, no drug-traffickers were around that day.

Rafi's indignation grew when in the space of one week the same police officer frisked her son twice and even accused him of masturbating in front of children. Rafi then proceeded to denounce the agent to the local police scared as she was of potential national police framing: «I know from experience these people are capable of placing



drugs in your pocket». She knows by experience because Marcelo's father was a well-known police himself. His nickname was *Orejas*, «Ears», indeed due to his physical attributes, but also to his acclaimed skill of knowing about any murky business going on in Es Barri in its Barri Xino heyday.

In 2008, Pili, a woman in her late forties who used to live in Es Barri in the 1980s told me Orejas had been a good friend of her brother's. On a Sunday, when there were not many people around in the Centre, and together with other members of their gang they assaulted a guy on Jaume III (a 1950s new-built boulevard with the most expensive boutiques in Ciutat, and built by planner Alomar). The victim opposed resistance. The police was alerted and they all began to run like hell. Orejas soon left Pili's brother behind. Amazingly, Gabi, Pili's brother would later include this urban sketch in his award-winning comic, *Historias del Barrio* (Beltrán and Seguí 2011). Pili explained how people like Orejas played on both sides, for the drug gangs and for the police. In time, Orejas actually became a police officer.

Rafi met him in the midst of her separation. She soon after had a son and a daughter to him. However, after four years of a relationship with him she discovered he was involved in the very same dark business he was supposed to chase. She soon left him and he was eventually taken to court and imprisoned for having crossed the line. There is therefore no room for doubt on why Rafi is adamantly opposed to whatever might remind her of a past she wants to bury and leave behind, and yet she still clings to Es Barri... The relation of police agents with the underworld is not in itself exceptional. Their labile position in between the lawful enforcement of order and the unlawful activities makes them prone to help at one point or other the «reproduction of vice». Some, like Orejas, who was from Es Barri, actually come from environments surrounded by these non-legal activities.<sup>84</sup>

There are not that many cases of confidants taking a step further and going on to wear a badge. There are also categories. Take for instance the more recent case of

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<sup>84</sup> Joan, a young researcher employed at the Universitat de les Illes Balears who used to live in Es Barri with his family when he was a child, remembers Orejas for being particularly violent with the gypsy traffickers. There are many urban legends surrounding this police agent. Some of them go as far as to put him as an important intermediary in the drug trafficking and the sex trade.

«Pepote» Gómez Navarro in 2006, a former head of the robbery unit of the national police. Here, Pepote not only managed to extort money from one of the major gypsy clans in drug trafficking on the island, that of «La Paca», but also used his influence to achieve the transfer under payments and threats to property in Es Barri.<sup>85</sup> These properties had belonged to the Cortés, one of the families involved in the feud Rafi experienced first hand. Likewise, not only did Pepote launder illegally obtained money, but also made a good profit on real-estate business since once it had been renewed, the price of the new property rocketed to over €1.5 million (Álvarez 2006).

This past, though, is well and truly alive and it takes many forms. Rafi's son soon got involved in fights and in May 2009, he was sentenced either to six-week's community service or to enter the reformatory for the same amount of time. Rafi believed she had a right to be furious because while the police agents frisked her son they seemed to ignore the fact drugs ran free in the streets and in the newly opened bars, and they were completely oblivious to the gypsy drug dealers and to what she thought were high numbers of homeless people hanging around and not giving a positive image so that people would come in and consume at her place.<sup>86</sup> Ever since 2007, Rafi would accuse Bar Flexas and Molta Barra of being involved in petty drug trafficking. In a constant attack which I initially attributed to an irrational jealousy for not being able to turn her own business into the money machine the other stylish bars seemed to have become, she would always point at their cooks as the main culprits.

Remember that as early as September 2007, when the four founding members of the future Molta Barra were refurbishing the now extinct S'Aixopluc, Rafi already claimed to know that one of them was hooked on cocaine. Furthermore, in October 2009 Rafi confirmed S'Aixopluc's involvement in drug trafficking. A friend of her

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<sup>85</sup> The origin of La Paca's clan is linked to Es Barri during the heyday of the Xino. Although now imprisoned after operating elsewhere in the city, the clan had acquired new-built property at intervention unit 2B.

<sup>86</sup> Take Zaqueo, at the other side of the square. Rafi argues that a queue of 200 people in dire need is not an image the newcomers appreciate after having paid a fortune for their renovated or new built apartments. In her opinion, the authorities need to do something about it. Moreover, she argues that Zaqueo is no more than a front-organisation that receives millionaire contributions, including a concert they organised and which the Spanish Queen Mother attended. Rafi wondered how they can only afford two warm meals a week.

oldest daughter actually bought cocaine there. A different day of that very same month, two tattooed guys who had been sitting at Rafi's, and who according to her were police confidants, offered her €300 per day for keeping cocaine behind her bar. She refused such an offer in disgust.

There was also the case of La Estrella. On 7<sup>th</sup> May 2010, La Estrella, the cook at Bar Flexas and former pop singer, was detained by the secret police for being in possession of a large piece of hashish and €400. She eventually paid a fine, was soon after released and returned to her kitchen. Of course, Rafi already knew about this. For instance, in October 2007 she told me one of her clients, a bricklayer working in the area, had bought €30 of hashish from La Estrella. However, bars were not the only place to buy drugs. Other spots existed in the streets near Mari's. Those areas also became a police target. In May 2009, Rafi was celebrating the fact that the police had detained six members of a gang that sold drugs (<http://todopolicia.com/foro/noticias-narcotrafico-t2415-90.html>, 29-05-2012).

A day after their detention, they were released and not long after they returned to their selling posts eventually being caught again later in the year. One sometimes wonders if Rafi herself was involved in such deals. On a morning of February 2009 just as she was telling me about two guys who had been detained at an illegal bar, at literally a one-minute walk from hers, a bloke trafficking in the back street, came in, asked her a for a few skins and left. In July 2010, at the eve of the smaller local celebrations organised by Canamunt (not the major party organised by Bar Flexas) and when everyone was queuing up to enter the major bars of the area, Rafi placed a mannequin at her front door. The mannequin held a piece of cardboard announcing «coca» after 12:00 pm .«Coca» can mean Majorcan sponge cake, a Majorcan version of pizza, and cocaine powder (see Image 30, Appendix of images).<sup>87</sup>

None of this helped her son and daughter. While he ended up accused and condemned to community service (training children in football), her daughter had to

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<sup>87</sup> With this move, Rafi had managed to make a public critique without necessarily putting at risk her credibility. The mannequin, which she has had for years, has recently gained notoriety and has become one of the main attractions to her bar, peeping over the staircase and dressed in fine lingerie when not wearing the official top of the Spanish national football team or dressed in the Majorcan traditional costume.

stop playing ball in the brand new square of intervention unit 2B (see Image 16, Appendix of images). However, this did not deter her from being in the street, where she got involved in a fight with a gypsy youth who used to live in the neighbourhood and she lost her front teeth which she now has to have replaced at a cost of €700. All of this makes Rafi feel there is a strong need for «new faces that bring positive changes to this neighbourhood», just like the young people who are acquiring properties, as in the new square of the 2B. However, she argues there is a big problem:

But you know what actually happens, don't you? They arrive because they see that there is a lot of investment going on in the form of the Courts, the theatre [in Sa Calatrava] and all of that [basically referring to the Urban projects] but after living here for three or four years they see the same stuff going on, nothing changes. These new things that have been built don't eradicate the bad image.

What Rafi really wants is to get rid of all these people since it will mean getting rid of the past and jumping into the wagon of riches the transformation of the Es Barri will bring. The irony, though, is that she also seems to be treated as part of the neighbourhood that is to vanish (the image 40PUTES has of her already hits her in this sense). Meanwhile, anything can happen. Just in case, since 2007, she has insured her bar for €300,000. Perhaps, she once said, she should have invested her savings in the 2B rather than on its immediacy. Notwithstanding, she is seriously considering transferring the lease of her premises to someone else. There would be a lot of interest. For instance, I remember a day in March 2009 when the bar was empty, except for Rafi and myself, and at that moment I was drinking a beer and filling in a sudoku.<sup>88</sup>

Two women came in and after each placing an order they asked Rafi directly if she would be interested in selling. Rafi answered she would. The women began to fantasise about how they would change the interior design of it all and now and again asked all sorts of details on the kind of clients Rafi had and on the chances of opening it

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<sup>88</sup> Not that I particularly like sudokus, but my aim was to become a familiar customer. I visited Rafi and Mari on a regular basis, normally every Friday. Whereas at Mari's I would engage in small talk with the neighbours and listen to their own conversations, at Rafi's I had the chance to take a seat at the bar or at a table and look as if I was chilling out. If the bar was empty, I would normally speak to Rafi about the neighbourhood and her week's activity. Filling in sudokus seemed less weird than reading or just standing there when other people were around. At first, either at Rafi's or at Mari's, people would make comments about my presence, but then I became just another regular, perhaps a little out of place but still a regular.

at nights. However, they found the space too small for it to serve *tapas*. When they left, Rafi confessed they were a heavy going pair, it was not the first time they had come to see her. Rafi's price for the transfer was then €150,000, besides the rent which she thought had to be realistic. The pair of women had already told her about a friend who loved to refurbish businesses and who was then looking into opening night bars in the area.<sup>89</sup> They thought Rafi was asking for far too much.<sup>90</sup>

It is obvious that Rafi's logic is geared to the exchange value of her life investment. Furthermore, her attitude is also imbued in an individualistic atmosphere towards the collective initiatives that take place in Es Barri. For instance, not until 2010, had Rafi belonged to the neighbours' association, only to avoid them giving her the look when she planned to open for the following *festes* to come, since she would also make money out of them. In fact, unlike other businesses in the neighbourhood, she never enjoyed the *festes'* activities in front of her business. The square of Mercadal was always left aside and activities (concerts, fires for cooking food, etc.) always found their way to other squares. Not that Rafi had a good relationship with other business people. She didn't join the Martians because they expected more work from her than she could actually do, and in addition she considered that the fee they set was far too high (there was a fee for being part of the *Ruta Martiana*).

Rafi also avoided the new bar association fearing it would only bring the same trouble, although now in an institutionalised manner. Rafi's war though, is not only one against drugs. When Mari the grocer officially had to close down her grocery in 2008, and decided to carry on with her activities in an illegal manner, that is, without a permit, Rafi showed fierce opposition.<sup>91</sup> The reason for such this attitude was that most

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<sup>89</sup> The *Ruta Martiana* was not working yet, it would so as from October 2009. On later reflections I have thought these women knew what was going to happen in the neighbourhood and how it was soon to become Es Bar-ri. If this were so, there are important insights to be gained from the how business agents target and plan their moves once a neighbourhood is ripe for investment.

<sup>90</sup> Since April 2010 Rafi's is also on sale on the net. She is asking for €540,000 ([http://merkata.com/venta\\_de\\_locales\\_oficinas\\_traspasos/bar\\_restaurante\\_casa\\_rafi-baleares-131353.html](http://merkata.com/venta_de_locales_oficinas_traspasos/bar_restaurante_casa_rafi-baleares-131353.html), 07-06-2010). In October 2015, the price Rafi is asking for is €600,000, although she would bargain down to €500,000 if necessary.

<sup>91</sup> Rafi and Mari have never met to discuss their differences of opinion. They share a few clients who, together with Marcelo, Rafi's son, convey the information from one to the other.

of Mari's income came from serving refreshments, drinks and sandwiches from behind the counter to the collection of people who gathered there. These people ranged from the drug dealers that prowled in the streets immediately surrounding the grocery to the old pensioners who spent their whole life gossiping there.<sup>92</sup> It is so much the fact that Rafi felt Mari was serving the unlawful, but that it was unfair competition. Rafi's attitude was not surprising.

At the end of the day, she was claiming for a radical understanding of regulations with no room for the unexpected, for the labile nor for post hoc negotiations. Those were the regulations she had abided by when changing her own grocery into a bar, and which she had been told she needed to follow blindly. However, each time she wanted to follow them for her own benefit, these very same regulations went against her. For instance, for eight years (2005-2013) Rafi had been asking the authorities to allow her to have a terrace in the square, just like other bars had elsewhere (notably the square of Quartera). Her applications were repeatedly rejected on various grounds: her bar did not have enough square metres for her to be able to use exterior public space, the Mercadal square was not designated for this use, some neighbours opposed to it, etc.

Once she actually managed to pay to have the terrace but in the end her project was rejected and her money was not returned. Then she decided to complain to the local press. However, they never came to interview her.<sup>93</sup> One day she saw the former conservative Mayor, Cirer (2003-2007), walking in front of her business. She stopped

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<sup>92</sup> Social anthropologists have established that gossiping is not a trivial matter. As Epstein (1969) pointed out, a community of interest webs around gossip all in all reaffirming and clarifying norms of behaviour among those who are involved. Most importantly, it is a means of control as well as a way of gaining or losing esteem and prestige. At the end of the day, gossip sets norms of behaviour, maintains or sanctions them, and diffuses them (Epstein 1969: 117). Other more recent contributions on gossip across an array of cases can be found in Stewart and Strathern (2004), and Demerath and Korotayev (2015).

<sup>93</sup> This was not the only «injustice» she felt the authorities had committed towards her. Rafi had quite a shocking relation with the public administration. In November 2009, following the shock wave after the collapse of a building in the street of Socors, she denounced the neighbour upstairs because she thought the apartment would collapse onto her business. The fire brigade came and when they finished their propping-up work they charged her, not the missing neighbour, €400! She refused to pay so the authorities blocked her account. On another occasion, the social services asked her if she could organise meals for needy people. She served 12 menus a day to people she thought were not that needy since they all drove expensive cars. Astonishingly, the social services never paid her!

her, gave her a load of documents and photos, and begged her to solve her problem. The politician left and never solved the problem. Not long after, the son of one of the Philadelphian Portuguese gypsies, the scrap merchant who has had a pushcart parked near Mari's for the last twenty years,<sup>94</sup> parked his van right in front of the bar, hiding the entrance to the any passerby.

Rafi rang the police and in a matter of minutes three agents arrived, they asked her to calm down and the van driver to leave. Rafi's conclusions are that either someone wanted her to leave and to sell her property at a very low price, or that her terrace affected the small-scale drug trafficking that was still going on. Whatever the reason, the fact was that she was not earning what she thought she needed to to pay off her mortgage. In such a warm country, a terrace is an important source of income for bars, and she always counted on that and, of course, on the renewal that would eventually bring clients. Rafi finally managed to have a terrace in 2013. However, it seems the terrace arrived for other reasons, and not due to her constant complaints.

In May 2012 the local press announced that a building standing between the squares of Mercadal (where Rafi has her business) and of Farina (where Mari has hers) would soon become the first urban apart-hotel in the city: «The tourism establishment ... will open in one year's time and it will specialise in winter long stays» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 31-05-2012). The building was known to the oldest locals as Ca'n Bassa (Bassa's Place) and it dates back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Within the last decade, it has been sold three times and none of the new owners ever attempted to do a thing there. The press feature explained this would be a four-star apart-hotel of around 2,000 metres<sup>2</sup>. The remodelling of the building would create 35 different suites ranging from 34 to 75 m<sup>2</sup>-large –each of which would have a small fitted kitchenette- as well as a swimming pool with a solarium, a gym, a bar and a small restaurant.

The two Swedish business partners in charge of the project agreed on the fact that Ciutat's Historic Centre is a very attractive site for European snowbirds.<sup>95</sup> This was the

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<sup>94</sup> He bought this pushcart from someone who had had it parked near Mari's for a long time.

<sup>95</sup> The conversion of old central housing into hotels, especially if the building is of a well-off origin is not unique to Ciutat. See Totah (2014) for a study on the city of Damascus before the current war.

main reason they advertised the project to Scandinavian pensioners who want to live in a Mediterranean climate in winter since it is so cold in their home countries. The feature reasoned that these Northern pensioners were not keen to purchase second homes given the risks involved due to their lack of experience and because many already had their own summer homes back in the Baltic sea. The apart-hotel would have rooms to let for the average tourist and there would be plenty of leisure activities involving walking within the Historic Centre and trekking in the Tramuntana mountain range (now a UNESCO world heritage site).<sup>96</sup>

It seems that the owners of this apart-hotel tried to influence the displacement of Zaqueo. Most probably, they were also behind the clearing of cars from the square which favoured the appearance of Rafi's terrace (but only because they wanted one of their own). Rafi even held the belief that such initiatives would get rid of what was left of prostitution and drug trafficking. Nevertheless, such a small slither of hope was very unstable. In August 2012 the main opposition party at the City Council (*Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears*) denounced through the media that thanks to the information they had gathered, they had noticed an increase in drug trafficking. In their opinion, this was due to the major cutbacks that had caused a 50% reduction in local police presence in Es Barri (*Diario de Mallorca*, 02-08-2012).

Having said this, a long-time resident of a nearby neighbourhood told me that perhaps the greater demand for drugs had to do with the increase in bars and the building sites of boutique hotels since bricklayers would also consume drugs. In any case, the City Council governed by *Partit Popular* immediately adopted measures. One the one hand it announced it would carry out a community project to detect the real extent of the problem and the need of the residents and businesspeople. On the other, it

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<sup>96</sup> Other activities on offer were playing golf somewhere in Majorca's hinterland, sailing from a nearby marina, and even using the premises of the neighbourhood's sport centre, which is just across the square. This sports centre is behind the arcade under which Rafi had her first grocery. Interestingly, the sports centre was one of the projects the URBAN financed, and it was initially intended to improve the living conditions of the marginal population that lived in the decayed Es Barri. Thus, instead of serving its original purpose, that of easing the life of the needy and impoverished people that inhabited the decayed neighbourhood of the 1980s and 1990s, the sports centre seemed to have become some kind of an asset for a particular strain of luxury Scandinavian tourism... The logic behind this shift is really perverse since it uses poverty to attract funds for the enjoyment of the well-off.



committed to increasing the police presence in the area, which already had special patrols assigned to controlling the good behaviour of the clients of the *Ruta Martiana* (Diario de Mallorca, 06-08-2012). Thus, despite the rise in drug trafficking, there are measures to not only stop it, but to also eradicate whatever is still left of it.

Since 2013, the number of boutique hotels similar to this Swedish-owned one, has increased. These openings reveal the latest step in the relation the factors of production at play maintain in creating new value in the tourism economy of Ciutat and they do so bearing in mind the days in which Es Barri was a no-go area. Just as bars and neighbours' associations did in their time, boutique hotels also praise themselves for having saved the neighbourhood from decay and for offering new opportunities. Take for instance the following press feature that ponders the conversion of a derelict palace into a hotel under the title "Sleeping like the nobles of Palma":

The rise of boutique hotels not only has a positive effect in the ... heritage of the city, but also "in the whole of its surroundings, because they increase in value", maintains ... the Hotelier Association of Palma. This is supported from the point of view of the guest, as in the case of the former consul of Germany to the island ... While waiting for the arrival of the consul that had to relieve him, he rented an apart-hotel ... when it first opened in 2013, and he was astonished by the transformation of the neighbourhood of Sa Gerreria. 'When I used to live in the island between 1994 and 1998, no one dared to walk at night in this corner of Palma, because junkies and prostitutes were in control of the streets. Nowadays it has become a very nice area and one feels extra safe', he states (Wilms 2015: 15).

The quote supports the idea of 'improvement' and highlights who benefits from it all. It basically confirms the fact that Rafi's place for making a living has a history, one very much linked to the accumulation of capital in the urban milieu, that feeds off the efforts of those who either just live there or those who live there and also invest time in consciously improving it. Improvements, though, take different forms. As Rafi told me in April 2015, one of the Swedish owners had given €50,000 to the Mayor in government between 2011 and 2015, so he could have a square free of cars. Furthermore, and this does seem to be a fact, this very same Swedish owner offered €1,000 to Rafi if she protested against the presence of Zaqueo...<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> None of these rumours deters Catalina, the businessperson whose quote introduces this first part of the thesis, from praising these boutique hotels and indeed, the presence of the tourists.

Perhaps, without Rafi being aware of it, the Swedish hotel and the new sanitation wave of the City Council will put an end to her business. In either case, whether she stays or leaves, there is a second reading. Rafi will always win out. Either she will have upper-market clients or she will be able to sell for a better price. In 2015 Rafi was approached again. Some German developers want to acquire her property and join it to the one they have acquired between hers and the Swedish boutique hotel. They want to build an underground car park too for which they want Rafi to leave her terrace for one and a half years and then sell to them the property in which she could remain as a tenant. Rafi would ask for compensation since she would lose clients.

As for the price of her business, she reckons it is now worth €600,000, which depending on what she is offered with regards to maintaining her business, could go down to €500,000. Whatever the price is, her property will gain value and Rafi will make a good deal thanks to her perseverance in staying in Es Barri, and for which she has had to change her shell just as the hermit crab does. Yet the tactics deployed to gain something out of the renewal and gentrification process are many and they are not always straightforward. Let us now look at another singular case that, despite highlighting local ruses within such a transforming context, nevertheless signals the rather structural and systemic frames that establish the objective conditions of the experience of gentrification through the practices of both newcomers and old-timers.

#### **1.2.3.2. The organic co-op and *Ca na Mari*, the mechanical grocery**

I collected our (my family's and mine) first box containing organically produced vegetables on 28<sup>th</sup> March 2008. This was a Canamunt initiative. Each consumer paid eleven Euros to *Això és Vida*, AV [This is Life], for a box full of seasonal vegetables. Of these eleven Euros, ten were for the actual vegetables and one for transportation costs. In time the price rocketed, reaching the fifteen Euros that people paid for them in 2011. Together with the association of neighbours of Es Puig de Sant Pere, Canamunt, now

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She did so again at a round table organised for the 2015 *festes* by an autonomist-anarchist collective the members of which have been meeting at the premises of a bookshop of Es Barri in 2010. Then, Catalina argued that hotels and tourists breathe life into the neighbourhood and give work to everybody, work without which businesses would have to close down, just as they had had to in Sa Calatrava.

also a responsible consumption group, opened the door for AV in Ciutat. Together with other organisations of its kind since 26<sup>th</sup> September 2010, AV takes part in an organic market each Tuesday and Saturday in a square far away from Es Barri but within the perimeter of the Centre.

The logic behind the organic-box initiative was simple. AV presented itself as a group of young organic farm producers from across Majorca who decided to organise a co-op after years of individually attending village markets, catering for restaurants and individual consumers. In AV's view, co-ops were the most ethical and sustainable business model that existed for changing society and for transforming the current economic model through the implementation of specific alternatives that have nothing to do with what AV refers to as the multinational false eco-brands. AV's bet was fundamentally, so they stated, on knowing and talking to collectively organised clients without the need for outdated patterns based on the laws of trade and with the aim of placing organic and local products within everybody's reach and not only for the odd member of the elite.

The object of this thesis is not to enter into discussion with AV on what the elite is and is not. In any case, it is interesting to highlight that not one single old-timer of Es Barri is involved in the Canamunt co-op.<sup>98</sup> The commercial solution AV originally

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<sup>98</sup> Many have been the authors who have questioned the extent of the food justice implications of this kind of consumption under the tags of ethical, sustainable, and local. See, for instance, Bedore (2010) for a comprehensive literature review on the issue, Harris (2009) for a challenge on the scepticism of such critiques I have mentioned, and Johnston et al (2009) for a call to understand the relations among social movements' innovations and market adaptation towards organic and local food. Andersen (2011) argues for an understanding of the moral complexity of organic food consumption and enters the household in order to look for strategies of food provisioning. Whereas the contributions found in the volume edited by Blay-Palmer et al (2013) return to idea of construing transformative communities through practices of food consumption, Alkon (2013) explores the socio-nature dialectics found in the production and onsumption of local and organic food.

Starr (2010) examines the Polanyian literature that seeks to explore this process as the re-embedding of market exchanges in social relations. In a different order of things, whereas Seyfang (2006) praises local organic food networks as an advanced form of what she comes to call ecological citizenship, Jarosz (2008) aptly argues that these alternative food networks are not something to describe merely but rather to explain as a result of the uneven development implicit in urbanization and rural restructuring. Her findings show that the picture is not that amusing for many farmers who do not meet their making-a-living expectations although it seems that expectation in consuming products via alternative provisioning does fulfil the expectations for status distinction many seek (Paddock 2015). From an urban design and

found was that of the weekly organic basket. This basket, which is actually a box, allowed AV to attain reasonable prices since it dispensed with intermediaries and earned a 100% on the production. Each box contained the same kind of vegetables, between ten and twelve products, with very small weekly variations: they were always seasonal products and they were the same for all. Two years later, in 2010, the initiative had spread across the city to different organisations.<sup>99</sup>

As a veteran organic farmer from the time of the back-to-the-country-movement of Majorca in the early 1980s told me, despite it not being a new idea, it may well be the first time ever that such an initiative found success. The key to this success was owed to the responsible consumption groups. These groups had a history of their own in Ciutat, one tied to the politicisation of responsible consumption in an era in which Majorca had become almost a synonymous of the hedonistic consumption fostered by the tourist industry. Although short, most probably since 2003, the history of this movement had become so rich that there were different currents that geminated into distinctive strands such as those represented by *Realiment* and *Agrohorizontal*.<sup>100</sup> The

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planning stance, Born and Purcell (2006) alert us of the dangers of the local trap by accounting the relation between scale and food systems. For an example on how intermediaries work within these systems see Rogers and Fraszczak (2014).

There are also social anthropologists dealing with the subject and they mainly do so by working on the relation between the commodity form (something also stressed by most of the geographers mentioned) and the potential of the social movements promoting alternative food practices. In this vein, see Pratt (2007) who argues about how alternative spaces end up being colonised (an idea also highlighted by Fraser et al 2013). Against conceiving as «alternative» the movements that pivot around non-mainstream food production and provisioning practices, Wilson (2013) argues for the use of «autonomy». Nonini (2013) looks at how the contentious politics of local-food movements within the global system are misrecognised since they can still serve, despite their limitations, to redress injustices against the poor and the marginalised, something explored by Zitcer (2014) from the opposite pole of exclusiveness.

For a wider understanding of how commodity fetishism fits ethical consumption on a wider scale than that of just foodstuffs see Carrier (2010). A rather different approach coming from marketing studies and based on the enchantment of ethical consumption instead of commodity fetishism –and starting with a humorous account on what commitment to community supported agriculture is about- can be found in Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007).

<sup>99</sup> For an apologetic ostracism of the intermediaries from the organic food chain that links in happy, utopic producers and consumers, see La Trobe (2007).

<sup>100</sup> The organisational, consumption and impact principles that drive *Agrohorizontal* are several, among which I highlight the following in order of importance to them: vegetarianism, not doing things by halves, accessibility for all, to protect small producers, healthy food, solidarity, to eliminate middlemen, ecological and environmental values, responsible

latter, at the time based in Es Barri, was older and had stronger links to a libertarian and anti-capitalist view of the world than the former, not to mention that, as consumers, they all saw themselves as producing organic food together with the so-called organic producers.

This was achieved through holding meetings with the organic producers, scheduling the nature and timetables of their crops and even helping in several tasks on their farms.<sup>101</sup> I witnessed one of the most striking examples of this consumers' production at an assembly held on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2010 in Son Durí. This is the farm of one of the members of AV. We spent the morning at a workshop in which planted aromatic herb nurseries. These future bushes would be planted next to the crops and would act as deterrents for insects and pests. In this assembly, members of Agrohorizontal accused those of AV of having derailed from their original commitment to a transformative model, since they now served baskets of vegetables to anyone under the cover of consumption spots (distribution spots, normally shops) rather than responsible groups.

Agrohorizontal argued that clients of consumption spots only picked up the boxes and did not engage in the transformative politics these boxes represented. Thus, they did not take an interest for «producing together with the producers», something that, in theory, responsible consumer groups did. To cut it short, consumption spots were not consumption groups. I guess in their critique of consumption spots the members of Agrohorizontal had in mind organisations such as that of Canamunt, the members of which knew nothing, or near to nothing, of the whole history that lay behind these initiatives. Most of the Canamunt members thought they were benefitting local organic

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consumption, consumption of seasonal products, local consumption, quality of the product, social change, collective learning, collective responsibility, respect for basic rights within production, anti-capitalism and involvement in local and global struggles. These are often contradictory principles. Some middle men actually make products accessible, not to speak of their roles in fostering local networks.

<sup>101</sup> Despite several exceptions, such as that of Lang (2010) who offers a brief evolution of how community-supported agriculture has worked in the USA, the oblivious treatment of the productive side of consumers is commonplace. For instance, in answering their own question, who are the organic consumers, Hughner et al. (2007) completely miss out all of these productive aspects that seem so important to this type of that people who emphasise the political side of consumption.

farmers as well as their own diets. The issue is whether in order to receive a basket one should, besides paying, not only commit to something else, but also share the pedigree of history, and the «struggle» that goes with it.

Agrohorizontal got in touch with Canamunt back in January 2008. I actually received a forwarded email message from Canamunt on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2008 inviting all members of the association to attend a presentation on the organic basket initiative. On 31<sup>st</sup> January, two Canamunt members, Sara and Lluç, a couple in their early-forties who lived in Es Barri and were activist founders of Agrohorizontal, known to everyone as *Caragols* [Snails], promoted the initiative which, as we have seen, became a success. I picked up my organic veggies once a fortnight until June 2010 when I decided to leave the field (although I have returned now and again for the odd interview or just for the sake of not losing ground). Throughout those two and a half years the numbers of consumers in Canamunt's responsible consumption group did not rise much, they were almost constant, always between ten and sixteen people.

However, the press (and also occasionally the TV) covered the initiative in a disproportionate manner. It was as if they were amazed by the fact that active, responsible consumers had engaged with ecological principles. At least, amazed to the extent of eating organically produced food delivered to their association's door:

Fresh vegetables in the basket without having to go to the supermarket (*Diario de Mallorca*, 06-05-2008).

These are fresh, healthy and good vegetables (*Diario de Mallorca*, 17-04-2009).

How to say goodbye to the intermediary (*Manjaria* 3, January 2010).

300 families eat out of organic baskets without intermediaries (*Diari de Balear*, 21-06-2010).

The organisation of Canamunt's co-op was simple. Someone waited for AV to bring the boxes every Friday evening to the Flassaders Social Centre, where Canamunt had a room. Then, with the help of whoever was around, this person would take the boxes to the assigned room. The consumers would arrive and they would put the contents of their box into their own baskets. Boxes were assigned randomly to avoid any kind of preference since there were always some vegetables that looked better than others did. I remember that, at first, Lluïsa, working at the library of the university, was in charge (see Image 37, Appendix of Images). Then came Muriel, a secondary-school teacher, and the last one I met was Tòfol, who would receive us while practicing tai chi in the

middle of the hall of the Centre Social Flassaders. Later in time, the boxes were left in this very same hall. This gave greater visibility to the project.

Coincidentally, in 2008, the same year the organic consumption initiative began in Es Barri, Ca na Mari, the grocery mentioned to earlier (and which I refer to as Ca na Pepa in Section 2.3.), closed down.<sup>102</sup> Mari, the owner, was two years short of retirement. The local press covered the closure extensively: «The end of an era in the Historic Centre. The last neighbourhood grocery begins to empty its shelves after a history of 32 years serving food» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 11-06-2008), and «Mari's grocery» (*Diari de Balears*, 17-06-2008). This media attraction was not at all new to Mari. One could easily construct a history of the renewal process in Es Barri by reading through the interviews she gave or the press features that highlighted the heritageable building where she had her business until 2008. Most of them though, appeared from the mid 2000s and conveyed a sense of loss of an old life style:

Bombing over Medina Mayurqa [Ciutat of Mallorca in transliterated Arabic]. The PERI of Sindicat [the name the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria had in those days] foresees the destruction of a large number of traditional architectonic buildings (*El Día 16 de Balears*, 26-08-1990).

In the streets of Bauló and Sant Bonaventura and the square of Bon Consell. When the lack of concern leads to street decay (*Última Hora*, 01-06-1991).

David continues to battle Goliath. Small shops in Palma show resistance to the department stores (*Dominical - Última Hora*, 26-09-1999).

The last survivors of the neighbourhood of Sa Gerreria miss the neighbours. Speculation has finally scared the last residents away (*Diari de Balears*, 29-10-2000). Bulldozers are pulling down [the street of] Hostal d'en Bauló. With this demolition, the City Council gets rid of part of the old urban layout of the historic centre (*Diari de Balears*, 21-08-2006).

'I brought a basket of jujube-tree fruit to sell in the grocery, and I had to eat all of them by myself! The grocer of Ca'n Che, Mari, laments that nobody wants to buy the autumn fruit from her anymore (11-11-2006, *Diari de Balears*).

The witness of the 'Che' ice creams. Mari's father opened the businesses in 1929 and she maintained it, and despite the eviction [of her own grocery across the street] it maintains his imprint (*Diario de Mallorca*, 13-05-2010).

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<sup>102</sup> The relation is actually more direct than expected at first sight. Mari's main clients have been evicted throughout the last two decades so as to make space for the ones who came in after. Some of these new inhabitants became her customers but most of them only bought the odd product. The grocery is no longer an essential business for the residents. This is because the produce she sells, its quality and its price, do not attract neighbours anymore.

The fashionable neighbourhood does not want to die of success. The residents denounce that the booming night-leisure offer disturbs their resting hours and dirties the streets (*Diario de Mallorca*, 12-09-2010).

Quartera [square] Mondays. Politicians and managers speculate with Sa Gerreria. Today, the neighbourhood's youth meet in assembly "to change the world" (*Diario de Mallorca*, 06-09-2011).

Most of the vegetables Mari sold –besides plenty of other products such as hams, cheese, yogurts, biscuits, etc.- were not from AV, and they probably were not even organic or at least labelled as such. When I first met Mari in 2003, the grocery was alive with people coming in and out (see Images 31-36, Appendix of images). Most of them only bought the odd item. Or asked for a drink to consume there. They entered there as one would enter a café, to see people and to talk about whatever was the subject of the day. Some would ask for advice, specific help, get their letters delivered there and sometimes even have them read to them. Mari also centralised Christmas aid bags brought in by students of relatively well-off families who attended nearby Catholic schools, always under the supervision of the parish commissary of Santa Eulàlia.

Those who gathered there shared time, problems and gave each other support at least just by listening to each other in everyday informal chats. There, Mari would offer a soft drink or a ham sandwich and would listen from her stool, ready to thread neighbourhood stories together for those who wished to listen, among whom, of course, the anthropologist. I continued to go to the place since it offered an unusual source of information of a vanishing network of people who belonged to a previous era in the neighbourhood, wherever its limits stood. Not only were these people residents in Es Barri long before the City Council announced the renewal projects in the mid 1980s (and that only began to take place during the mid 1990s) but they were there long before the Barri Xino sprawled in time and space from the mid 1970s until the first evictions of the mid-1990s (see Section 1.4.3. for a little more on the Barri Xino; see Image 1, Appendix of images).

With the renewal schemes, the Xino started to retreat, although it remained alive long after in specific sites that seem to work as a reminder of the city's geography of evil. Even after their eviction, many of those residents still visit Mari, just for the sake of chatting and keeping their collectivity alive. In a certain way, she has also become part of the neighbourhood's collective memory, and one might argue that she is even



part of the collective memory of Ciutat (see Images 10 and from 31 to 36, Appendix of images). The choice of this term, «collective memory», is not arbitrary. I have already argued when referring to Jaume Belló's personal view on the name and the physical limits of the neighbourhood, something widely shared by other people at Ca na Mari, that common practice in common spaces bond people to people.

They do so to the extent of actually defining their relations in spatial terms. As Halbwachs (1980) argues, these practices among group members and in relation to space are sources of their own collective memory:

Now suppose ... houses and streets are demolished or their appearance and layout are altered. The stones and other materials will not object, but the groups will. This resistance, if not in the stones themselves, at least arises out of their long-standing relationships with these groups ... This resistance can emanate only from a group. There is no mistaking this point. Urban changes - the demolition of a home, for example - inevitably affect the habits of a few people, perplexing and troubling them ... [A] group does not stop with a mere display of its unhappiness, a momentary burst of indignation and protest. It resists with all the force of its traditions, which have effect. It searches out and partially succeeds in recovering its former equilibrium amid novel circumstances. It endeavours to hold firm or reshape itself in a district or on a street that is no longer ready-made for it but was once its own. ... The walls against which they have built their shops, the material framework enclosing them, and the roofs sheltering them have become integral parts of the group. To lose their location in the pocket of a certain street, or in the shadow of some wall or church, would be to lose the support of the tradition that recommends them and gives them their unique reason for existence (Halbwachs 1980: 133-5).

Thus, for Halbwachs, collective memory internally reinforces social groups while relating it to their context. Yet, interestingly, what I would like to draw attention to is how certain groups actually become part of the collective memory of the larger context in which they are to be found. The very same resistance to renewal that helps to build the previously mentioned inner collective memory –not necessarily opposing it but certainly stoically remaining in place while it was on the move- also works externally to the group. Mari and the old timers who gather at her grocery, have become part of the collective memory not only of the neighbourhood but also of the whole city.

As the extensive press features on her and her business prove, her place gathers a collectivity made up by customers who happen to be neighbours, all of which have become a kind of living heritage. Take the case of Roberto, an Uruguayan living statue

who has resided in Es Barri long enough to know all of its nooks and crannies. Roberto finds plenty of commonalities between Ca na Mari and the grocery of his home village back in Uruguay: «Those rare cute groceries are coming to an end. We need to support them by all means!». In this vein, in July 2010, Canamunt published its first issue of the quarterly bulletin *Es Brut de Canamunt*, in clear reference to the name the most gruesome area of the Barri Xino received, *Es Brut*, «brut» meaning dirty in Catalan (for its location see Image 1, Appendix of images).

The two main features are dedicated to what could be agreed to be the most valuable heritageable assets Es Barri has: the *festes*, although these have little to do now with what they once were. Under the headline «Mari from Che's: "I don't want to leave"»,<sup>103</sup> the then secretary of Canamunt, Tina, writes:

Mari is the living memory of our neighbourhood, a survivor of the different phases that have configured the history of the area. She conserves a prodigious memory full of details, besides a personal archive of press cuttings and photographs that help her to thread together her memories. These are memories of a past that although it is slowly vanishing away, she has known how to safeguard from her bastion in Hostal d'en Bauló Street (Codina 2010, 2).

Mari's history is completely linked to her little yet powerful *terroir*. In 1929, her father, Joaquín Aznar, arrived in Majorca from Alacant. He was only 16 years old and he immediately began to work in an ice-cream workroom in the very same Bauló Street, now known as Hostal d'en Bauló. He sent all of his salary to his widower father and his five siblings and only received accommodation, meals, shoes and a haircut. In time he learnt the business, acquired the premises where Mari now receives her clients and friends and, together with one of his brothers, he established his own ice-cream workroom, which now made and sold to the public tiger-nut milk,<sup>104</sup> and he named it

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<sup>103</sup> *Che*, in Spanish, written *Xe* in Catalan, is a widespread expression in most of the country of València, to which Alacant, the home province of Mari's father, belonged. It is used as the English «hey», «see», and many other words that are used in the English language to show surprise, astonishment and other similar moods. Many Valencians living away from the country of València may be nicknamed Che/Xe, as was the case of Mari's father. Notice that the Spanish Che also has a widespread use in certain Latin American countries, especially Argentina. This is the reason why we know Ernesto Guevara as El Che. I ignore if both the Catalan-Vaencian version and the Spanish-Argentinian one are related.

<sup>104</sup> Tiger-nut milk is something very much related to the country of València. It is such a big craze there that I even remember how Mari, whose father was Valencian, tried to convince a 15-

*Ca'n Che*, Che's Place. When Mari's sister eventually took over the business she turned it into a sweet shop, and thus no longer made ice cream.

The ice-cream shop remained opened until 1989, when it became a grocery. Mari, who was born in 1946, worked in there both while her father ran the ice-cream workroom and after. When she got married in 1974, she opened a grocery opposite the sweet shop, in the same street of Hostal d'en Bauló. She paid around €3,000 for the transfer of the lease on the premises. The place was known as *Ca na Mari*. The grocery became a meeting place. Whereas men would meet at the bar, women would sit at *Ca na Mari* and gossip and exchange views on whatever topic of conversation took their interest. Getting married also meant leaving her father's home. She moved with her husband to a nearby neighbourhood outside of the Centre, a 10-minute walk from her grocery.

Her sister, older than her and unmarried, remained in charge of taking care of *El Xe*. In those days there was plenty of activity. People would come to the potteries, transport agencies would receive from and send goods to the villages on a constant basis and there was market day. *Es Barri* was the entrance to the city from the countryside. There was a business on the groundfloor of every building: a dairy, a dry cleaner's, there was even a place specialised in pita-fibre brushes for whitewashing walls, shoe warehouses, newsagents, bars, etc. Mari recalled everything was in the street so that everyone could access it. She was very conscious of the fact that all of this stopped in the 1970s with the arrival of tourism. Although tourism had already arrived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is right to say that it rocketed from the end of the 1960s and first half of the 1970s.

Many people from *Es Barri* moved elsewhere for what they saw as better jobs, and for better housing too. Mari remembers how those who left first were renters who had found new jobs and had no property in *Es Barri*. Those residents who owned their property were more reluctant to leave. This was the case for her sister. Mari had already left when she got married although she went every day to her business in *Es*

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year-old Roma mother back in July 2006 to give tiger-nut milk to her child instead of bottled milk. This was partly for a laugh but the arguments she gave would have made more than one doubt she was not serious.

Barri. If the neighbours happened to leave for good, they would become proprietors while living elsewhere. Then there were those who were proprietors already, many of whom left their property abandoned. Others filled their empty property with an increasingly lower profile of people, contributing both to increase the population density and to accelerate the process of decay, mostly due to a lack of maintenance.<sup>105</sup>

Finally, there were those owners who had to put up with frozen rents and who, unless there was a change in the law, could not actually use the the rent to maintain their properties. These rents actually froze for good with the Urban Rent Act of 1964 (Boletín Oficial del Estado 1964) and together with other influential processes that favoured the decay of Es Barri, they allowed an unseen power to decide whether tenants could remain in place under the same rental conditions as when they arrived, and even pass on their rights to their kin. At first sight, the late Francoist character of this Urban Rent Act was a kind of blessing for those people who year after year had to put up with continuous increases in their rents. It thus meant an important step towards the technocrat period that followed the previous autarchy that had prevailed since the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9).

This law came in five years after the beginning of the «Spanish Miracle» that technocrats of the Opus Dei favoured from 1959.<sup>106</sup> Only three years before, a new Land and Urban Planning Act was approved (Boletín Oficial del Estado 1956). This act, for which the Majorcan planner Alomar was responsible (he also renewed the Centre in the 1940s and 1950 by making it «Historic»), allowed and favoured the liberalisation of land to be developed and sold to new owners. The 1964 Urban Rent Act also froze rents. It put an end to new leases since they would mean meagre benefits for the owners who would prefer to keep their properties empty and decaying. Of course, many just carried on collecting low rents and did not renovate their properties.

In turn, this meant the production of new property consumers who would need to look for new homes in the new enlargements of the Spanish cities. Meanwhile, thanks

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<sup>105</sup> I review this abandonment, also known as filtering process, in Section 1.4.2.

<sup>106</sup> This «miracle» meant an unforeseen rural exodus that followed the development of industry, important infrastructures, and mass tourism, the latter of which especially affected the Balearic Islands to the extent of transforming them into the tourist society we know today.

to the «Miracle» they would have access to savings so as to contribute to the building credit system. In many ways, such a State strategy meant the slow death of inner cities, not only because of the obvious abandonment, but also because of the new prospects created elsewhere in the cities. Alternatively, though, since the Urban Rent Act of 1964 did not explicitly forbid subletting, many renters sublet to others without necessarily letting the owners know. Thanks to this latter measure, many renters became intermediaries of their own rented property, and this was especially significant in the old built environments of many Spanish city centres.

The amendment of the Urban Rent Act of 1994 (Boletín Oficial del Estado 1994) sanitised what was perceived to be the messy solution found in 1964, by expressly forbidding subletting, allowing rent increases every five years after signing a contract, limiting the cases of rent transmission, etc. This revision translated into giving free way to the major redevelopment strategies that had been announced across the Spanish geography since the arrival of the so-called democratic institutions of the late 1970s. This was the case of most of the old tenants in the building of Ca na Mari. As their lawyer told me in 2008 when they were all threatened with eviction, some of their rents were extremely low and worse still, indefinite. Jaume Belló, Mari and Cari a widow by then, paid old rents in the range of €60, €6 and €8 respectively.

Others, such as Inma, who had to follow the new Rent Act of 1994 (Boletín Oficial del Estado 1994), which introduced a few changes such as the possibility of increasing the rent every 5 years, paid €150. Mari, who owned her dad's ice cream workroom together with her sister, but who was only a business tenant at her grocery, remained with her business in Es Barri despite the important changes that would soon take place. She was not impressed by the arrival of drug trafficking clans around the 1980s or by those who arrived in 1982 to work on the files of the «information phase» which were a preliminary requisite for the preview and diagnosis report volume of the Revision of the General Municipal Planning Scheme (Ajuntament de Palma 1982).

One of these people was Demetrio Peña, a well-known businessperson who according to Eloy Serra, the co-owner of a family business specialised in crockery next door to Casa Rafi, at the time had a TV shop in the very same square of Mercadal. In those days, Peña interviewed several business people in Es Barri, among them Mari

and her sister, and Eloy Serra and his brother.<sup>107</sup> As far as Mari remembers, he took a lot of interest in gathering information for the renewal of Es Barri but, apparently, he soon abandoned the project since, always according to Mari, he had other interests for which he actually used if not his influential collection of local impressions at least the position he had built while working on them.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to stop on some of the remarks Peña made in this report, which also included the voices of other «experts».

This report sheds some light on how the degraded situation of Es Barri was generally perceived by those who sought to improve it via not only renewal but also by working on its social capital. Peña's role in local Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) made him an adamant defendant of the idea of social capital, and the particular promise its improvement held for regenerating the business fabric of the city. The connection of the scale the neighbourhood represents to features such as strong ties, proximity, familiarity, etc., has made it an ideal candidate for encapsulating the existence of sociality, or its absence, as a form of capital. The examples of this are legion but just to mention here a few titles I have come across: Temkin and Rohe (1998), Forrest and Kearns (2001), van Houwelingen (2012), and Hays (2015).<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> The Serra brothers left the neighbourhood by the mid 1980s. As soon as they got married they moved to newer neighbourhoods, admitting that one of the main reasons for leaving was the decay Es Barri had entered since the late 1970s. However, they still maintained the family business that dated back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when their grandfather built the premises with several flats above it for his own sons and daughters. The brothers attended many of the meetings held at Canamunt or organised by the Association of Businesses of the Old Town led by a former president of Canamunt, the one of the early 1990s, a watch maker also named Serra but unrelated to the brothers. This watch maker, a key person at the time the renewal scheme of Es Barri was first presented to the public (1991), rejected on several occasions my offer to have an interview. The Serra brothers recently sold their property to the Germans that hope to build the car park there while acquiring Rafi's establishment.

<sup>108</sup> Mari here refers to Demetrio Peña's career. It has to be said that the research he carried out was part of his political programme within the business-association movement of Ciutat that was gaining momentum at the time. He founded the Majorcan Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) Association and was its president between 1977 and 1989. He later also became the president for the Balearic SME (1989- 1992).

<sup>109</sup> DeFilippis (2001), criticises these Putnamian developments of social capital since he argues they ignore any power dimension while they sever it from economic capital, thus implying the lack of a base. DeFilippis much prefers a Bourdieusian approach to social capital, one that brings together other dimensions.

The collection of data Peña provided is one of the few references we have describing what the living conditions in Es Barri were like in the early 1980s. His contribution to the «information phase» of the Planning Scheme Preview of 1982 was decisive, in the eyes of a city council that in those days was keen on encouraging economic development from below (Ajuntament de Palma 1982). We will soon return to Mari and her network but let us now focus on some of the data Peña delivered. One of Peña's many observations on the neighbourhood was that in those days Es Barri, which he actually names «Herrería» (Spanish for Blacksmith's, one of the streets of Es Barri), was full of buildings in ruins. Most of these were bricked up (ibid: 8). He argued that because of the poor housing conditions, which were un-hygienic and did not meet a minimum health standard, people slowly left the neighbourhood.

This left the owners with few options. Some kept their properties empty and blocked off, other speculated with misery, charging up to 25,000 or 30,000 pts. (€150 and €180 respectively) per month for a property without warm water or other services and occupied by three or four families (ibid: 9). Then there were those with old rents on their properties, who waited for the tenants to leave while their buildings deteriorated. Finally, he mentioned that there were those who were so confused and dazzled with so many different planning scheme announcements that they just did not know what to do. Following on from this deterioration, Peña understood that there was a need to pull down some buildings:

The scheme should save a part of the old town but it should not aim at protecting it all. There are buildings that should disappear and there is a need for new squares and areas for the leisurely activities of the residents. To protect the whole of the built environment is an error, it is the total decline of the Centre (ibid: 9, his emphasis).

Thus, Peña recommended a «comprehensive action plan for the whole of Es Barri: «Partial solutions for a single building are useless, they solve nothing...» (ibid: 9). He also thought «[Old] rents have to be updated as long as there are improvements in housing, and the Rent Act should be reformed» (ibid: 9). Since Peña was an SME businessman, his interest was to link the decay of the built environment and the class substitution of the neighbourhood to desertification of proximity businesses such as Mari's (he never referred to the this substitution and often seemed to imply the

neighbourhood was empty). Thus, he also observed that the traditional businesses of the Centre (referring mostly to bakeries, groceries, butchers', fishmongers', creameries, kiosks, haberdasheries, etc.) were subject to a severe crisis (ibid: 22).<sup>110</sup>

A solution, argued Peña, was to bring in department stores so they would attract people and hence create a propitious environment for small retailers (ibid: 23). This happened in September 1995 with the opening of an El Corte Inglés department store a two-minute walk from Es Barri. It was the largest private civil work ever carried out in Ciutat with an investment of just over €78 million, and it was surrounded by many accusations of preferential treatment and urban speculation. Interestingly, El Corte Inglés had already been active in Majorca since 1984 with its trading branch for businesses functioning two years after Peña's initial proposal (*Última Hora*, 03/09/2010). However, in 1994, Peña had become the major opponent to the development of El Corte Inglés on the grounds that it would eventually finish off the small and medium commerce he represented (Gabinet de Comunicació de PIMECO 2011).

The new department stores especially threatened those businesses within its reach such as the ones to be found in Es Barri on the commercial thoroughfare of Sindicat. Pere Arbona, the president of the Association of Traders of Sindicat Street, officially founded in 1958, told me at an interview that he had witnessed this erosion of the businesses in the thoroughfare of Sindicat. Most of this erosion is due to what he calls the presence of the «grandes», the large ones, that is, those like El Corte Inglés, not only because of the spatial proximity to their businesses, but also because of the opening times they are aiming at with tools such as the Area of Great Tourism Influx.

Peña was of the opinion that the general decay affected businesspeople because they were left without clients. He argued one of the problems was that the neighbourhood was not demographically growing (he referred to official numbers because as he himself acknowledged, there were people coming in to share properties in derelict condition, hence contributing to make neighbourhood demographics

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<sup>110</sup> I think it is important to notice that Peña does not refer to businesses related to a proto-industrial character, not even manual work nor crafts such as the potteries that faded out in the late 1960s or the garages, carpenters, mattress makers, etc. that once filled the neighbourhood (Escartín 2001). For a sketch on a family-run carpentry, the last manual-work business of Es Barri, see Section 2.4.



denser). Many neighbours moved to areas such as that of the Polígon de Llevant, and those who were left behind were either marginal people or gypsies, people who in Peña's view had no purchasing power to sustain the existing businesses. Regardless of our own views on Peña's analysis, and his own prejudices, his language is wise. He always speaks with respect towards others.

Whereas English language has changed «Gypsy» for «Roma» in its effort to speak «proper», Spanish and Catalan have stuck to «gitano» and «gità». «Gypsy» is the only known term. Having said this, people interviewed in the «information phase» of the renewal scheme, and who appear as members of the «middle class», used the term «gitano» in a clear act of exclusionary racism:

The street of Sindicat and surrounding area used to be residential streets until the wave of immigration arrived and later the last wave of gypsies and similar people. They have expelled traditional residents. They are not treated in a normal way... They are not like us. The squares of Quadrado, Jeroni, Socors, are the dominion of gypsies. They eat there, they leave their leftovers. Before we all knew each other in the neighbourhood, we were a big family... There aren't that many of us left now, there are plenty of empty houses ... and there will be more and more people leaving... We have «very strange» neighbours, women [obviously referring to female sexual labourers], gypsies, they're all in the street and it is shameful... (Ajuntament de Palma 1982, information phase volume: 17).

Although not everyone spoke in these terms, this language could still be found in Es Barri 30 years later. It was a marker of distinction. Rafi also spoke in these terms except for the reference to immigration, since she had also immigrated to the island. Peña's conclusion regarding businesses was devastating. Even the occasional new business was doomed never to succeed and only those who had had clients for 100 years were able to survive, if anyone could... Altogether, the situation meant almost all of the transfers on the leases of the business premises in the neighbourhood were for sale and at a very low price. Because, at the end of the day, «if anyone doesn't leave it is because he can't» (Ajuntament de Palma 1982, information phase volume: 22).

However, as I witnessed in my field research, this was not necessarily always the case. Among many others, Mari, who had gone to live outside of Es Barri, never left her grocery. Nor did her sister leave either. They always staunchly claimed their right to stay in the place that saw them grow up. They did not even leave when Mari's grocery was robbed in 1983. Mari recalls how in 1983, a year after her husband passed

away but also a year after the preview and diagnosis report volume of the information phase volume of the General Municipal Planning Scheme that included Peña's remarks (Ajuntament de Palma 1982), her grocery was broken into and everything taken. She managed to find out who robbed her and reached an agreement in which she would not denounce anyone as long as everything was returned.

In her terms, those years were the worst. Many neighbours left because of the decay drug trafficking brought in while other neighbours were imprisoned for their part in it.<sup>111</sup> Although Mari has always been very reluctant to admit it («I have never had a major problem»), in the following years the situation worsened. A Basque postwoman who worked in Es Barri in 1986 remembered how the bottom corner buildings of Mari's street (Bauló Street with Gerreria Street), were the worst of the time. These buildings that were then full of the most dangerous drug dealers and immiserated heroin-addict sexual labourers, were pulled down against the recommendations of preservationist associations who argued that there were full of remains of potteries from the Muslim period.

In recent years, new-built buildings have become social housing for a variety of young professionals.<sup>112</sup> It was precisely here that planners Nicolau and Antich, the authors of the PEPRI for Sa Gerreria, came up with an intriguing discovery.<sup>113</sup> Between 1991 and 1992 the preliminary studies were commissioned (not the first, since in 1989 there had been a PERI for Sindicat, the other name for Es Barri or Sa Gerreria). As

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<sup>111</sup> In their autobiographic graphic novels, Beltrán and Seguí (2011 and 2014) offer a naturalistic account of Es Barri. The stories that make up both volumes, show Beltrán's adventures in Es Barri from the summer of 1982. A small group of teen-age friends, some of whom were sons of sexual labourers, meet in the street, the only place they have, and soon become a criminal gang involved in drugs and stealing and terrorising the business-owners of Es Barri and beyond.

<sup>112</sup> This postwoman remembered how in 1986, certain segments of the gypsy community lived in apartments in nearby streets, some of them housing more than twenty people at a time and under deplorable health conditions.

<sup>113</sup> Normally, one planner signs a PERI, not two. Here the situation was different. In 1991, a conservative mayor (Fageda, from the *Partit Popular*, PP) governed the City Council of Ciutat. Although not necessarily a member of the PP, one planner had conservative leanings, and it should logically have been him to carry out and sign the PEPRI for Sa Gerreria. However, given the political situation of change and the controversy this PERI aroused in local politics since its very inception in the General Planning Scheme (PGOU) of 1985, the party in the government of the local council came to a compromise and involved another planner, who had clear leanings for the *Partit Socialista de les Illes Balears*).

Nicolau recounted at an interview I held with him, when mapping out the old blocks, they were both amused by the fact that they had miscalculated a few metres here and a few metres there at the Southern tip of the rather long block housing Ca'n Xe. After several recalculations and visits they actually discovered there was a hideaway cache that most probably had been used to store drugs.

This happened in the 1990s, when the promises of change started to come true. As already seen in the case of Peña, everybody asked the Ca na Mari people for advice when wanting to know what the locals thought. After its foundation in 1991, Canamunt took an interest in these old timers to the extent that they all became members. They were involved in plenty of Canamunt's activities such as embroidery workshops and trips to the Majorcan countryside, a territory many old timers had not seen for decades. However, they did not always coincide with the regular members of Canamunt. When the newcomer members argued that the sewage system dated back to the Muslim period (903-1229), as a means to attract attention and organise an opposition to the renewal of the sewage system in the area, el Xe objected, saying it had been done in his lifetime.

The activities served to bring together Canamunt's politicised newcomers, mainly belonging to the leftover ranks of different moribund Communist and Socialist political parties, with the more down to everyday life old timers. However, Mari thinks they all arrived far too late. Since then they never stopped looking for her. Those were the years in which the press constantly denounced the decay of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, it praised or criticised the different planning schemes that were being developed for Es Barri.<sup>114</sup> But planning schemes were not always positive. Mari thought they all lasted an eternity and that they attracted undesirable developers, the kind that would harass tenants and even neighbouring old-pensioner owners.

Take for instance the case of the infamous Fernando, who was responsible for the criminal cases of Botons Street and the Towers of El Temple and sentenced to pay fines

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<sup>114</sup> It was imposible for me to make the Ca na Mari people understand I was not a journalist. Everyone I interviewed in the grocery expected to be in the newspaper the following day. The expression on their faces completely changed when I said I was a researcher wanting to know about the renewal scheme and about the period of the Xino and how they lived it. Section 1.3.4. contains a few insights on the issue of what informants expect from the researcher.

in both cases.<sup>115</sup> By 2008, the different owners of the building of Mari's place had sold their shares to a single developer. Meanwhile, Fernando had already acquired the buildings at each side of Mari's and in agreement with the new owner of Ca na Mari's building, he applied for a permit so he could scaffold the façade. In the process, his operators turned off the street light, thus leaving the street in the dark. When she saw Fernando she told him and he answered saying he could not do anything about it because only municipal operators are allowed to touch the lampposts [after his people had turned it off!].

Since Mari's concern was that the lack of lighting encouraged even more drug trafficking,<sup>116</sup> she rang the council who sent a worker to solve the problem. Mari knew what Fernando had been up to in the past. She was worried because not only did he then own the properties on both the flanks of the building where her business was, she also feared the increasing pressure he was putting on the new owner of the building so that he would sell it cheaper since it still had tenants. After acquiring the building, Fernando's plans would have been to scare the residents out using whatever legal and illegal means he could to then re-sell it to someone else on better terms (that is, without tenants). Mari's tactic was to keep selling goods because apparently, and this was her argument, as long as the grocery was active nobody could evict her under the conditions of her lease.

When Mari was 63, she decided to resist another two years and then claim her pension. Meanwhile, Blai, a 60-year-old heavy drinker whose girlfriend, a formal sexual labourer also in her sixties lived in the same building as Ca na Mari, worked for Fernando by bricking up his properties. However, in the end, Fernando did not buy the property where Ca na Mari was. He had been dragged into too many court cases because of his previous dodgy business in the area and decided to leave for Lima (Peru) where similar business was taking place in its old centre and later jumped to Chicago, in the USA. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Ca na Mari's building was not on sale anymore; there were other buyers besides Fernando.

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<sup>115</sup> See Sections 2.2. and 2.5. for more details of the case of El Temple. I briefly mention the case of Botons in Section 1.2.2.2.

<sup>116</sup> The young dealers fed themselves upon sandwiches she made at her place.

On 4<sup>th</sup> April 2008, I visited Mari. She was crying because GIB (Grup Immobiliari Balear, see Image 23, Appendix of images), had acquired the building from the new owners and had given her a date to leave.<sup>117</sup> She had to move out by September. Other neighbours on the block, such as Jaume Belló and his wife, Cari the widow pensioner, Blai's girlfriend (see Images 32, 34 and 35, Appendix of images), and even Manolo and Manuel (from Section 2.6.), were all having to leave too. Many neighbours aged around 80 were falling into depression. A week earlier, the whole community appeared in despair on a local TV programme, coinciding with the social services taking Manuel, in his eighties, to one of their homes. Meanwhile, members of Canamunt, who had just revived the association in September 2007, did not know how to react.

Biel and Xavi O, two of the old-guard members of Canamunt, agreed with the fact that since most contracts were verbal, nothing could be done about the evictions of Ca na Mari's people. However, Biel and Xavi O. could not understand why these developers were using the same strategies as they had when they first began to renew Es Barri before the announcement of the official schemes in 1991. The excuse in 1991 was that there was going to be a whole re-urbanisation project, which is what actually happened in the 2B (see Images 13, 14 and 15, Appendix of images), but that this was not supposed to be the case for the street of Hostal d'en Bauló. However, Canamunt seemed to be very relaxed about the whole thing, especially bearing in mind that Mari had been an active member of Canamunt since it was first established in 1991.

At that moment, in 2008, Canamunt appeared to be too involved in organising the *festes* that would render visible the new wave of active residents that had entered. In these circumstances, the people at Ca na Mari decided to fight against the new owner with a lawyer hoping to be able to remain where they had lived for so long, some were even born there. Mari got in touch with Andrés Bassa, a Madrid-trained lawyer whose

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<sup>117</sup> GIB is in charge of the largest execution unit, unit 2B, known by the neighbourhood activists as «Ground 0» (see Image 14, Appendix of images). After finishing the major works and not being able to sell the apartments (see Image 16, Appendix of images), GIB decided to gain profit in the surroundings of 2B. The aim was to tidy the 2B area up. At an interview, the head of GIB recognised this, although not mentioning Ca na Mari's network: «Our problem, if any, is the remnant prostitution and drug-trafficking. Our buyers are certainly not thrilled with the prospects of living next to such neighbours». By removing low renters, GIB would attract new inhabitants who would never tolerate the drug business.

forbears, named Ramis, had built the palace known to many as Ca'n Bassa, near to Ca na Mari's, the building that recently turned into an urban boutique hotel for Swedes. Always according to Mari, grandfather Bassa was a good man.<sup>118</sup> Mari reckons his wife was also good since she used to invite whoever was in need to eat a menu in Nueva Andalucía, a bar situated on the ground floor of Ca'n Bassa.<sup>119</sup>

Mari thought kindness could be inherited since she saw a good man in the grandson. Following their own initiative and realising that their rent had not been deducted from their accounts since January 2008, several people of the building began to pay the old owner in cash always through the bank so as to keep a record.<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, Young Bassa was aware that GIB had opened the period for the right to repurchase. GIB sought out alternatives for the members of the Ca na Mari network that lived in the same building via the Balearic Institute of Housing (BIH), and the Municipal Housing Authority. But BIH was already saturated with people from elsewhere in the neighbourhood and surrounding areas. The only option left for GIB was to compensate the tenants.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Some of my informants agree grandfather Bassa had been a smuggler. In general, Majorcans always viewed smugglers as a kind of hero, since they brought relative wealth to poor families while questioning the authorities. As elsewhere in Spain, smuggling was a very common activity in Majorca, especially in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Again, this is unconfirmed.

<sup>119</sup> Andrés Bassa was born in 1974. When he was about 16 years old he went to live in Madrid. When I interviewed him he remembered when he was about 11 or 12 years old, in the so-called «drug-days» around 1984, he was told not to play in the street although he did know the children of the nearby properties, including some of the ones of the gypsy families. But, he never went to the Barri Xino. Of course, here the Xino was elsewhere, just as it was for most of the people encountered in the field (see Section 2.2. for a clear account on how everybody acknowledges the Xino was nearby but no one admitted to living in it). Bassa also recalled that many people began to leave before he left for Madrid (1991) and acknowledged the existence of a certain social mix in the area. In around 2001 the owners of the rest of the building bought his father's share, these owners also lived in Madrid. Then the property was resold several times to different English and German buyers.

<sup>120</sup> This is a fairly common practice. The owners stop charging tenants in the hope that when they want to get rid of them they will be able to argue that they did not pay their rent and, thus, find a legal way of evicting them. Clever tenants will pay into the bank voluntarily and then claim it was their intention to pay. As similar strategy was used in the case of the Towers of the Temple. See Franquesa (2010a) for a whole chapter on this case of real estate harassment.

<sup>121</sup> In accordance to the Boletín Oficial del Estado (1994), the law establishes that if the owner of a rented property wishes to sell it, she has to offer it for sale to the renter before she does to anyone else, indicating the price and conditions. In turn, the renter has the right of preferential

Given the prominent role Mari played for the members of the building –after all she did give credit to her customers- she acted as a drive belt and she informed everyone about the meetings. Among the people of this network, there were those who did not even have an «old rent». This was the case of Manolo and Manuel who could be evicted at will as long as they were given 5 months' notice. Manolo then unilaterally decided to vent to the press what he perceived as an injustice. Young Bassa always thought this was an error because until that very moment all of the Ca na Mari people had spoken of acting as a united group, to stick together and thus have strength in the negotiations.

Ever since Manolo's initiative these negotiations were in danger. The only way out was to collectively protest in the media. The reaction came when the press started to feature the Ca na Mari people's case as that of the eviction of «humble people»:

The last neighbours of the *Posada de Can Bauló*. Four people will have to leave the building at the beginning of September (*Diario de Mallorca* 06/05/2008, the name of the street is actually *Hostal d'en Bauló*. *Posada* means guesthouse and *hostal* means inn).

The tenants of *Can Xe*, a building in Sa Gerreria, have to leave because a developer has to pull it down (*Diari de Balears* 07/05/2008).

Is there [room at] a table for someone whose house is being pulled down? (*Diari de Balears* 11/05/2008).

Canamunt had somehow decided they had to make an effort. I met Xavi O. and Barbara at Mari's a couple of weeks after. In the end, the 12 tenants (and their families or flatmates) had all reached individual agreements with GIB. It was not easy for me to find out what kind of compensation each tenant received. These were not matters informants were willing to speak about, especially when the monetary value of the compensation was normally accompanied by an equal share of grief and upset, often expressed in terms of attachment and a sense of place. In previous occasions, like when

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acquisition or right of first refusal and has 30 days to purchasing the property he is renting. If the rent contract is longer than a five-year period, there can also be a pact by which the renter renounces the rights of first refusal and purchase. However, the renter does not have the rights of first refusal and repurchase if the rented property is sold together with the other properties in the same building, and as long as the owner of all of these is the same person. The same applies when the different owners in a building sell all of their properties to a single buyer. In turn, the person that buys a rented property, acquires the same rights and duties the seller had, and has to respect the conditions the rental contract stipulates for at least five years.

Héctor and Verónica (Section 1.2.1.) told me about the prices they faced I was lucky to get an answer; after all they only agreed to an interview because mutual acquaintances put me in touch with them.

Here though, I could not directly ask for this information, since my informants were not only of a different status –not wealthier newcomers but old timers expecting compensation for their eviction- but had not been met through common acquaintances. I guess it all fell down to a combination of perseverance and luck. One Friday morning, as usual, I entered Rafi’s place, had a short conversation with her and sat down while reading the newspaper and sipping a beer. All of a sudden in came Manolo in a fury. Manolo was a tenant who lived in the building of Ca na Mari by paying a sub-rent to Manuel who had a verbal contract with the owners. They shared the flat (see Section 2.6. for further details of the relationship Manolo maintained with Manuel).

The reason for Manolo’s outrage, was that he felt he had received unequal treatment in the compensation. He said he had only received €7,000 for the 20 years he had been living there and that Mari had received €60,000, to which Rafi replied she already knew and that in a way that was fair because Mari had had her business there for much longer than Manolo, «una eternidá» [an eternity]. Manolo did not agree, he thought it was not fair. To round things off, he argued, a Catalan female tenant of the building who returned to Barcelona after being evicted, and thus had not resisted in the same way as he had by remaining in place, also received €7,000 as compensation. «She did not deserve it as I did», he spat out. Rafi nod her head and replied to him that besides the money, he also now had a nice flat outside of the Centre.<sup>122</sup>

He looked disgusted and left. After leaving, Rafi could not avoid commenting that Manolo had a «cara dura», a lot of cheek. After all she added, his «son-in-law»,

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<sup>122</sup> I did some quick calculations and, in fact, Mari, who had opened her grocery in 1974, had been there 14 years longer than Manolo, who had arrived in 1988, a year before the PERI Sindicat was made available to the press («The City Council wants to reach an agreement with the Balearic Government on the renewal project for the *Barrio Chino*», *El Día 16 de Baleares*, 04/04/1989). This PERI had been announced in the press as early as 1985, when it was included in the General Scheme for Palma («The open spaces will give a healthier image to this Palma neighbourhood», *El Día de Baleares*, 05/02/1985) but it was not written in the form of a project nor did it have a name yet. The first name it received was that of Sindicat, the commercial street on the Northern border of the neighbourhood unit. As for the figures for Manolo, Mari would later tell me he actually received €7,500. €1,500 in cash and €6,000 on departure.



referring to his daughter's partner, not necessarily married, used the empty flat to traffic in drugs since Manolo had given her a copy of the key so he could use the flat at will before the new owners, the real estate company GIB, decided to change the lock. Rafi, who had also done her own research, and who was after Mari's freezer, confirmed these figures to me. Those who had never had a written contract but did have verbal agreements received compensation of €7,000. This is the case of the Catalan woman and of Manuel, who had lived there for 20 years.

Others such as Blai's partner, were sent to another flat not far from the neighbourhood. She used to pay €300 for a one room flat in decay, after having paid €1,800 without any kind of written contract to a Portuguese gypsy who was occupying it so she could have the right to dwell there and pay the rent to the legal owner. Then there were those who received the most. Cari, a pensioner widow and owner of one of the flats, received €50,000. As for Mari, it is said she received €60,000 to leaving the shop premises and, most probably, for being in charge of organising the members of the network around the decisions taken by the young Bassa. The money would come in handy because, as mentioned, her aim was to be able to get a pension although she no longer had a registered grocery and, thus, could not officially work as a grocer. She, as many others in Es Barri, was also risking her position.

The only way out was to become self-employed and use part of the money she received to pay the social security contributions to justify her job until 2011, when she would become 65, the official age for retirement in Spain until 2013 (since then it is 67). Altogether, she paid around €1,500 per month to maintain her business. Meanwhile, the members of Canamunt had already started to discuss the possibility of paying tribute to Mari since she had become a kind of neighbourhood institution. Not everyone agreed on the grounds that if she deserved it, many others did too. This episode helps to understand the fate of those prominent old timers who, after a life of struggle, are made into portrait of a peculiar understanding of what neighbourhood life is about. In a way, one could argue that certain members of Canamunt almost made a living heritage of Mari.

In 2015, Mari still has her place open and sells, off the record, soft drinks and cans of beer, crisps, the odd sandwich and the like, although she is already officially retired.

Back in 2012, she argued that she remained opened so she could offer a space for the old people, who would not know where to go, plus it kept her active in making neighbourhood in the very same terms as included in Section 2.3.. As someone told Rafi, though, not everyone agreed with this because Mari would be doing it without a permit, in premises that did not meet the required standards and most importantly, without paying the corresponding taxes, regardless of whether she actually complied with her own self-employed scheme.<sup>123</sup> For me, going to Mari's would usually be an adventure in itself. In the following paragraphs, and before I come to the end of this section, I recount one of my last field visits there.

On Friday 15<sup>th</sup> January 2010, I went to visit Mari. It was 9 am and she had not opened yet. However, I met Carmen who was removing the foil wrapping from a lunch box. I greeted her while she started calling for the cats she fed there every day. As she bent over the door step of a sealed and empty building, four cats rushed out from under a nearby shabby shutter and meowed at her while twirling their backs and tails against her legs with apparent delight. Carmen emptied her lunch box on two grotty plastic plates and then poured some water in the cut out bottom of a plastic bottle. The cats' breakfast was the leftovers of a paella, prawn heads and chicken bones included. Carmen looked pleased with herself and asked me if I was staying until Mari opened. I agreed. She then said I would have to wait a while.

The previous day Mari had told her she was going to see the doctor because she kept having problems with her legs due to her poor blood circulation. After stroking

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<sup>123</sup> This is not only about Mari carrying out unfair competition, it is also about how she is making a living of all those dealers who stand in front of her premises. Of course, Mari herself denounced drug trafficking and consumption near to her place. However, whereas she denounced it, despite still selling drinks and food to the dealers, others, such as Manolo, a dealer himself, preferred it all to remain quiet. One Friday morning of June 2008 Mari and Jaume Fuster, an old pensioner well-known for his Majorcan-style hand-made nativity figures, showed me a fine hanging from the wall outside of her grocery. That very same morning a local police had found a posh, haughty rich kid drawing a joint in the middle of the street and rebuked him for drawing it so publicly, to which the youth replied to the police officer to fine him since he had no intention of leaving. The police wrote out the fine and hung it on the wall. After showing it to me, Jaume Fuster asked me to take a picture of the fine but Manolo, who was sitting nearby, swiftly stood up and told us that was not right. At first, I thought Manolo was acting in a very chivalrous manner, after all, the name of the rich kid was not something to publicise. However, later in the day I was told Manolo had been the one selling the dope... I think this is the only occasion I actually exchanged a couple of words with Manolo.

the cats and speaking to them in affective whispers, Carmen said she had other cats to see but that she would be back soon to clean the mess up. She then left with a swift good bye, dragging her trolley full of cat goodies behind her. The cats soon finished their feast and they entertained themselves licking their paws and brushing their whiskers. Suddenly, the noise of a set of clanging keys caught their attention and before Jaumot arrived, they had all scarily rushed back into their den. He then proudly bragged about the fact that Mari trusted him so much that she had asked him to open up the informal grocery so that people could meet there.

I asked if he would get anything in exchange, he answered that she would treat him to a ham sandwich. At that moment, Magdalena arrived walking slowly, bent over her walking stick, and yelled at Jaumot: «Have you got the keys? I need a bottle of butane gas!» Jaumot's eyes shone and he hurried to open the door. He popped in and reappeared with a butane gas bottle; he locked the door and disappeared with Magdalena and the bottle. It was only a fortnight later that Mari explained to me what had actually been going on. Jaumot opened the shop, got a butane-gas bottle for Magdalena and accompanied her to her house. Before, though, he mentioned to Magdalena that he needed to fetch his own empty bottle and like this he would return them at the same time. The fact is that his bottle was only half-empty.

Without her noticing, he swapped his bottle for her full one and took his half-empty bottle up into Magdalena's apartment. He there grabbed the empty one and Magdalena gave him €25,20 for the bottle and €5 as a tip, extremely generous by Majorcan standards. Mari argued that Jaumot was earning around €560 between from a fake disability pension he had and from his dodgy deals. He had already been doing this for 18 years or so. The property he lived in was his and so was a little commercial premises he had next to the carpenters I speak of in Section 2.4. Altogether, Mari guessed Jaumot could live on about €150. Of course then there was Mari... The bottle itself was already overcharged since it only cost Mari €14, not €25,20!

As for the goods Magdalena and other old pensioners bought from her, these had been acquired previously at the main supermarket in the area. Mari then resold these products adding 70 or 80 cents. Interestingly, Mari acknowledged that Magdalena bought at her place because she thought Mari's products were better than elsewhere...

The aim of this last ethnographic sketch is to counter the view of the fleeting Barri based on nostalgic accounts about the good-hearted nature of the people who once inhabited it. On the one hand, not only was Es Barri home to the most varied criminal profiles and was heavily dependent on drug trafficking and sexual labour until relatively recently –it still is in some specific spots of the neighbourhood; but it was also made up of people who managed their existence thanks to ruses and tricks.

On the other hand, no matter how evil one might depict this landscape, the question ahead is nevertheless one in which social classes play an important role, although an even more important role is that played by the social relations among these classes, and in particular, the mediations the urban space and the built environment entail. Take for instance the cats Carmen fed, and which I use as the opening sketch of Section 2.6. In 2010, their time was near. These cats were the joy of not just Carmen but also other elderly women of Es Barri.<sup>124</sup> A week before, Friday 8<sup>th</sup> January 2010, I attended one of the meetings of Canamunt. These meetings usually took place on a Friday evening before everyone enjoyed the weekend.

There were several people sitting around the table in the room the association shared with other organisations in the Centre Social Flassaders. I counted ten members. The agenda included several issues about the organisation of the association and ratification of its recently elected board. However, before getting into these matters, those present decided to deal with a new initiative in the neighbourhood that, to my surprise, had to do with cleansing the neighbourhood of stray cats:<sup>125</sup>

Joseba: But how does this work? With a vet book? Or what?

Montse: No, I've already seen to this. A permit is needed for authorising the existence colonies and they have authorised them. In particular these three locations: Carrer dels Desamparats [Unprotected, see Introductory image, at beginning of this thesis], Plaça Josep Maria Quadrado and Carrer del Forn d'en Vila [Vila's Bakery].

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<sup>124</sup> Cats in the Barri Xino are a recurring theme. «En el Chino» is a song by a 1980s band that speaks of sleepless nights because of the loud meowing of the neighbour's cat in some Spanish Barrio Chino (Radio Futura 1985).

<sup>125</sup> I am here inspired by Graeber (2009). I have reconstructed a Canamunt meeting from my own notes and what I recall. This is not a literal transcription. The technique could be improved by showing the text to all of those who attended the meeting and receiving their feedback.

Joseba: «And who's in charge?

Montse: Well, I am! Basically myself, and also the services for stray and injured animals at Son Reus. Son Reus also collaborates, of course, the City Council does not put much more either. Son Reus is in charge of the sterilisation, vaccination, health control... What we actually need is volunteers to capture them, to take them to Son Reus, to return them and release them; volunteers who will take responsibility for the quality and control of the colony. This has already been authorised by the City Council, but one of the things they are asking for is the consent of the association of neighbours with the locations of the colonies.

Xisco: And what if we know of the existence of other places? I mean... If we know if there are any other places?

Montse: Well, if there are any more we can also request more. For the moment they've only authorized these three. If there were to be other places...

Joseba: These on the list are the most well known ones, aren't they?

Montse: They're the ones with the most. Particularly the area of Carrer del Forn d'en Vila behind the Courts.

Joseba: You mean the sealed old building there?

Montse: Exactly. Plaça Josep Maria Quadrado is also an area where there are a lot of them. In Carrer dels Desamparats there's also a room in ruins where there're plenty of them. And there're still many more areas but if I had to say here and now which exactly... If there were more people eager to become responsible for the colonies, because they want three people responsible for each colony. And of course, I have only become responsible for these, but I can't take on more... In order to become responsible, one needs to follow certain procedures.

Ferran: What procedures?

Montse: Anyone who has a colony near their home could take charge of only that colony... It is simple and it's the best way to cover all the colonies in the area. This person will have to sign the City Council's papers and remember to have a receipt for all the expenses incurred in relation to the well-being of the colonies, such as the bills from Son Reus and the materials necessary to keep the colony tidy and clean.

Ferran: But the idea is to maintain these colonies?

Montse: Yes, because one of the ideas we had thought of was to eradicate the colonies, but it's not a good idea because once you've moved out the colony you'll immediately after have new cats arriving to the site and the problem will remain. The idea is not to remove the cats but, here where they are located, to avoid them being ill, in season, making noise and disturbing people's rest, for them to mark their territory, filling the place with their scent...

Ferran: And for this we need to go to the City Council. The City Council is the one in charge of authorizing the maintenance of these colonies, of these three colonies?

Montse: I have already arranged the papers for these three colonies. These three are authorized. I asked for authorization and the collaboration of the City Council to maintain the colonies. What do I actually do from there? I catch them, I take them to Son Reus where they give them the AIDS test, if they are positive they're sacrificed and if they are negative they vaccinate them, sterilize them and we release them.

Ferran: You catch them yourself?

Montse: Yes, I do. No one from the City Council comes to catch them. You set a trap-cage, you catch them and you take them.

Joseba: And do they sterilize each of them? Don't they leave any without sterilisation?

Montse: The idea is to sterilise them all.

Joseba: If so there'll come a day when there won't be any cats, right?

Montse: Well, it's impossible to have them all controlled. There'll always be cats. What we want is a humane control of them. Sometimes certain neighbours take their own vengeful initiative and poison them and this is something to avoid I think. Or they'll even denounce the situation to the City Council and the City Council will come and take them to Son Reus and that's it. They'll never return them.

Joseba: And what about this? I have sometimes seen women that feed cats and so on. Have you met them? Have you spoken with them? They even buy food for cats!

Montse: This is also a problem. It's very difficult. With the new system there can only be three people feeding the cats of a colony and cleaning their area. That's why we're authorized and it's assumed that not only are we in charge of taking care but also of whether everyone follows the rules: such as cleaning the bowls and the areas, etc. What happens is precisely what you're referring to: people who forget to clean or even leave pieces of mussels or the wrappers of cheese wedges... And this only brings complaints from the neighbours. All what we can do is try and keep the area clean but that's about it. We can also try to speak with these people, tell them that there are people in charge of this and convince them not to feed the animals, not to leave the dirt, which only brings more dirt.

Xisco: It is forbidden to feed animals in public space.

Montse: Indeed. They can sanction you for doing so. They've actually sanctioned Carmen quite a few times already. You know her, don't you? She walks around with her trolley. But she's now a responsible person, I got her on board... She lives behind the Courts. In theory she can now. I got her on board because she was already at it.

Joseba: Is she an old woman?

Montse: Not that old, she's smallish, short hair and wears glasses. She drags her trolley full of food, which makes a terrible noise because of the cobbled streets. She's now a responsible person. She's now clean and leaves the place in good condition.

Xisco: I think it's important to reform these women and to take bring them into the project as a means of reintegrating them.

Montse: Exactly. And we could show them how to do things properly and even look for some kind of economic help for the food they give to the cats.

Xisco: Adela use to spend so much money feeding the pigeons in Plaça Josep Maria Quadrado, so much money.

Tina: We could add this as a project to the 2010 City Council's subventions.

Montse: That's the whole idea.

Ferran: You'd need to design a project.

Tina: She already has one!

Montse: I do, I suppose it's a matter of editing it for it to fit the project proposal sheet. It would be a way of avoiding fines and these women could now feed the cats in the daylight instead of having to do it at night. And it would important to inform people because it can look a little aggressive when someone sees you putting a cat in a trap-cage. Another possible colony could be that of *Ca'n Serra*.

Tina: You can always use the association of neighbours because we can inform people about it.

Joseba: And put up posters all over the place so people know what we're up to?

Ferran: Why not start with th internet and a do a little talk for the neighbours. You should also think of writing and putting together the project so we can ask for the necessary funding.

Everyone in the room agrees and they move on to another question.

At first sight, it seemed to be a well-intentioned sanitation project. Throughout the previous decade, many of the sites where the old buildings ad ben pulled down had become both dumping yards and home to various prides of cats. The odd remaining junkie shared the same physical space. Yet it was not the first time an association of neighbours aimed at eradicating «wilderness» from their urban environment. As Franquesa (2010a: 174 and 208) recalls, in 2000 and 2001 a similar initiative had been announced and put into practice in Sa Calatrava.<sup>126</sup> In Es Barri, though, a municipal

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<sup>126</sup> López had this specific extermination programme of Sa Calatrava in mind when he included the cats and dogs in the introductory poem to this thesis. In fact, for him Sa Calatrava was part of Es Barri. He would call it «El Barrio», in Spanish, and it would include all the neighbourhood

extermination squad was in charge, including the tricked cat lovers, not a local vigilante committee made up of the different groups that lived in the neighbourhood.

Those who assembled in Ca na Mari and fed the cats belonged to what was left of the community that inhabited the area before it was gentrified. The members of Canamunt who wanted to control the population of cats were mostly new to the neighbourhood. They were in their late thirties and early forties, worked as civil servants, in the media and cultural services, or as bar owners, and had arrived as part of different gentrification waves. There were some, the least, who arrived as pioneers in the mid and late 1980s, the fewest came in the late 1990s and the rest arrived en masse in this last decade, especially since 2006 and 2007. In any case, the fine line that distinguished one group from the other, the cat exterminators from the cat feeders, tells us about where one group ended and where another one started.

Thus, just as the organic box scheme did, the sanitation project for sterilising cats became a group marker despite the cooperation the members of these different groups seemed to profess.<sup>127</sup> Whereas cat feeders enjoyed a feeble power position, cat sanitizers held a stronger position in the social order of Es Barri. However, the relation maintained between them conspicuously relates the command of social order to the instrumental and expressive levels at which ideas of pollution operate:

Pollution ideas work in the life of society at two levels, one ... instrumental, one expressive ... The whole universe is harnessed to men's attempts to force one another into good citizenship ... But as we examine pollution beliefs we find that ... [those] which are thought dangerous also carry a symbolic load. This is a ... level at which pollution ideas relate to social life ... some pollutions are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order (Douglas 2002: 3-4).

Cats, it turns out, were no more than pollution used as an analogy to express a general view of the social order in Es Barri. As I mention in Section 2.6., ridding Es Barri of cats

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under renewal on the Eastern margins of the Centre. Thus, El Barrio and the EU-funded El Temple Project coincided almost in their entirety.

<sup>127</sup> Cats are not the only animals that work as class and/or group markers in gentrifying areas. See Tissot (2011) for a recent account on dog ownership and the uses of public space in a Northeastern city of the United States of America. In her rather aggressive account of those she calls gentrifiers (and which I qualify as newcomers), DeSena also makes room to deal with their dog-walking habits (2009: 41-2). Other authors speak of (dis)placement embodied in pigeons (Escobar 2013).



was just another morsel of what had by then become a perennial obsession in Ciutat. Such a situation can be summed up in the closing verse of López's poem that gives title to this thesis: «... at the end of the day the sun in the neighbourhood is only for those who can pay for it». Accordingly, by 2010 Es Barri had encountered many other class transformations at the descriptive level ethnography allows. There were conflicts between new bar owners and new residents while many old timers still waited for better times to come.

A grocery disappeared coinciding with the organisation of an organic co-op, but in the meantime knowing how to capitalise on the urban-development situation. As for the cats, crouched in their dens as they were, they awaited the day the Phoenix would return from its ashes. What is of interest here though, is the major shift in the vegetable consumption patterns of the population of Es Barri, or to put it in a different way, the different consumption patterns between the two distinct groups that shared Es Barri, the newcomers and the long-time residents. The organic-box consumers were in search of an «authentic and direct» relation with the producers to the extent of wanting to become part of the production process itself and ostracising any kind of intermediaries, whether large multinational companies or someone like Mari.

As for the long-time residents, up to 2012, their need at Ca na Mari was more of an excuse for establishing neighbourly relations in what they considered to be fleeting times. Whereas the numbers of the former were rapidly increasing, those of the later were plummeting. Furthermore, as the bar conflict has shown, the implications of the loss of businesses such as groceries in the bottom floors of the buildings that make Es Barri, were far deeper than just a change in the consumption patterns of taste. As seen, Mari's establishment was more than just a grocery.

Ca na Mari was an institution that lived on what I have elsewhere called *fent barri*, «neighbourhood making», a project that took the neighbourhood scale as a reference for prescribing what neighbourhood life was about in a gentrifying context (see Sections 2.3., and 2.5.). Of course, Ca na Mari was not free from guilt; remember how she overcharged for products bought at the supermarket, a strategy for mere survival that she would later admit to. Mari's main customers were the old-timers, that is, the elderly and poorer population of the neighbourhood, amongst them the several cat

feeders. On the odd occasion an adventurous young newcomer who had forgotten to buy something or had not yet put his name down in the organic box scheme, would enter the grocery.

Some of the latter would even visit Mari for the sake of helping such authentic business in a shy social preservationist effort, to put it in Brown-Saracino's concept (2009). Thus, the authenticity social preservation required fell on the mechanical grocer, the intermediary, not on the organic producer as one would normally be inclined to think. The title of this section is obviously indebted to Durkheim's masterpiece *The division of labour in society* (1997) in which he clearly differentiates between organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity. Nevertheless, it is important here to stress that I do not follow a canonical organic/mechanical differentiation between the co-op and the grocery that make up the bulk of this section. The grocery preceded the co-op and was certainly far more mechanical than the co-op.

That is, at Ca na Mari there was a predominance of resemblance among its members, far more clan-based and territorial, lower volume of population, lower material and moral density, predominance of repressive sanctions among its members, a deeper collective consciousness and indeed far more religious. Yet all of these features must be taken with a pinch of salt since, although most of the co-op members were newcomers and most of those at Ca na Mari were old-timers, at the end of the day, they were all part of the same society. After all, Mari had been proposed to inaugurate the 2008 *festes*, a true recognition of the neighbourhood memory she embodied, or to put it in other words, a piece of living heritage.

Following from what we have so far seen, gentrification in Es Barri has been somewhat contradictory since there have been two clear gentrification models clashing against each other. On the one hand, there has been a model of a varied residential gentrification made up of owners and tenants who came into Es Barri in search of a calm space they would be able to enjoy and on which they would bring about collective action in the form of *festes*, solidarity gatherings and other celebratory and assertive events. On the other hand, bar owners have shown how a neighbourhood can be gentrified via attracting nightlife. Although these models come into conflict, they share a common thread that has brought them together. This thread is the one of the

values and prices of property. Whereas only a certain segment of residents can afford either to buy or to renovate a home, only certain businesses can expect to recoup their rent-investment.

The following section moves away from Es Barri and looks at the road map that led me to think about the field in certain ways. It deals with the discipline I have reworked from within and from without, with the theory I have adapted to the needs encountered in the field and with the methodology and the techniques used in order to gather ethnographic data. Nevertheless, despite being a section far removed from the empirical description ethnography provides, this following section is the backbone of what has been said so far and of what comes later.

### **1.3. The road map: Discipline, theory, methodology and techniques**

As seen in the cases of Rafi and of Mari, the conflict amongst the different gentrification models (residents' gentrification and nightlife gentrification) found in the field, and for which I have accounted so far, is actually harsher than that between newcomers and old-timers. The evictions and later displacement of the inhabitants of Es Barri before the state-led renewal of the late 1990s were void of conflict. When conflict eventually arose, it was a case of the evicted and displaced (together with pioneer newcomers) against the municipal authority responsible for the state-led renewal. It was not a struggle between neighbours (either residents or businesspeople).

Furthermore, those old-timers that remained in place needed to find their own strategies to manage their existence and optimise their own outcome, despite the risks they ran. The particular cases of Mari the limpet and Rafi the hermit crab, as I have come to characterise them, share a feature that complicates matters further, since although they might be considered neighbours, they are not residents themselves.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Whereas Rafi is a kind of lone ranger against everything and everyone, Mari is often viewed as a Robin Hood that unites everyone under a common cause (although she actually personally maximises her benefits from this union). The reasons for this difference are many. Among them, one could think of Rafi as someone who arrived later on the scene. The fact that one owns a bar and the other one a grocery also falls into this distinction since the kind of clientele they have, although on the occasion shared, is different and so is the gossip that takes place in one business or the other, Rafi being more «acidic» since she acts as an individual, and Mari more «familiar» since she is talking in the name of a group of people.

Nevertheless, their position is one that directly relates to the use of the business premiss while conjoining their struggle with that of those who used to reside in the neighbourhood. As we will soon see, I think we would be making an error if we were to disregard Rafi and Mari's cases as examples of gentrification.

The way Mari and Rafi –and all of those who gather around each of them– manage their existence is far from being an individual entrepreneurial agency free of structural constraints and, thus, independent of society itself.<sup>129</sup> Society and its structural constraints result from practical interactions amongst groups and individuals. While, they are by no means abstract entities, they are, in any case, very real abstractions that are grasped thanks to the social aspects that make them (Carrier 2001). The view of the mere individual entrepreneurial agency, and hence its management, is one held by several social anthropologists who embrace a liberal and individualistic understanding of entrepreneurship.

Take for instance Pardo's rich ethnography on the Centre of Naples (Pardo 1996). Pardo supports Saunders' argument (Saunders 1986: 76-103) in his criticism of Pahl's hypothesis on the housing classes (Pahl 1975) that indicates how the consumption of housing determines the social position of class. For Pardo, consumption is not collective, as Castells maintained (1977b),<sup>130</sup> but, following Weber, a «conjunctural crystallization of individual positions» (Pardo 1996: especially p. 184; but also p. 209, endnote 23). Pardo's claim is not surprising since he finds inadequate, if not arbitrary, any attempt to use the concept of class in the study of what he calls «lives of real people» (Pardo 1996: 177-87); there can be no place for «class struggle» (ibid: 28).<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> The fact is, though, that both individuals and societies are connected by an ongoing dialectic conflict that has construed both in mutual terms from the very beginning. This is marvellously recollected by Raymond Williams when he traces the historical continuity between both terms, while rejecting any development based upon an exaggerated abstraction that ends with the uniqueness of individuals and the relations that make societies (Williams 1963: 89-119).

<sup>130</sup> By «collective consumption» Castells (1977b) referred to those means that are necessary for the spatial reproduction of the labour force. For a previous development see Castells (2006).

<sup>131</sup> What class struggle may mean is already a troubled struggle in itself (Dworkin 2007 and Carrier 2012). This is something Marx perfectly captured in his well-known account on the class struggles in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-France, which not only involved the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie, but also entailed the struggles of what the working class was, and hence what socialism, a supposedly revolutionary class strategy, was about: «This socialism is the

Nevertheless, Pardo's use of the term «conjunctural» might uncover the academic ruses he puts into play.

Developing on insights found in Callinicos work (2004), I argue that agency found in individual free choice actually draws its powers from structural forces, but also, I may add, from the relations that take place within a historic context. Whereas structures are forces that, mighty as they may seem to be, can eventually be morphed. Relations, including those of production and consumption, are historically contingent. Agencies have conflictive interests due to the objective determination of their positions within the web of forces and relations, all of which nevertheless contribute to how agencies are subjectively practiced.<sup>132</sup> Thus, it is not ridiculous to view class relations, being forces something different, as the actual «conjunctural» interactions amongst individuals and groups within a given structure. This way of viewing class is in tune with the real significance Lefebvre gave to what he came to call the «circumstance-structure dialectic» concerning revolutionary movements:

Compared with the (relative) stability of structures, circumstances are linked with history, historicity and becoming. They are favourable or unfavourable to a certain structure –either upholding and reinforcing it, or corroding and exploding it. If circumstances are unfavourable, the necessary structure will not take root, will not thrive, and will not become active. If circumstances are unfavourable, the structures for action chosen by a revolutionary movement will not be sufficient to dismantle established structures, nor will they be capable of superseding themselves in the course of their action. *The proletariat is not revolutionary by ontological essence or by absolute structure. It is revolutionary in certain circumstances, but (given favourable circumstances) only the proletariat can be revolutionary right to the end* (Lefebvre 1995: 82).

There is a great leap from the production put forward by Callinicos and other Marxist social theorists to the «production as a totality» that inspires my «urban labour»

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permanent declaration of revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat, as a necessary transition point to get to the surpression of class differences in general, to the surpression of all the relations of production upon which they have rested, all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the transformation of all the ideas that come from these social relations» (Marx 1968: 50).

<sup>132</sup> The structures Callinicos (2004) refers to are not about consumption per se but about production. However, following Marx (e.g. 1973: 90-4), consumption may be understood not only as the moment in which production realises itself but the one in which it reproduces the whole of the production process.

hypothesis (Section 2.6.). It may seem daring, but Mari and Rafi's entrepreneurship is beyond the mere individual management of their affairs and needs to be understood as part of a greater collective endeavour. It could be the case that the Naples Pardo (1996) describes is radically different from the Ciutat I have researched. Yet I find it hard to believe that such similar and relatively close urban settings can offer such a different picture. I venture the difference lies in the researcher's gaze. Thus, Pardo's position before and after his field research is different from mine.

Therefore, the a posteriori interpretation we each make of our own findings is necessarily influenced by our position in the field. Returning to my own argument, I have earlier mentioned «forces and relations of production». Of course, these are not frozen in time, plus they may vary from place to place, which means that what one encounters in the field is not necessarily the whole of a process but rather a partial account of it, or, at worst, a mere snapshot. These are matters to deal with later in Sections 2.3. and 2.5., in my later insights on the issue of scale. Before I go into the details of how I bring together my findings with broader theoretical developments, and since I am already entering matters related to theory and methodology I think it is time to look at some of the tools I use.

So far, I have shown the path that drove me to the field and I have offered a close descriptive look at this trodden field through concrete descriptions. The aim in the following block of sections, though, is to zoom out. I now seek a more abstract level of analysis, one that departs from the insights on class just mentioned, and not only reflects upon the disciplinary frame I wish to include this work in, but also hints at the methodological apparatus that lies behind the stage, as well as some field research techniques I have developed. I likewise expect to offer some insights into where I come from so that I can later consider the main topic of this thesis, gentrification understood as a space and class relation, at a meso-level of analysis, in between description and theory.

### **1.3.1. Urban anthropology? Urban studies? Anthropology of the urban?**

A recent journal editorial (Searle 2014), picking on equally recent materials from elsewhere, showed its concern with what we actually mean by urban and how we are

supposed to grapple with it now that it seems to include everything. This is not a banal question. As the same editorial argues, while most of the population lives in urbanised territories, the theoretical dimension of the urban has enlarged and it now means almost anything related not only to cities and city life but also to any contemporary matter, countryside ones included. The Marxian abolition of the city and countryside divide via the view that holds the latter as an outcome of the division of labour of the former is a major theme throughout Lefebvre's work (e.g. 1972: 27-69).

This is also a major topic within anthropology. Take Wolf's examination of the different ways agriculture related to the city from the point of view of the level of agricultural surplus provision conferred to urban life (2001: 194-195). Even on the level of how we experience this divide between the city and the country, Gavin Smith offers an amazing *en passant* insight when arguing against the early 1990s ultimate new ethnographer that was supposed to give an «intellectual» alibi to the shifting capital-labour relations that were taking place in the Western industrial context:

The way we construct 'city' and 'country' is not just a function of some Hegelian opposition 'within the text', rather it is specifically a product of the way capitalism exploited the environment; a process we may simultaneously deplore and still yet see as progress. The emergence of city and country as contrasting symbols resonant with a whole package of associated sentiments is related precisely to the way we experience these modern social relations (Smith 1991: 222).

Yet the trend of making of the urban an epochal planetary issue is not new, not new in terms of the productive relations that take place and not new, in terms of how we experience these and offer accounts of them. As Lefebvre (1998) already announced, the urbanisation that made industrialisation possible, actually followed it too and it now drives to take over the world, rendering the city, as Lefebvre would later remind us, an object of the past (2003).<sup>133</sup> Yet what Searle misses here is that, unlike the city, the urban is not an object.

Let me develop on this topic by looking at the relation social anthropology maintains with «the urban». It has become commonplace to state that urban

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<sup>133</sup> Merrifield (2013) returns to this Lefebvrian thesis by using the Occupy Movement as an example of how worldwide urbanisation has revamped itself compared to when Lefebvre began to postulate his urban society thesis in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Lefebvre 1996 and 2003), just after May 1968 (see Lefebvre 1969 for his reading on May 1968).

anthropology is as a sub-field of social anthropology that lacks a clear-cut definition infested as it is with a plethora of approaches.<sup>134</sup> In fact, this fuzziness is perhaps inherent to its very same emergence and, most probably, it has positively haunted it ever since its first inception, to the degree that many just avoid using the term and prefer to focus on its implications for categories that have long concerned social anthropologists.<sup>135</sup> Likewise, whereas some argued for an anthropology *in* the city, others supported the view of an anthropology *of* the city, which respectively meant the city as a subject or the city as a locus of research (Breitborde 1994: 8).

Those for the anthropology *in* the city, claimed the importance «of *adaptation*, that is, the strategies that people, both as individuals and as members of groups, use to cope with the demands of life in the city» (Gmelch and Zenner 1988: x). They thus predicated the relevance of the anthropologist *in* the city (Foster and Kemper 1974) and

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<sup>134</sup> This «definition» is as blurred inside as it is on the outside. Sociology, geography, history, economy and many other disciplines also have their urban so-called subfield. There are even important strands of thought that lay out of academia strictly speaking and have become in some way or other foundational, such as the particular political ecology found in Bookchin (1986). Indeed, the literature on the subject of the city is vast. Back inside social anthropology, some authors speak of the «anthropology of urbanization» rather than «urban anthropology» (Brash 2006). Near to these we find a continually updated interest in Lewis' «culture of poverty» (Lewis 1979), like the work developed by Maskovsky (2001).

There are many publications explaining the cradles, upbringings and swings of the family tree of urban anthropology. One of them, which I find of special interest, is Rollwagen's personal historical account from his experience at the journal *Urban Anthropology*, which in 1982 became *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* (Rollwagen 1991). Since the appearance of *Urban Anthropology*, the sub-discipline has definitely grown and spread from its original Anglo-American birthplace. Take for instance Gutwirth's landmarks in urban anthropology (1982). He there relates the relative growth in English-speaking academia with its first developments in France. It is important to notice that urban anthropology is a quite vast field. Let us take a few examples to illustrate this. Whereas Ulf Hannerz's approach from 1980 aimed at explaining the urban modes of existence from the roles people make by engaging in them through socially organising their meaning (1980: 242-315), Amalia Signorelli's mid-1990s contribution moved on to elucidate the housing problem and its relation to the prevailing home-ownership culture (1999: 89-139). Another different way of understanding urban anthropology is Josepa Cucó's, who dealt with the mediation structures social movements represented (2004: 115-213).

<sup>135</sup> This is the case of Herzfeld's chapter on urban life in his now well-known anthropological handbook. Rather than involving the term urban in its title, Herzfeld prefers to name it «Borders/Nodes/Groupings» (2006: 133-51), in what seems an attempt to partially recover Leeds' vocabulary (see Leeds 1994: 165-91). Having said this, Herzfeld clearly acknowledges that «urbanization, while uneven in its intensity and in its practical effects, has drastically altered the object of anthropology during the lifetime of the discipline» (Herzfeld 2006: 151).



attempted at clustering cities by means of the regions where they were to be found (e.g. the Mediterranean contributions that appear in the volume edited by Kenny and Ketzer 1983). There are updated versions of this «*in*» approach, a recent one of which is Pardo and Prato (2012), who emphasise the place (micro) character of cities as opposed to their spatial (macro) dimension when stating «cities should be addressed as places of meaning and identity» (Pardo and Prato 2012: 13).

For these authors (see also Prato et al 2013), it is the ethnography *in* the city that produces theory, never the other way round. We must admit this idea of the field speaking for itself appears extremely harmless, yet it hides an irresponsible attitude towards the researcher. After all, the ethnographer is no other than the subject that frames the field to her own requirements and commitments. Section 1.3.4. offers a relatively larger account on the role of the researcher's position. Instead, those for an anthropology *of* the city assigned overlapping domains of inquiry to *the urban* while stressing the *city* was not a container but rather a *context* (Eames and Goode 1977).

Of course, what constitutes such «context» is a further matter of discussion, especially when, as we will soon see through Delgado's prism, the urban is not necessarily the city, regardless of the Gargantuan efforts invested in tracing its whole «built» historicity (Bookchin 1995 and Southall 1998). Yet as the same Southall had already stated, finding inspiration in the teachings of Durkheim, Simmel and Tönnies, what characterised this built urban environment was the high density of social interaction (Southall 1973b). In a rather similar line of thought, others, like Fox (1972), while bitterly accusing those who reproduced primitives *in* the city, were interested in the ideological and behavioural links between cities and societies.

Finally, within this «*of* tradition» there were also those following more clear specific Marxist threads. Here, the main trends related to the flow of capital and to class formation and struggle. An example of these approaches is Lynch's Harvey-driven account on the move of industrial capital from cities of the global North to cities of the global South (Lynch 1994).<sup>136</sup> Class struggle was often considered the main

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<sup>136</sup> «Harvey» refers to the well-known geographer David Harvey to whom I return in the following paragraphs and sections. His most influential work on the city was the one that placed it as determinant in the limits to capital (Harvey 2006a).

constituent of urban life. See, for instance, Gutkind (1981), who, very much in tune with the main thrust of the argument here endorsed, and despite the distance in time, space, and his actual subject, he strongly emphasised economic determinism. Notice that the defendants of the anthropology *in* the city avoid defining the term «urban».

Meanwhile, those who advocate for an anthropology *of* the city make of it, whatever its meaning, the cornerstone relationship that takes place within the city as a context. I will soon briefly return to this distinction since it is loaded with important meanings on how to seize the object of study. However, my concern here is to play down the issue of having to choose between *in* and *of* since content and context are two sides of the same coin. There cannot be place without space, nor identity without class, nor meaning without struggle. Among many other views, besides those for the *in* and those for the *of*, there were also those anthropologists who rejected the very label «urban anthropology» –but still embrace the concept of the «urban».

For instance, Leeds (1976: 449) argued that positions such as Foster and Kemper's (1974), supporters of the *in*, overall tribalised the city and they thus implied that the search for a grand theory made little sense. For Leeds (1976), this was a major error. In fact, in his strong critique of Foster and Kemper for remaining theoretically, methodologically and technically numb, Leeds demanded to leave behind the quantitative and qualitative divide: «[q]uantification, based on precise qualitative determination of categories, is essential» (Leeds 1976: 449). Leeds also aimed at an anthropology beyond, but supported by, ethnography so as to surmount a needless parochial understanding: «[t]he particularism of the case studies makes them ungeneralizable to other situations ... they remain anecdotal nonetheless» (ibid: 449).<sup>137</sup>

Finally, Leeds advocated for the need for a firm basis in reality before treading the field and bemoaned the «absence of theoretical, methodological, and substantive training, prior to fieldwork, respecting the field situation» (ibid: 449). Leeds concluded that rather than an urban anthropology, there was a need for an «urban studies». This area of study «must synthesize pieces of geography, economics, political science,

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<sup>137</sup> For Leeds ethnography was necessary but only if analysed and transcended in order to «draw broader meaning from the particular» (Sieber 1994: 22); something Smith (1991) also implies).

history, information theory, and anthropology into a comprehensive approach» (ibid: 449).<sup>138</sup> Yet what did the *urban* mean to him? Leeds would later define the urban as the «interacting confluence» of three forms of specialisation, namely, locality, technology and institution (Leeds 1994: 53), to which he would add:

By definition, ... that which is urban is *always* a matter of degree, and degree of urbaness is measured not by the size of nucleations ... nor by density ... nor by the classical measures of “urbanization” ... but, rather, by an interaction index of the three forms of specialization (Leeds 1994: 54).

Despite his rejection for the label, Leeds’ views and thoughts have remained hallmarks within «urban anthropology» and the main reviews about the sub-discipline written in the 1990s, such as those of Sanjek (1990) and Low (1996). There is one –the main difference in their diagnosis: whereas Sanjek (1990) reintegrates urban anthropology into the general social anthropology, Low (1996) still acknowledges its relative importance as a sub-discipline. However, they both emphasise Leeds’ contribution, especially his focus on the supra-local and local linkages and particularly on the nodal character of cities within a system of flow (Sanjek, 1990: 154; and Low 1996: 386). Not in vain, for Sanjek, who followed Leeds in the volume he devoted to his work (Sanjek 1994), «[o]nly total societies or states are urban, and not particular places within them» (ibid: 33).

I thus argue that the urban, although understood as a level comprised within the system of the State, cannot exist by its own means. A different matter is that of the city, in itself a State. Leeds’ «specializations» maintain the centrality of three classical anthropological tenets: locality, technology and institutions. Of course, these specializations are, in and of themselves, problems that demand careful attention and elucidation. However, what is of interest is that Leeds engages the relations of all three concepts with reference to the issues of scale and the fixing of flow.<sup>139</sup> He does so in a manner that is nowadays almost exclusive to the geographical imagination (such as the

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<sup>138</sup> Notice that Leeds does not use the more recent wording, cross-, inter-, or trans-disciplinarity.

<sup>139</sup> Despite the wariness I share with Rockefeller (2011) on the workings of «flow», in that it naturalises large-scale movements and camouflages its construction as well as it shifts the flesh it involves, his particular (re-)view of the term is rather distant from mine, since I attempt to find an appropriate middle ground. Moreover, Rockefeller seems to owe more to «scale» than to «flow».

seesaws, switches, circuits, and other metaphors used by geographers such as David Harvey and Neil Smith).

Leeds' outcome actually offers an alternative to the urbanisation of capital that Harvey sets forth (e.g. Harvey 1985b), one that certainly does present a couple of problems within the development of an anthropological thinking of capitalism. For instance, Gavin Smith has actually stated that Harvey «has become the non-anthropologist of choice for anthropologists wanting to make a quick reference ... to the special features of contemporary capitalism» (Smith 1999: 149-50). Alternatively, take Roseberry when he warns of the danger in the literature on construction of space, such as that of Harvey, which «cannot be mechanically appropriated and applied to ethnographic analysis» (Roseberry 2002: 61). While on the one hand, I agree with Smith's remark and with the fact that mechanics do not suit ethnographic accounts, on the other, I admit to not quite understanding Roseberry's statement, beyond the idea of canvassing ethnography from other people's theoretical frameworks.

I hold ethnography as a two-way road. Ethnography is not only a means for only applying theory, regardless of who constructed it, but also for producing it or, at the least, for amending the previously applied theory. It even relates to certain sociological thinking. Notice the «space of places» Castells advocates for (Castells 2001), undergoes several adjustments in order to accommodate the requirements of the «space of flows». This is so because the space of flows is where the function and power of our societies is organised and, thus, from it place experience is structurally dominated while schizophrenically disembedded from power (Castells 2001: 451).

However, as Susser wisely remarks in a brief celebration of Castells' achievements, flows (and their network and communication paraphernalia) also generate inequalities in the global economy (Susser 1996: 46). Such an understanding of space annihilates its dialectical character regarding the fix and flow relation it holds (Merrifield 1993, following Lefebvre 1991). Nevertheless, Rockefeller (2011) has this «global economy» in mind when he criticises «flow» as being definitely confined to large-scaledness. Thus while the large-scale projects result in placelessness, the small-scale ones seem to be devoid of any flow whatsoever. This reasoning bears important implications in many different ways. Take the following case as an example of this.

Whereas the classically conceived class struggle surrounding the world of production manages to breach its binding to place by leaping into general abstract theory (e.g. that of the exploitation of waged labour), class struggles related to social reproduction remain highly entangled within the space of places, e.g. workplaces and neighbourhoods, despite the intense flows that crisscross this space (cf. van Kempen and Wissink 2014 who reach similar conclusions when dealing with the neighbourhood from a different standpoint, one in which class is very much absent). Just as the fixity of flow does, the concept of scale rescues traditions of the social-anthropological understanding of the world that put powerful categories in use.

It is important to underline the relation of both scale and flow, e.g. such as Leeds' concern with state formation and circulation of goods (1994). Thus, besides his obvious path-breaking contribution, if I put so much an emphasis on Leeds' contribution, it is because of his commitment to opening the urban to other disciplines through an urban studies synthesis that aims at seizing the urban rather than cities. Far from Leeds' rejection of an «urban anthropology», there is Delgado's «anthropology of the urban». Although he does not directly advocate against it, notice this is not an urban anthropology but rather an anthropology *of*, but not *of* the city:

«social configurations that are barely organic, little if not at all solidified, subject to constant oscillations and destined to immediately vanish ... an anthropology about the unstable, about what is not structured, not because it is unstructured, but because it is *structuring itself*, creating proto-structures that in the end will be aborted. This is not an anthropology of what is ordered or disordered but of what is surprised at the very moment of being put in order, only that we will never be able to see its task finished, because, basically, *that is its only task*» (Delgado 1999: 12).

Here, the urban is not even depicted as a flow between places, as in Leeds' understanding, but almost as an unstable matter that can only be described in its making, never in a given state. Thus, for Delgado, the urban is «everything in the city that cannot detain nor catch on» (2007: 13). In clear defiance of the whole Redfieldian urban/folk tradition from long before Delgado's work, he announces the urban is the opposite of the communal rather than of the rural since the communal precisely implies steady and solid relations (Delgado 1999: 25), regardless of where these are to be found. Thus, the urban consists of:

«a task, a labour of the social upon itself: society “getting on with it”, producing itself, making itself and then becoming undone time after time, always using perishable materials. The urban is constituted by everything that opposes all structural crystallisation, since it is fluctuant, random, fortuitous... that is to say, bringing together what makes social life possible, but before the task comes to an end, as if we had have caught the raw matter of society in the process of a perpetual cooking without end» (Delgado 1999: 33).

This is an extreme, unbounded idea of the urban, which should not be confused with that of urbanity, a somewhat inconspicuous way station, a stopover. Whereas «the urban is what is unexpected, unforeseen, surprising, oscillating...[, u]rbanity consists in the meeting of strangers, gathered together by avoidance, anonymity and other protective films, exposed to the elements while at the same time sheltered, disguised, camouflaged, invisible» (Delgado 1999: 33). This anthropology of the ephemeral, of what takes place without settling in place, is about an unfinished «urban society», since it is endlessly changing the state of its matter without actually settling it.<sup>140</sup>

Whereas Leeds sets forth the urban as a system, precipitated (and nevertheless seized, caught, grasped, apprehended) by the varying combination of locations, technologies and institutions, the urban Delgado brings about is an endless frenetic Heraclitean movement.<sup>141</sup> It therefore avoids systems by being in suspension, diffused, undetermined, in so far as it does not come under the determinations of structured society: not primary institutions, nor administered policy, not the state (Delgado 1999:

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<sup>140</sup> Delgado is indebted to Lefebvre's «urban society», a horizon towards which nowadays society tends while realising itself (Lefebvre 2003). Axelos, whose work Lefebvre praised (e.g. 1976b: 64 and 71; 1991: 20 and 63), supports this view and establishes the urban as essentially the fourth form of property, that of modern times, shifting «its character progressively from manufactural property to industrial capital» (Axelos 1976: 69). This is a completely different account of what Leeds understands for «urban society». For Leeds, there have been plenty of urban societies, all of which differ according to their varying forms of societal integration (following the interaction index quoted earlier). Capitalist society would thus revolve around the centralization of the production process (Leeds 1979: 234), and it would therefore imply the existence of an urban society in parallel to the industrial one.

Furthermore, It is no mere coincidence that, whereas Leeds often caught the field in his poetry, take for instance that poem based on his research in Portugal back in 1978: «How do you write a poem about the F.M.I.?» (1994: 98), Delgado entertains the idea of espousing, through a positivist poetry, a snapshot ethnography, if only for one single instant (2007: 108-27).

<sup>141</sup> As Fraser (2007) lucidly reminds us, Delgado's understanding is actually soaked in Bergsonian duration, one that emphasises time over a space that is mainly understood as a «static moment» (Fraser 2007: 67).

193-4). At first sight, this anthropology of unstable configurations, of the ever-structuring social matter, of appearances, seems to be miles away from Leeds' understanding of the urban, anchored as it is in the confluences and interaction indexes he propounds among the mentioned specialisations so as to make sense of the «essence».

Leeds and Delgado's accounts of the urban are completely different proposals. Yet they are so opposed to each other that they match. It is not so much the certainty that Leeds' heftier confluences are not framed givens that last *in aeternum*, which they are, and that they can actually bear close resemblances with Delgado's ever-escaping social configurations. Rather, the immobility Leeds' specialisations seem to transpire is very much linked with Delgado's ethereal anthropology in so far as they become complementary: «In the city, all political order attempts to feed as it can the illusion of an identity between itself –the *polis*- and the urbanity it administers and supposes under its control –the *urbs*-» (1999: 192). Both approaches to the urban come together because they account for the two sides of the same coin: system and welter.

The urban anthropology I thus propound is far from conflating Delgado and Leeds. Nevertheless, it does acknowledge that the best way to come to terms with Delgado's «adventitious» understanding of the urban, at the end of the day, the negative of Leeds' «essence», is to account for the ceaseless attempts to render life static, that is, to order turmoil as well as to fix its flows. Thus, from the ethnographic descriptions accounted for in Section 1.2., I wish to explore the taming and appropriation of life and the conflicting projects that try to make of the urban a definite state (Aricó and Fernández 2013). This dialectical understanding of the urban is not at all new since it was already present in Lefebvre's own approach (1972, 1978, 1996 and 2003), that previous to his «production of space».

This is thus an urban understood as a liminal domain in between the macro (e.g. structure, political economy) and the micro (e.g. agency, everyday life) that serves as a milieu for political action in the pursuit of claims towards the redistribution of social surplus. This is not the same as viewing the urban in terms of collective consumption (Castells 2004) nor as the necessary capital switch to overcome accumulation crisis (Harvey 2006a) and yet, as we will have the chance to see in further sections, these last

two understandings are a necessary precondition for this political action to take place. In the end, the urban is certainly political (Lefebvre 1976a).<sup>142</sup>

Likewise, the following section draws close attention to the Lefebvrian production of space, which in turn allows an understanding of the urban on a middle level in between Delgado's and Leeds' proposals. In a similar vein, the moments of gentrification we will subsequently view have to be understood precisely under this scheme. After all, in order to come up with a theory there needs to be a settlement of knowledge, no matter how deciduous this settlement may be.

### 1.3.2. Production of space and social anthropology

In 1974, Lefebvre (1991) held space to be social and, thus, a product that brings together the mental and the physical. Only a year earlier, in 1973, Lefebvre maintained social space was a pertinent way for grasping the reproduction of the relations of production (1976b: 7). He argued that social space was: «where the reproduction of the *relations* of production (superimposed on the reproduction of the means of production) is located; at the same time, it is the occasion for and the instrument of a form of planning (land development)» (ob. cit.: 17). I will soon return to the ideas the formulation of «the production of space» embodies. First, though, I wish to look at how Lefebvre's work has been treated recently.

Following part of Unwin's critique (2000), I admit Lefebvre's language is arcane and that his use of space is ambiguous. One might also argue Lefebvre's work is not relevant to understanding the current state of affairs, that it belongs to another era and that it is not possible to understand the gentrification of Es Barri through his lens. However, I believe this view would be flawed because, following Kipfer et al (2012), what counts here is not the specific objects Lefebvre speaks of, which to a certain extent can also be found in the field, but the dialectical method of the open-ended Marxism he professed and which he applied to the urban and spatial issues dealt with here.

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<sup>142</sup> However, for Lefebvre (especially 2003), urban society is a kind of distant, utopian ideal to be achieved at some point in the distant future (Coleman 2013 and Pinder 2013). It follows the subsumption of industrialisation by urbanisation rather than merely acknowledging urban planning as an appendix to the reproduction of labour industrialisation (e.g. Esteva Fabregat 1984: 323-62).



On a different level of thought, it is commonplace to state Lefebvre's presence is very much absent in academia (e.g. Aronowitz 2007). Yet the literature one can find through a quick internet search proves quite the opposite. Articles published in many journals refer to him, not to mention to his work. Furthermore, besides the references to his books, and to the prefaces, introductions and afterwards to the translations of his publications, and collections of texts, there are also major works that explain his life and oeuvre. Regarding the latter, I here bring forward a list of different approaches both in terms of the biographical cuttings they choose and of the angle they take, and the interpretation they make: Hess (1988), Shields (1999), Elden (2004), Merrifield (2006), Goonewardena et al (2008), Stanek (2011) and Butler (2012).

In fact, Lefebvre's thought has become so widespread that authorities have appropriated it across the globe and at several different geographical scales. The most clear example of this is his «right to the city», which began permeating the local and national urban discourse in France throughout the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, but always after ripping off its political, critical and utopian clothing, which means forgetting Lefebvre in toto, the one who forged it (Garnier 1994).<sup>143</sup> In fact, the academic production on the right to the city has become as vast as the one on the «production of space». Mitchell (2003), Marcuse (2009), Shields (2013), Glass (2014) among many others, update the social justice implications of the right to the city from the standpoint of critique.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> One of the most blatant examples of this tamed and institutionalised use of the right to the city is found in those international debates organised by prestigious institutions such as UNESCO. Here, mayors, policy makers and academics from across the globe make in their own right a misuse of Lefebvre's combative statement, making out of it a catchy slogan (UNESCO 2006). However, there are alternative uses at hand too. Think of the very Right to the City Movement, an organisation that has as its main aim the struggle against the exploitation and oppression that takes place in the urban built environment. The movement has the support of the leading Marxist geographer David Harvey, whose work has been devoted to developing Lefebvre's thought for our times (see: <http://www.righttothecity.org>, 28/08/2013). Garnier (2012) is perhaps the clearest attempt at tracing the continuity between Lefebvre and Harvey concerning the right to the city. This right to the city has also inspired much thinking on the right to the built environment or to housing (Gledhill 2010).

<sup>144</sup> Take for instance Purcell, who stretches further Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city by viewing it as a right made of a particular scale of participation and appropriation (Purcell 2002), one that far from being an end in itself, sets the beginning of a true urban struggle (Purcell 2013).

Although Lefebvre is perhaps the most well known author to deal with space in recent times, he is not the only one. Space has been a major topic throughout history and even «social space» has received plenty of attention too, in part thanks to Lefebvre's work.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, even «social space» was already thought of long before Lefebvre came on to the scene. Take Durkheim for instance, whom Lefebvre was definitely reluctant to quote on these matters: « The space which I imagine beyond the horizon is still space, identical with that which I see» (Durkheim 1915: 85), or:

[I]f the world is inside of society, the space which this latter occupies becomes confounded with space in general. In fact, we have seen how each thing has its assigned place in social space. The degree to which this space in general differs from the concrete expanses which we perceive is well shown by the fact that this localization is wholly ideal and in no way resembles what it would have been if it had been dictated to us by sensuous experience alone (ibid: 442).

After all Durkheim did explore the social implications of space by establishing the correspondence of the form of the group with that of the representation of space: «the social organization has been the model for the spatial organization and a reproduction of it» (Durkheim 1915: 12).<sup>146</sup> The one who did carry on with the Durkheimian project of social space in an explicit manner, was the French ethnologist Georges Condominas. In the introduction to a work of his on South-East Asia (Condominas 1980), he tracked

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<sup>145</sup> An exhaustive list of authors is impossible here. Just so we get the idea I here name a few important authors who either spared some thoughts on the topic, made it central to their career, or developed it from an anthropological perspective –in many occasions from a different standpoint than that of Lefebvre: Soja and Hadjimichalis (1979), Foucault (1986), Gupta and Ferguson (1992), Santos 2006, Corsín Jiménez (2001), Massey (2005), etc.

<sup>146</sup> The Lefebvrian «representation of space» is yet another concept that can be found in some way or other in Durkheim's conceptual quarry: «collective representation», although with a much stronger ideological component in Lefebvre's work. Lefebvre never actually acknowledges any relation whatsoever with Durkheim. However, as I will soon show through precisely this very same Durkheimian expression, «collective representation», Lefebvre knew Durkheim's work very well:

... every ideology is a "collective representation," but whereas to Durkheim society is an abstract entity, to Marx it results from practical interactions among groups and individuals. Thus a given ideology does not characterize a society as a whole; it arises out of individual inventions made within the social framework in which groups ... struggle to assert themselves and gain dominance. ... Viewed from outside, ideologies seem self-contained, rational systems; viewed from inside, they imply faith, conviction, adherence ... [I]deologies impose certain obligations on individuals, but these obligations are voluntarily accepted ... Thus the power of ideologies is very different from that of Durkheim's "collective representations." (Lefebvre 1982b: 75).

the origins of the expression «social space», and he gathered and commented upon its different meanings. Nevertheless, he also took the daring and brave step of offering a definition. For Condominas social space is «the space determined by the set of systems of relation, characteristic of the group under consideration» (ibid: 14).

Deviating somewhat from Durkheim's arguments, although explicitly despising Marxist approaches such as those of Lefebvre, Condominas was interested in the views the insider had of the environment that surrounded him.<sup>147</sup> These systems had to do with social organisation, alliance to adjacent groups, embodiment of others and the way in which the world of imagination related to the meanings produced by value systems (ibid: 75). Condominas' aim was to indicate the bounds of circulation and action of a group by taking into account its conception and mode of spatial organisation (ibid: 76). Although there are fundamental and acknowledged differences between Condominas' emphasis on «groupage» and Lefebvre's objective account of social space as the «location» of the social relations that are inherent to both ownership and production, there are consistent similarities too.

For this, though, we will need to take Lefebvre's subjective understanding of social space. Long before he became well known for his interest in social space (1991), he came up with a subjective definition that could have also been signed by Condominas:

Subjectively, social space is the environment of the group and of the individual within the group; it is the horizon at the centre of which they place themselves and in which they live (1991/2002/2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> volume: 231).

However, Condominas' understanding of social space is not enough for grasping the dialectical totality of social space. Although it delves into what Lefebvre understood as

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<sup>147</sup> Condominas was not the only one to demise a Marxist approach to social space. Bourdieu states the need to leave the Marxist tradition aside (Bourdieu 1985). He argues that social space is relational, and by this he understands how social space, in its objective sense, serves to group individuals in practical terms (clubs, associations, families, political movements) rather than in what he considers to be a mere conceptual reification (a Marxist approach to class). At the end of the day, argues Bourdieu, any structural taxidermy of these groups will be forced to rely on statistical analysis (Bourdieu 1985: 198). Of course, what constitutes a relation is a discussion in itself. One could focus on the relations among classes, rather than individuals or groups of individuals, or on the relation labour and capital maintain. Bourdieu's objective space is far away from Lefebvre's objective social space but rather has more in common with the subjective understanding Lefebvre has of this social space. As I mention in Section 3.2., class happens in disguise. The groupings Bourdieu studies are indeed an expression of class, that of a relation.

the subjective understanding of social space, it avoids catching sight of the relation labour and capital maintain. On the contrary, Lefebvre's approach allows us to retain Condominas' understanding while looking at how labour and capital relate within the realm of habitat, residence, reproduction and so on. For Lefebvre, everyday life and political economy are poles of a same totality. Lefebvre's subjective understanding of social space, or Condominas' understanding of social space alone, becomes a very useful category for understanding and explaining the attitudes members of an organisation have towards their immediate environment, as well as to each other.

This will become clear when exploring the contested field of the neighbourhood scale in Sections 2.3., and 2.5. There, the labour-capital relation could be perfectly viewed within the everyday life – political economy dialectic, with an objective social space that becomes a kind of etic category (as opposed to emic) on the actions of the neighbours' association (they never refer to these or at least not in these terms). Meanwhile, if these actions are ever meaningful to the members of Canamunt, that is, when they reflect on their actions, they most probably are so by working on terms that are closer to Condominas' views, that is, Lefebvre's subjective understanding of social space since for him, social space is both product and means of production (Lefebvre 1991: 85).

And yet, «[t]here is thus no real space or authentic space, only spaces produced in accordance with *certain schemas developed by some particular group within* the general framework of society (that is to say, *a mode of production*)» (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005, 3<sup>rd</sup> volume: 135, my emphasis). Consequently, however disparate, both Lefebvre's urban Marxian and Condominas' ethnological Durkheimian approaches are compatible in so far as location (e.g. of domination and exploitation) and groupage (e.g. as means of organisation and action) equally acquaint for the distinct, but nevertheless linked, dimensions of determination and agency. Without the latter, there would not be any subject capable of transforming society, that is, to reverse Lefebvre's simile, capable of transforming modes of production.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> The issue of the «mode of production» is itself important within what we view nowadays as a more «classical» social anthropology with clear Marxist leanings, that probably make it even more «classical» (e.g. Godelier 1977, Seddon 1978). Take for instance Roseberry's way of

For Lefebvre, materialism explains how society works but it does so in order to transform it. As he wrote in 1959 when looking back at his academic work and political dealings, materialism is no more than a re-absorption «into a general anthropology, that is, in a set of the sciences of man constituting an anthropology: political economy, history, sociology, psychology, ethnography, etc. Which are their relations, objects, domains, methods and techniques?» (Lefebvre 1989[1959]: 34). This was in itself a major development compared to his 1947 notes on a methodology of sciences published posthumously and in which anthropology was depicted as a science of races (Lefebvre 2002: 137), and ethnography a study of traditions (ibid: 138), and political economy was to disappear (ibid: 149-50). In order for political economy to disappear, Lefebvre found it appropriate to apply the critique to all «kinds» of political economy:

How long has it taken to realise that the sub-title of *Capital*, that is, “Critique of political economy”, has to be taken *à la lettre*? Despite its sub-title, for more than half a century, *Capital* has been considered an economic treatise. After which, it has been interpreted as a critique of *bourgeois* economy, containing the premises of a so-called “socialist” political economy, of the partial science that morphs into constraining devices, of the “discipline” that fixes and congeals certain momentary relations all in all elevating them to the rank of so-called scientific “truths” (Lefebvre 1972: 70).

The subject is not at all new in Lefebvre’s oeuvre or elsewhere (e.g. Mandel 1962: 254-6). Lefebvre had already insisted on the narrowness of embracing political economy as the only possible Marxist science in the rotund defence statement he made as he departed from the French Communist Party (Lefebvre 1989[1959]: especially 33-77; but also in 1975).<sup>149</sup> This view actually goes well beyond Debord’s, when he argues that

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viewing «modes of production». Roseberry outlines that these are the outcome of certain class relationships (Roseberry 1991: 174), and he does so in a dialectical approach that is very similar to Lefebvre’s understanding of what «particular groups» do. Both Lefebvre and Roseberry view the formation of classes (their organisation, their struggle) as one of the most important features of modes of production, which in turn are none other than societies and, thus, its subjects are the «makers of the laws of motion» (ibid.). Without necessarily being aware of it, Lefebvre was following a personal adaptation of EP Thompson’s body of work. Despite their different national traditions, both authors shared similar critiques to Althusser’s structuralism (Lefebvre 2000 and Thompson 1978a), as well as the political decision to leave their respective Communist parties after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was crushed to the ground.

<sup>149</sup> Lefebvre was a Marxist and a member of the French Communist Party. He also propagated Marx’s work from a very early time (e.g. Marx 1934, edited by Lefebvre and Guterman).

political economy is a «dominant science» and a «science of domination» (1992: 26, thesis 41). After all, Marx had already stated: «political economy does not disclose the source of the division between labour and capital, and between capital and land» (Marx 1988: 70). In a rather more reserved manner, there are also social anthropologists who will reject the term «political economy». Take for instance Gavin Smith:

... we should be aware that this term rarely has this radical association [socialism] outside the discipline, and that, albeit in different eras and for different reasons, two major influences in anthropology developed their theoretical positions against the political economists: Marx and Durkheim (Smith 1999: 15).

Returning to Lefebvre's use of anthropology, he never qualified it as «social». It first appeared as a bare anthropology, albeit with many reminiscences of a «philosophical anthropology» (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005, 1<sup>st</sup> volume: 70), but it would later be referred to as «cultural» and «structural» (Lefebvre 1991: 122). As happened with his views on Althusser, his most trenchant critique contra anthropology is that held against Claude Lévi-Strauss' (1962, 1964, but especially 1987) because of what Lefebvre understood as a reduction of social structures to mental ones (Lefebvre 1976b: 69-73; but especially Lefebvre 2000). In the next paragraphs, by the term «anthropology», I will maintain Lefebvre's way of understanding it, but I will soon drop it in favour of «everyday life», which can presumably be pinned down through ethnography.

I will continue to speak of my particular understanding of the whole discipline as «social anthropology», one that together with the sub-discipline of «urban anthropology» may get on better terms with Lefebvre's programme. The anthropology Lefebvre's *Production of space* brings about is somewhat in between these two poles

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However, his long tortuous party membership should be understood as a voluntarily heretic one (Hess 1988: 123), and his most prolific dissemination of Marx's work took place after leaving the party in 1958. For a few accounts on why he left the party but not Marx, see Lefebvre (1958 and 1989, originally written in 1959). For examples of his task in disseminating Marx's thought see Lefebvre (1982b, and, especially, 1974 and 1982a), originally written in the second half of the 1960s. Because of this commitment to Marx without the party there have been attempts at placing Lefebvre within an Open Marxism against structuralist and regulationist views (Charnock 2010). Likewise, Lefebvre denies in a heterodox manner the economicist totality since categories such as production, circulation and even the market only have sense when taking into account the social, political, and institutional relations that sustain them (Dieuaide and Motamed-Nejad 1994). A formidable example of this can be found in Lefebvre's work on the semantic field of arts when exploring what he termed «new romanticism» (1995: 239-388).

(total anthropology as opposed to an anthropology on race and an ethnography on tradition), and still bears strong features of these. First, like *Condominas'*, this is not an anthropology *of* nor *in* the city, it is certainly not an anthropology *of the urban* nor an anthropology contributing to a major *urban studies* project, although Lefebvre's production of space is indeed related to the urban and to urban studies.

Lefebvre returns to the idea of anthropology as the study of pre-capitalistic societies (1991: 34), so-called archaic or peasant (*ibid*: 294). Together with ethnology and ethnography, this anthropology addresses what remains of the dual aspect of the «reality» of space, that is, capitalism and modernity (*ibid*: 123), interestingly the old total anthropology he mentioned in Lefebvre (1989[1959]). This is an anthropology that instantiates the research of what is «far removed and isolated as could be imagined from history, from cities, from industrial technologies» (*ibid*: 305). Anthropology, together with sociology, recollects archaisms and studies it uses (1991/2002/2005, 1<sup>st</sup> volume: endnote 90, 264). To cut it short, the view Lefebvre has of anthropology, and ethnology for this case, is that they relaunch and update Roussauism and naturalism (Lefebvre and Régulier 1978: 173).<sup>150</sup>

Second, the anthropology Lefebvre mentions is capable of a descriptive understanding, but only to a certain extent is able to achieve an analytical one (Lefebvre 1991: 122), what most social anthropologists would nowadays refer to as ethnography. Therefore, anthropology, the one Lefebvre has in mind, is well suited to describing the realm of everyday life, «everyday habits» (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005, 1<sup>st</sup> edition: 152), though not necessarily deciphering them. Not in vain for, the critique of everyday life, the task of uncovering and taking into account the trivial, was one of Lefebvre's life projects (e.g. 1991/2002/2005 and 1971a).<sup>151</sup> In a way, this Lefebvrian anthropology relates to the issue of scale I bring forward in Sections 2.3., and 2.5.

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<sup>150</sup> Notice that the opposite of this «remoteness» coincides with the urban precipitated from the confluence of the «specializations» of location, technology and institution Leeds propounded (1994).

<sup>151</sup> Lefebvre was one of the main precursors for the research topic of «everyday life». Later in time, other authors took his lead and developed the concept just as others did later with those of the «right to the city», or the «production of space». The Belgian Situationist Vaneigem (2003[1963]) is perhaps one of the best exponents of taking everyday life into his revolutionary programme.

Its realm, at the level of the micro as opposed to that of the macro, both maintaining a dialectical relation as advanced in Lefebvre (1991/2002/2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> volume: 139-42). Following a Marx-inspired scheme, for Lefebvre the micro which is also a reflection, keeps within its level (that of everyday life) a sense of authenticity, which is lost in the level of the macro, and hence contributes to a sense of alienation.<sup>152</sup> Clearly, if stripped from its complexity and not problematised, this understanding of what anthropology is about, becomes the study of the «pre-» and the «ante-», and of its residues if not survivals, with the mission statement of dealing with the «other» and therefore with the firm conviction of who oneself is, or at least should be. Furthermore, it is also an ethnography confined to a mere description of the data collected and devoid of any attempt at interpretation or explanation, let alone transformation.<sup>153</sup>

This is an ethnography-based anthropology that is purified of any conception of the world and unframed by any theory with strong claims to become the theory. And yet, returning to his 1959 idea (published in 1989), for Lefebvre, anthropology holds, together with political economy, an important role in situating the history of space, since it «must account for both representational spaces and representational space, but above all for their interrelationships and links with social practice. The history of space

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<sup>152</sup> Goonewardena reminds us that Lefebvre's «everyday life» is not Habermas' «lifeworld» nor, as lifeworld is, is it the opposite of «system» 2008: 129). In any case, everyday life is about a more or less faked non-alienated existence in which non-everyday life equates to alienation. The only way to overcome this alienation camouflaged in everyday life is by taking the hand of a critique that will allow appropriation (ibid: 128).

From a rather different standpoint, that of a blend of philosophical and Marxist anthropology, Levine comes to support Goonewardena's Lefebvrian-inspired view: «Only by a deliberate alienation from everyday life can authentic existence be achieved» (Levine 1979: 24-5). Although Levine's work, which also draws on Habermas' the philosophy of language, also aims at a critique of everyday life, it is interesting to notice that while she makes use of Heidegger's *Dasein*, which she translates as existence, Lefebvre's own critique of everyday life, most of which was published long before, is absent from these references, although he most probably knew of their existence. Ledrut (1973), writing in the same years as Lefebvre was envisaging his *Production of space*, would end his major work on the images of the city and on the possible overcoming of the alienation of the urban by invoking the *political* and *positive* involvement of the working class in building the *city of life*. For Ledrut, without such a class, the overcoming of urban alienation would become meaningless.

<sup>153</sup> This way of understanding ethnography is the opposite to the point Nader (2011) makes and views it as a theory of describing rather than a mere description, more often than not deemed subjective while subjectively fencing any kind of scientific objectivity. I return to the role of ethnography within the anthropological project in Section 1.3.3.



thus has its place between anthropology and political economy» (Lefebvre 1991: 116). Thus, the history of space is a critical productive process that unites the critiques of everyday life and of political economy (ibid: 42).

Whereas the first of these critiques, that of everyday life, is the critique of what is qualitative, experience (use value) that at the most can be described (ethnography); the second critique, that of political economy, is none other than a critique of what is quantitative, project (exchange value) that at the most can be dissected and is often rendered as abstract. Thus, Lefebvre returns to the dialectical relation he had already established between the two kinds of reflections the social bears: everyday life as micro and political economy as macro (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> volume: 139-42). Both critiques are required in order to understand the production of space. Neither experience nor project can actually be explained except in relation to each other, thus, their explanation is about practice, that is, forcefully dialectical.<sup>154</sup>

At the end of the day, the structures projects provide are experienced, even if not fully realised, and the agencies experiences bring through are projected, at the least when reflected upon.<sup>155</sup> However, Lefebvre does not use the terms «project» and «experience». He refers to them respectively as representations of space and representational spaces. This dialectical tension is the backbone of Lefebvre's *Production of space* (1991) where he explores practice (*the perceived*, itself everyday life) as what links the experience, *the lived*, agency, to the project, *the conceived*, structure. In previous years, Lefebvre put a similar development into practice in the volumes he devoted to the critique of everyday life (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005) where under *everyday life*, he brings together, and in the same order, *everyday* and *everydayness*.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> As early as 1935, Lefebvre wrote on dialectics (Lefebvre and Guterman 1964[1935] and Lefebvre 2009a[1940]). Dialectics was essential for the philosophy and the social sciences he aimed at. In his methodology of sciences written in 1947 but not published until 2002, Lefebvre also gave a central role to the dialectical thinking of sciences in general.

<sup>155</sup> Anthropology has also met both extremes, experience and structure. Whereas experience was pushed in by Turner (e.g. 1985), Lévi-Strauss (1987) represented the structural approach.

<sup>156</sup> Lefebvre's project for uniting the lived and the conceived runs back to Marx's 1844 manuscripts (Lefebvre and Régulier 1978: 174-5). For an early reference that brings together this dialectic see Lefebvre (1989[1959]): «The problem between the living and the lived (the real and the conscious)» (564).

At various points in the *Production of space*, Lefebvre uses the terms «science of space» and «history of space» in similar ways. However, towards the end of this work he states: «A science of space or ‘spatio-analysis’ would stress the *use* of space, its qualitative properties, whereas what is called for is knowledge (*connaissance*) for which the critical moment –i.e. the critique of established knowledge (*savoir*)- is the essential thing. Knowledge of space so understood implies the critique of space» (ibid: 404-5, his emphasis).<sup>157</sup> Thus, the science of space looks at the uses of space. As for the knowledge of space, it involves viewing the history of space as its critique by tracing and uncovering the contradictions that lay in its process (see Lefebvre 1976b: 18).

In this light, the history of space becomes one, the unity of both the critique of political economy, worked out by Marx, and the critique of everyday life (a possible anthropology?), Lefebvre brought about. Therefore, just as Leeds announced for the case of the urban, Lefebvre is definitely aware that space cannot be apprehended solely through anthropology or from any other single discipline (Lefebvre 1991: 412). Furthermore, as already advanced in this section, this dialectic play is only one of the many that Lefebvre establishes, following Hegel and Marx’s method of pairing and overcoming contending terms. Lefebvre’s main triads in his *Production of space* are: representational spaces, spaces of representation and spatial practice.<sup>158</sup>

As Lefebvre himself warns us of, we should be wary about seeing each of these terms as self-contained since they are always in relation with each other. Nevertheless,

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<sup>157</sup> Here the introductory quote of the singer-songwriter Ovidi Montllor in Section 2.6. comes to mind: «Never trust space» (Montllor 1972). This is the title of the third song written for his first recorded L.P. The song speaks about how capital, arriving from the outer space, placed new conditions on the Spanish labour market at the dawn of the so-called democratic transition of the 1970s, and on labour’s eagerness to embrace them. Despite Montllor’s references to «outer space» and to the workplace dimension of labour, the urban crisis we have been living since 2008 and the shifting class formation involved seem to share with the early seventies the opening of a new political moment. Parallelisms go further, including the never-ending current adoption of «exceptional measures» and calls for tranquillity that remind us of the how the capitalists of Montllor’s song attempt to instill calm into the masses of workers.

<sup>158</sup> These triads are not Soja’s trialectics. Against Soja (1996 and 2000), I contend that the third term overcomes the dialectic relation between the two first terms. Dialectics are not statically eternal between two propositions. It is thanks to the third term that dialectics works. Once this happens, the third term may unfold into another dialectical relation between two subsequent terms that are overcome by another term, and so on. For a critique of Soja’s trialectics and the postmodern geographies that lead him to a trialectics of space (Soja 1989), see Merrifield (1999).

and in order to shed some light on their rather obscure meanings, I will illustrate each of them with a specific aspect of the cat-massacre case I refer to in Section 1.2.3.2. and Section 2.6. The first term of the triad is that of the representational spaces. They concern the lived, that is, how space is lived, how it is experienced, and how this experience is no more than its own accumulation. Thus, it is the level of the micro (level of habitat in Lefebvre 2003). It is the so-called real space. Here use (use values) is the prime drive, a use that has no conscious horizon of exchange. These are the spaces of social reproduction. Their concretion is possible thanks to the description of everyday life.

The sciences that attempt to achieve this description are many, from which I here highlight anthropology's ethnographic effort (one of Lefebvre's understandings of anthropology). Trivial as it may seem, if we were to take an example from the field data so far viewed, perhaps the image that best illustrates representational space is the everyday life relationship Carmen, the cat feeder, maintains with the cats, the meals she cooks for them, the words she whispers to them, the affection in her strokes, etc. (see the end of Sections 1.2.3.2. and 2.6.). Most importantly, though, representational space is also about how Carmen relates to other cat feeders and how they establish community ties mediated by the act of feeding cats, how they create spaces of encounter without actually seeking them nor consciously reflecting upon them.

The second term, representations of space, is about how space is conceived and made from the abstract.<sup>159</sup> Conceiving space implies projecting it. Thus, representations

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<sup>159</sup> Here Lefebvre's concept of «abstract [social] space» (1991, especially 229-91) followed Marx's developments on «abstract social labour» (Marx 1976/1979/1981, especially the first volume). Abstract space, also social since according to Lefebvre space is always social, aims at homogeneity (ibid: 287) in order to achieve exchange and development (ibid: 289). It is the space that opposes exchange values to the use values differential space fosters (ibid: 352-300), just as concrete labour does for Marx (again the first volume in Marx 1976/1979/1981). For a thorough theoretical analysis of the concept of Lefebvre's abstract space see Wilson (2013). By combining it with the concept of primitive accumulation, Mels (2014) offers an interesting empirical application of abstract space for 19<sup>th</sup>-century Gotland.

The concept of abstract space is terribly important. Notice that what we need to look at here is not the 'land' or mere 'place' qualities of the built environment that are physical outcomes of space, but its social character in terms of the social relations that produce land and place and that are in turn fashioned by them. Moreover, it is a common ground for those criticising Marxist political economic accounts of social space, to highlight its reductionist, materialist and

of space are simply the projections of ideologies of space, that is, world views spatialised into concrete goals, actions propelled by positioned expectations and desires. Representations of space are also about space as an ideal.<sup>160</sup> Within capitalistic society, it brings forth the search for exchange value with surplus value in mind. It entails impacting structures, forces, positions for power that contribute to shaping spatial practice and, through the state, granting it a specific form. Representations of space have to do with what we expect the macro to be, the global space (global level, in Lefebvre 2003).<sup>161</sup> Representations of space definitely contribute to the reproduction of social relations of production, also within the current capitalist system.

Always following Lefebvre (1991), political economy is one of the best exponents of how space is conceived from a dominant standpoint and is dissected into abstraction. An example of the representation of space found in the empirical case of the cats of Es Barri, could be the office design of the cat-sterilisation city-council project involving Canamunt volunteers and coercively involving the pensioner widows as

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economicist view about social space as if it were always abstract. Take Gottdiener (1994), for instance, who after focusing on Lefebvre's distinction between use values and exchange values, and the different groups and classes that are associated to one set of values or the other, states:

... most Marxists have confined themselves only to analyzing abstract space expressed as the economic contradictions which are internal to the process of capital accumulation and externalized in real estate development—that is, in a space reduced to land—the political economists' built environment (Gottdiener 1994: 163).

Gottdiener has in mind, and actually mentions Marxist geographers such as David Harvey. It is true that Harvey focuses on the subject of the built environment but it would be unfair to say he equates this material outcome with social space per se. In fact, in his first clear Marxist political economy work on urban issues, Harvey (1988) does take an interest in exploring social space as the mediating interface between sociological and geographical imaginations. True as it is, he only uses this expression in the preliminary chapters and he soon distinguishes the processual character of the social and the formal feature of space for analytical purposes.

<sup>160</sup> I mention «ideal», expressly bearing Weber's «ideal type» in mind, that is, «a purely rational course of action ... which has the merit of clear understandability and lack of ambiguity (Weber 1978: 6). This «ideal» dimension tunes in to how these conceptions are projected. The view that holds the representations of space as Weberian ideal type gains even more strength, since ideal types are projected from the outside, thus, seemingly self-contained. Having said this, and as already mentioned, «representation of space» also refers to ideology.

<sup>161</sup> This static and/or capitalistic use of space is instrumental, it is de-socialising and it is purely commoditising. State and capital alienate, universalise and de-historise space in order to get control of it. Instrumental space becomes an exchange value that conditions and contains people beyond sociability and everyday life and it embraces real estate, property, and zoning (Lefebvre 1991: 11, 281, 350...).

indentured cat feeders. Thus, this project would act as an appendix of the renewal strategy devised for Es Barri within the overall planning scheme that seeks a sanitised vision of Ciutat. At the end of the day, renewal strategies have always worked hand in hand with hygienist ideologies. The attraction of investment in the form of new inhabitants and tourists normally requires an idea of virginal cleanliness.<sup>162</sup>

The third term, spatial practice, brings together production and reproduction. Therefore, spatial practice is also the perception of the tension between production and appropriation. Thus, it is a contradictory space, a social space that gels together, unites, the other two terms of the triad in what Lefebvre comes to call the urban space (the urban level in Lefebvre 2003), the mediating space between the micro and the macro levels. It is therefore the most contradictory space of all, that which also bears the seed of conflict since it brings together different instances developed in the realms of the spaces of representations and representational spaces. We may critically gain knowledge of spatial practice through the unravelling of the history of space.

Most importantly, as already seen, the place of spatial practice is at the kernel of the labour theory of value inspired by Marx's oeuvre (*Capital* indeed, 1976/1979/1981, but especially his preparatory *Grundrisse*, 1973) but now related to the production of space, not the production of objects in space. In our cat case, the meso-level of the urban with reference to spatial practice, would be the meetings held by Canamunt to talk about the sterilisation project and the varying degrees of involvement generated by the meeting. It would also be the contradictory space in which cat feeders consent to feeding the cats despite also sterilising them. Spatial practices also relate to: the gossip the cat-sterilisation project caused in Ca na Mari; the tactics developed to accomplish or abort the project's initial design; the use values that become exchange values in a given moment, and so on.

From what has been said so far, in order to attain the production of space, there is a need for a critique of spatial practice, which forcefully involves both a critique of

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<sup>162</sup> Take for instance Haussman's «hygienic scientific» intervention in the «metabolic» Paris had in mind (Harvey 2003b: e.g. 255) or, since we are speaking of Ciutat, the treatise the engineer Estada wrote to justify pulling down the Renaissance ramparts at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century of what as from that precise moment would be known «as the Centre» –initially so as to «allow» its physical growth (Estada 2003).

political economy and a critique of everyday life. With these interlocked projects, Lefebvre's aim is to show the path to follow in order to change social relations. These cannot change if the way in which people practice both space and time does not change first. As seen, such a critique aims to unravel the productive process that lays at the heart of space and necessarily demands a history of space, rather than a science of space. Thus, if we were to follow the examples given so far we would look at why pensioners came to be feeding cats in the first place.

It would also entail looking into why these women continued to be involved in the sterilisation project, and how this cat sterilisation programme relates to renewal and gentrification. Thus, a critique of spatial practice involves a dialectical approach rather than an ontological one. It requires looking into a contradictory process, and getting to know how it came to be rather than as a being per se.<sup>163</sup> Such an approach could also work at many other scales beyond the close-knit community of the cat feeders and the members of Canamunt gathering at its meetings. We could also think of the spatial practices, the representations of space, and the representational spaces involved in building the neighbourhood within the whole of the city or the insertion of Ciutat in the island of Majorca and this one in relation to the global tourism industry and so forth. How would the global then meet everyday life?

The understanding of the history of space is a task I believe social anthropology can undertake, and it can do so by combining two fields with more than obvious connections to the discipline: history and geography. Both of these disciplines are each located in time and space. They are themselves the disciplines that establish moments and set distances so as to grasp the social reality that surrounds us. Not that I plan to write a treatise on these subjects but what the next section will certainly try to do is think of an ethnography that takes moments and distances as key categories so they are able to contribute to a more solid social theory.<sup>164</sup> At the end of the day, what is

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<sup>163</sup> This is Lefebvre's methodological regressive-progressive method, one I partially follow (for a brief exposé see Hess 1988: 184): Observation informed by experience and a general theory (a theoretically grounded description), an effort to date reality (analytic-regressive), and, finally, a return to an elucidated, understood and explained present (historic-genetic).

<sup>164</sup> The determination time and space play on different societies is a constant in anthropology. The structures these axial concepts carry, supposedly pattern the becoming of cultures. There

social anthropology if it is not a space we produce in order to bring together in a single moment the apparently distant realms of ethnography and social theory?

### 1.3.3. Distance and moment: Fitting in fieldwork and ethnography

Ethnography, the «being there and watching» (Mitchell 1986: 17), is a powerful descriptive tool, especially when developed upon a prolonged field research. It is often seen as the main tool social anthropologists put to use in their research, especially when involving fieldwork. Furthermore, whereas social anthropology seems to require ethnography, ethnography is used in other disciplines too (sociology, geography, etc.). In the end, the relationship between ethnography and social anthropology is almost a matter of bringing together different scales of enquiry: concreteness and abstraction, description and theory, etc. Nevertheless, however correct this may sound, it is not self-evident. There is a distance between them, a gap that is not easy to bridge. Lévi-Strauss accurately perceived this distance between the described object and the thinking subject:

We could compare the anthropologist's position in the social sciences to that of the astronomer in the natural sciences: man is apprehended through his remotest manifestations, over a distance which acquires temporal, spatial, and moral value. The distance which separates the anthropologist from his object of study reduces the complexity of what he can see, but, making a virtue out of this constraint, it forces him to perceive only those phenomena which may be considered essential.

... this distance allows the anthropologist to be more objective, by forcing him to abandon not only his own beliefs, preferences, and prejudices, but also, and perhaps most importantly, his own methods of thinking and reflection. The anthropologist tries to formulate his problems and his conclusions in such a way that they appear to be reasonable not only for him, and the honest and objective observer he would like to be, but for any other possible observer. He creates new mental categories, tries to apply and adapt notions of space and time, of opposition and contradiction, which will reliably translate a particular social experience into a code that can be understood in the context of some other social experience (Lévi-Strauss 1975: 1-2).

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are many examples of this, but just for a glimpse at what has become a classic of structural functionalism, see Evans-Pritchard's chapter on the time and space lived by the Nuer. There, an inward social structural time was determined by an outer oecological time, setting the multi-tribal mediated relation which the «hut» maintained with the «government operating from various centres» (Evans-Pritchard 1940: 94-138).

Distance is also about a scale that is beyond the magnitude, the dimension and the hierarchy (some might argue size too?) that are involved in the neighbourhood project-making practices. Although I there deal with the scale of everyday practice, the fact that ethnography is related to the follow-up of these practices cannot be dismissed easily. The topic of what ethnography actually is about brings us back, now and again, to the dialectic exercise of bringing together while pulling apart methodological research matters of induction and deduction, the concept and the concrete, etc. (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003: 171). In a sense, this takes us back to Radcliffe-Brown's social anthropology based upon comparison:

To draw any valid conclusion from the comparison of two apparently similar customs in two different societies, we must be sure that they are really similar, and to do this we need to know the true meaning of each of them considered by itself. The true comparative method consists of the comparison, not of one isolated custom of one society with a similar custom of another, but of the whole system of institutions, customs and beliefs of one society with that of another. In a word, what we need to compare is not institutions but social systems or types (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 230).

According to Radcliffe-Brown, synchronic analysis was supported by both an ideographic ethnography and a nomothetic comparative sociology, whereas the diachronic historical account was founded upon what ethnology had to offer (Radcliffe-Brown 1986: 9-13). Likewise, whereas the latter explained things had happened, or had possibly or probably happened (normally having in mind those people without any historical records), social anthropology was supposed to account for how and why things happened the way they did (Radcliffe-Brown 1958: 3-128). As with any other science, the theory social anthropology builds upon relies on facts. One way of organising these in a written form and also of achieving future anthropological comparison is ethnography (Herzfeld 2001). As Narotzky puts it:

The way we select and describe will produce a different "reality". ... In the end, both realism and the production of abstract concepts and models that emerge from it but transcend the specific awkwardness of the real seem to be the key to comparability. At the same time, rendering the unique comparable in some measure is the main condition of possibility of a "science"—meaning the collective attempt to arrive at explicative propositions about observable phenomena (Narotzky 2007: 411).



Thus, ethnography, not an art of observation but one of writing on observations, becomes a possible basis for the development of science, since it is a way of putting together facts, observable phenomena. Without this organisation, there would be no theory and facts, the kind of phenomena ethnography writes about, would be unknown to us. The idea is not at all new. It is a recurring one and we may encounter different accounts with varying degrees of emphasis on the need for more social theory or for more ethnography (and fieldwork worked in non-ethnographic ways), depending on the academic leanings and experience of the author. Swinging from the description of the field to theory and back again entails engaging in the distance between them and especially in the moment that brings them together, what some call «the middle level»:

Increasingly, anthropological work pursues mid-level connections by linking individual facets of large-scale theories, topics, and methods to particular but not entirely local objects of study ... In both theoretical and interventionist terms, the dominant trend in sociocultural anthropology is to make creative and critical combinations through partial but suggestive connections (Knauff 2006: 411).

Although one might think, Lefebvre is very distant from this connective intuition, his «urban level» (2003: e.g. 80), is actually about the mediating global and intimate moments that Knauff indicates. Therefore, rather than foreclosing the middle ground that distance and moment invoke, what these terms do is open it up to further suggestions, hence, further queries. Of course, not everybody has used the terms of ethnography and social anthropology in the same way. There is even that third term, ethnology, that Lévi-Strauss reserved for the comparative level we have already reviewed (Lévi-Strauss 1975: 4). For others like Lowie, though, ethnology was a loose synonym for cultural history, ethnography or cultural anthropology (1960: 391).

In addition, the chronological succession that Lowie also described as one of the ethnologist's tasks ought to follow the primary issue of spatial distribution (1960: 410). Nevertheless, although ethnography and social anthropology –the latter here understood as a social comparative theory rather than Evans-Pritchard's study of the institutionalised forms of social behaviour (1951: 1-20)- do require each other, one should be wary of conflating them. With the aim of distinguishing them, Ingold argues anthropology (not necessarily «social») looks at the conditions and possibilities of

human life in the world and ethnography is a practice of verbal description with its own methods, not a method per se (Ingold 2008: 88-89). At the end of the day, Ingold will imply that ethnography is more than an attention seeking methodology (Ingold 2014).

Yet ethnography is not a social anthropology prerogative. Whatever disciplinary turf war there may be (Wallerstein 2003), ethnography is also used by other disciplines, such as geography and sociology. There, ethnography often becomes a methodology in its own right,<sup>165</sup> one that may bring in the necessary antidote to a possible amnesia of theory on empirical social facts. Theory, though, does suffer from memory loss at all. Because it is an abstraction, it comes from somewhere, one possible source being ethnography, that is, the art of description developed from what we encounter in our fieldwork (Wolf 2001: 49-62). Elsewhere in the same collection, Wolf brings together ethnography and social anthropology (he refers to the latter as «anthropology», an anthropology that equates to theory):

... [W]e often take the data observed or recorded as realities in and of themselves, rather than as more or less tangible results of underlying processes operating in historical time. What we need then see and compare are these tangible and observable (and, indeed, often temporary) precipitates of processes, not the processes themselves (Wolf 2001, 336).

Wolf does not question the usefulness of empirical data, but the view that holds them as «the reality». Nor does he reject observation and description as such, but rather asks how they can explain the historic laws that rule how data happens by not taking the flow I have spoken of in Section 1.3.1., but by getting to know how it came to be in a given moment. Furthermore, such an insight into temporality also powerfully suggests how to approach the building of locality (admittedly, the scale of observation ethnography has specialised in, e.g. Sections 2.3. and 2.5.). The local is not necessarily the opposite of the global (see Lambek 2011 for an Arendtian view of this argument) and yet, as Narotzky suggests, it can be an experience of it:

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<sup>165</sup> Since ethnography is an art of description, not anthropological fieldwork per se, it may be used by different disciplines that require such descriptive skills in their own fieldwork, such as sociology, geography, and so on. For a specific example of ethnography turned into a methodology of social science inquiry beyond the contours of social anthropology, see Hammersley and Atkinson (2002).

... local is only a localised experience of processes and relations that overflow them, not a passive expression of global processes, but an active involvement in global processes from the reality of its localised experience (Narotzky 2001: 47).

This concern for the relation the global maintains with location, and theoretical knowledge with ethnography, has been a major subject of reflection within the social-anthropological discipline and beyond. The sociologist Michael Buroway, who seems keen to the accounts we produce from the field, states when referring to reflexive science: «[i]t does not spring from an Archimedean point outside space and time; it does not create knowledge or theory *tabula rasa*» (Buroway 1998: 7). Knowledge might come from the field but it also makes it. Take his previous Popperian observations when opposing his extended case method to the «grounded theory» proposal that primes a bottom-up understanding of how to come up with theory:<sup>166</sup>

[They] proceed from the ground up through a theoretically guided process of constant comparison to develop transhistorical and trans-spatial generalizations ... We, on the other hand, move from anomaly to reconstruction ... When our expectations are violated ... we then turn to existing bodies of academic theory that might cast light on our anomaly. ... The shortcomings of the theory become grounds for a reconstruction that locates the social situation in its historically specific context of determination. ...

Rather than a theory emerging from the field, what is interesting in the field emerges from our theory. Rather than seek ever more general theories that cover diverse sites, we move from our own inchoate conjectures to the existing body of literature in search of theories that our observations show to be anomalous. Rather than treating the social situation as the confirmation of some theory, we regard it as the failure of a theory. But failure leads not to rejection but to rebuilding theory (Buroway 1991: 9).

So, not that the field is a product of theory, but what we find interesting in this field has definitely been theoretically created. The cat-feeder case, see Section 1.2.3.2., may be of interest to someone else because of the kind of sterilising agent the food provided to cats carries. However, what I find most interesting in the activity of the cat feeders

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<sup>166</sup> The «grounded theory» that Buroway (1991) mentions comes from Glaser and Strauss (1967). Although different in many ways, Buroway's extended case method also resembles the «situation» method of Gluckman (see Gluckman 1958[1940]). For Gluckman, a specific situation condensed many other instances that required careful examination so as to bring them back to the original situation in his search for an explanation. Gordon (2014) offers a rich contextual background to Gluckman's fieldwork among the Zulu.

adopts new meanings in a changing neighbourhood to the extent that it becomes a different activity, a gentrified one. Therefore, «theory» is not a devil to exorcise, but the only way to grasp the field, something that coincides with almost any endeavour social anthropologists seek: Theory is essential, before and after the field:

Without theories and hypotheses anthropological research could not be carried out, for one only finds things, or does not find them, if one is looking for them. Often one finds something other than what one is looking for. The whole history of scholarship, whether in the natural sciences or in the humanities, tells us that the mere collection of what are called facts unguided by theory in observation and selection is of little value» (Evans-Pritchard 1951: 64).

After all, advocating for a field that exumes theory for itself devoid of previous theoretical assumptions is only a way of smuggling in one's own theoretical (political?) stance. The fear of theory is telling since it advises us to be wary of embracing a theory that is detached from the field and far too confident in the social lab of the armchair, running the risk of fading social reality into oblivion.<sup>167</sup> Distance and moment need to be considered together since decoupling one from the other endangers whatever understanding of reality, and its eventual turnover by imagination, there might be.<sup>168</sup>

Thus, the aim is «to provide convincing accounts of what is happening to people in varied real life situations and to set these in a broader framework of time and space» (Southall 1973a: 4).<sup>169</sup> Such a project, that is, a history of space, in our case a history of

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<sup>167</sup> The first verse of Caetano Veloso and Moacyr Alburquerque's song «La Barca» already forebodes this: «They say distance is oblivion». (Veloso and Alburquerque 1971).

<sup>168</sup> Distance and moment are about situations. We could either think of these as Gluckman and Buroway's situation method we have just seen in footnote 166, p. 154, or we could think of them as the Situationists did when they became inspired by Lefebvre's «Theory of moments» (1989[1959]: 637-55): «WHAT BECOMES AN ABSOLUTE IS A MOMENT» (ibid: 653).

<sup>169</sup> As seen, the aim of getting to geography and history as cognate disciplines that can inform social anthropology is no novelty and it comes back now and again in different colours and sizes. Even Malinowski's now-classical functionalism considered the value and limitations of «reconstructed pasts» for the fieldworker evaluation of social change (e.g. Malinowski 1945: 27-4, and 153-4, see also Terradas 1993). The way we view how time intervenes in the social realm offers insightful dealings. Take for instance Kalb and Tak's «critical junction» proposal that seeks to look into the relations anthropology and history maintain. They aim to critique the so-called «cultural turn» by emphasising a reinvention of the social by means of the analytical value of interconnected sets of social relations: «... relations through time, relations in space, relations of power and dependency and distinct domains such as economics, politics, law, the family, etc.» (Kalb and Tak 2006: 2-3).

the geography of class within the production of space, can only be attainable by teasing out an appropriate articulation of both description and dissection. Here the «broader framework of time and space» Southall (1973a) invokes, gains an inner dimension besides that of the mere time and space tandem. Take for instance Wolf (2001), who understood history not as «a tale of unfolding moral purpose» but «as an analytical account of the development of material relations moving simultaneously on the level of the encompassing system and on the micro-level» (ibis: respectively, 5 and 23).

At the end of the day, the «real facts» of history's inner dynamic, the «micro-level», is no other than that propelled by the will of people, their feelings and their imagination for morphing social reality into something different, which may be unreal, but that can become real (Thompson 1963). Here we move into a different realm. Matters related to the structural explanation and the intentional understanding (Callinicos 2004), although nevertheless connected, take us beyond the more specific task of bringing together different scales of inquiry, those of the concrete and the abstract, the dialectic of which can be deployed within the production of space.<sup>170</sup>

As seen in the previous section when dealing with the case introduced by Pardo and Prato (2012), there are authors that commit themselves to a field that almost seems to speak theory for itself. However, for me the field is far away from this ultra-bounded sited theory, and certainly not a traditional ethnographic site that embodies a particular local specificity that makes it unique. There is nothing unique in this, since all sites are by definition unique and, hence, comparable. Furthermore, as Candea (2007) holds, the field might be a moment in which to compare, not ethnographies, but theories: «arbitrary location», one that «allows one to reflect on and rethink conceptual entities, to challenge their coherence and their totalizing aspirations ... the arbitrary location is space which cuts through meaning» (Candea 2007: 180).

Candea's method, which resembles Bateson's earlier project (Bateson 1936) still fits within the main idea that the introductory quote by Àngel Palerm to Part 2 comes to support: Social anthropology is about testing and reviewing theories. Whether one

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<sup>170</sup> This theoretical/descriptive, abstract/concrete divide, is another way of understanding scale. For a more social understanding see Section 2.3., and for a more geographical one see Section 2.5.

inquires the field so as to get theory right, or whether the field becomes an object through which to compare theories, the field, what interests us from it, is theoretically bounded by us. Not only does the field speak theory back, but it also becomes a testing site where different theories speak to each other. In this light, Lévi-Strauss' moments of anthropology: the descriptive ethnography, the comparative ethnology, and the analytical anthropology (1974: 4) require a field beyond fieldwork that works as a moment for engagement, for testing and for transforming the world as we know it.

Interestingly, such was the task Lefebvre assigned to the production of knowledge when discussing the role of a transformative Marxism:

The controversy goes beyond Marxism. It strikes at the heart of general problems of methodology and knowledge. Is knowledge a form of immediate consciousness or is it grasped by the concept? Is it found at the level of the lived? Is not description anything else but the first stage? Is explanation senseless or is it possible (even if it is defined as a limit)? Do comprehension and explanation oppose each other? If so, to what extent? What is practice or praxis? How does it relate to theory? Within the Lukàcsian approach, philosophy disappears. (Proletarian) class-consciousness takes its place and its function, that is, it substitutes it, since it seeks totality. A clear and clean thesis. What is then left of sociology? (Lefebvre 1989 [1959]: 562).

At the centre of this art of description that ethnography is, we find a tool for gathering data, and to «track down the inner connection» between the «appropriation of the material in detail» and the «analysis of the different forms of development» it takes –in the terms Marx propounded in his 1873 postface to the second edition of *Capital* (1976/1979/1981, first volume: 102). The moment between the description of social interaction ethnography allows, and the production of space (a critique of both political economy and of everyday life), or for this matter a particular understanding of the project of social anthropology, is relevant in so far as it shortens distances by bounding the specificity of the field while questioning its limits.

Distance and moment are also part of the conceptual toolkit I tease out through the dissection of gentrification's class dimension into its different elements (the ideal of renewal, the matter of neighbourhood and the neoliberal imagineering tourism and heritage involve). The rather labile nature of distance and labour is not a downfall. In their attempt to fix meanings, strict closed definitions restrict their potential scope and the fruitfulness they may bear. Thus, the position of a moment or the keeping of a

certain distance does not necessarily imply their maintenance and rather depends on the reflection of the contribution the examination of these categories makes. Therefore, through a brief reflection of my own position in the field, I will now briefly speak of my own distance towards the field and of further methodological and technical moments that helped to make it.

#### **1.3.4. «Here comes the anthropophagous again»: Methods and techniques**

At the final plenary of the 2010 conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, it was announced that the most downloaded paper of the association's journal, *Social Anthropology*, since September 2008 was one written by Marcus and Okely (2008) entitled «'How short can fieldwork be?'». Obviously, the audience burst in laughter. The authors discuss there several research matters: the project design, interdisciplinary issues, the bounding of the field site, whether there was ever a classical fieldwork research, etc. However, they did not state how short fieldwork could be, which was probably the reason why it was the most downloaded paper in the first place.<sup>171</sup> It is easy to imagine students on a low budget or a tight schedule trying to figure out the ins and outs of their fieldwork, regardless of whether they were to perform it abroad or at home.<sup>172</sup>

My initial concern, though, signals towards the opposite direction. Having spent ten years in and out of the field (2003-2013), I ask, how long can fieldwork be? There are no apparent straightforward answers but the examples collected in Taggart and Sanstrom (2011) in a special issue on the subject, indicate long-term fieldwork enables the researcher to see how his informants respond to change, how personal experiences engage further with the discipline and how greater contact with informants contributes to major understandings. Take Rafi and Mari, who together with several members of Canamunt became my main informants without getting to be a precious

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<sup>171</sup> Evans-Pritchard had a clear idea. He thought the right thing to do was two years in a first field study covering two expeditions with a break in between («for collating the material collected in the first expedition»). Before, though, one should have taken a degree in a subject other than anthropology, done the necessary courses to be acquainted with the latter discipline, written a thesis on a given and then prepared for fieldwork itself (Evans-Pritchard 1951: 76).

<sup>172</sup> For examples of the array of issues an anthropology at home arouses see Peirano (1998), and the earlier contributions to the volume edited by Jackson (1987).

«Ogotemmêli».<sup>173</sup> My relationship with them grew stronger to the extent that they were the ones who looked grateful for finding someone as credulous as me:

It is, I suspect, an experience every field anthropologist has, and certainly one I have had so repeatedly that I have come to think it emblematic of the whole operation, to come upon individuals in the course of research who seem to have been waiting there, at some unlikely place, for someone like you, bright-eyed, ignorant, obliging, credulous, to happen along, so as to have the chance not just to answer your questions but to instruct you as to which ones to ask: people with a story to tell, a view to unfold, an image to impart, a theory to argue, concerning what it is that they, their town or village, their country, their religion, their kinship system, their language, their past, their way of growing rice or bargaining or weaving, their music, their sex, their politics, their inner lives, “really”, “genuinely”, “truly” –in fact- are (Geertz 1995:61).

All of these happen indeed but at the risk of increasing data in such a manner, that it becomes almost impossible to organise it and select what is relevant to the project one has in mind, and according to the theory one wants to contribute to or contest. In the end, what matters is the final aim, the use of the data collected in the research, its quality rather than quantity, the theoretical frame to which they belong, the theory they produce, etc. For my case, the final goal has been this doctoral thesis, but also the several publications that are part of it and the conference papers I have delivered throughout these last years, not to mention that my first steps in the field had to do with the Med-Voices project and its agenda. In a way, field research can be as long as one needs it to be.

It is as much of a problem as one makes out of it. Of course, presumably, the longer fieldwork takes the nearer one is to discerning the inner connections. On the other hand, the longer it takes the more one becomes a «native» and, thus, the more difficult it becomes to discern those inner connections... I clearly intended to distance myself from what the mainstream public understood as anthropology and hence my degree of «nativeness» diminished. Yet, how native is a «native» anthropologist (Narayan 1993)?, is «native anthropology» possible (Tsuda 2015)? Moreover, such positioning implies there is an outsider and in insider frame in the ethnographic

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<sup>173</sup> Ogotemmêli was more than a mere informant for Griaule’s study of the Dogon people (Griaule 1975(1948)). He was the source of knowledge to any understanding of them, and, thus, the gatekeeper of their knowledge, at least in the eyes of Griaule.



encounter (Halstead 2001). One could even argue that anthropologists become natives to their fields, to the extent that they make of them their second homes (Bowman 2008).<sup>174</sup>

Since I was born and raised in Majorca, my father was an «indigenous Majorcan», and because I see myself as a Majorcan, I am a «native anthropologist», thus rendering the question of the fieldwork length irrelevant since one could argue I was born in the field and I live in the field... In fact, this is also one of the traits of urban research in anthropology, distance is not quite the same as in traditional settings (Gutwirth 1978). Furthermore, another easy reply would be that although Majorcan, I am not a native to Es Barri. In fact, I never properly explored it until 2003 when I began my academic research as a social anthropologist. Before that, I had occasionally dashed along the Via Sindicat to buy LPs when I was in my teens or made my shy first incursions in 2001 and 2002, also for academic reasons although I was still far from getting my hands dirty.

Moreover, did my Majorcaness give me any advantage in gaining access to the close-knit networks of Spanish and Portuguese gypsies, or in those of the large population of the Southern mainland workforce, or of the impoverished working-class Majorcan pensioners? No. In fact, would I have been more of a native for the several squatters I encountered if I had been a Danish squatter from Christiania? Most probably yes. Thus, my nativeness varied depending on the group I researched and whatever the members of this group collectively or individually thought of me –very much following the multiplex identity Narayan (1993) brings into question. I have to confess that where I felt most native (but not always necessarily sharing their views) was among the members of Canamunt, resurrected in September 2007.

These were young professionals, who had studied in university, consumed the same media as me, and were politically committed. These younger members of Canamunt shared something else with me too. Whereas I was an anthropologist

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<sup>174</sup> It is not surprising to notice that whereas most of the anthropology developed in the Balearic Islands by foreigners is an anthropology interested in an ethnographic endeavour aimed at a theoretical programme (e.g. Waldren 1996), that developed by locals is rather of a traditional and folkloric kind (Trias i Mercant 2008). Moreover, most of those that are foreigners, if not already living on the islands, end up becoming residents throughout their fieldwork.

ignoring my nativeness, they were newcomers without a positioned consciousness of their role in the gentrification process (Schlichtman and Patch 2014). An exception to this rule was a colleague who was a sociologist. On several occasions he mentioned that he would never move to the Centre since that would make him a gentrifier (!). In any case, I became estranged from whatever nativeness I could have had in August 2007, when I returned from a short field research in Malta. I definitely did not think of this nativeness «problem» there. Clearly, «[t]he field can never be just a physical site. It is in the head, whole body and beyond a designated locality» (Okely 2008: 360).

The issue here is, again, that of distance, not a physical distance, but one that has to do with the methodological position of the self within the field and that relates to Bourdieu's participant objectivation (2003) in so far as it brings in self-reflexivity. Likewise, Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) reflects upon her own distancing from Japan when moving to the USA in 1958. Two decades later, in 1979, when she went to research on her fellow Japanese, she felt estranged, and thus capable of developing the anthropological task she had returned there for in the first place. The process, though, was far from ending, as research among fellow Japanese in Japan developed, she shortened the distance with them again. Concerning this issue, she concludes that:

Distancing is required not only in our endeavor for abstraction of models or patterns of and for behavior, which relies on our intellectual capacity; it is also required in abstracting the patterns of and for emotions (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984: 584).

One could argue that at the end of the day it is a learning process too. My commissioned time in Malta was very specific and I just could not question its length. I therefore solely dedicated myself to research. When I returned to Majorca, my level of engagement with the field was much higher. It had taken time for it to take proper shape, I even had the Majorcan field in my office back in Malta, and even in the very Maltese field I researched. Comparison became constant. Thus, I made from the field, regardless of whether here or there, my «home». I had definitely made of myself a wandering native of social anthropology.

I no longer assaulted with my digital recorder the inhabitants of Es Barri or the people involved in its renewal, but rather hung around, attended meetings, and maintained a field diary in which a theory brought in through my readings,

discussions and reflections, equally mingled with the theory originating in my everyday observations. The aim was no longer to record the voices of the research but to imbue myself with it all through experience (Smith 1999: 19-49), in order to grasp the inner connections that mere recordings could by no means deliver. Of course, this experience does not necessarily mean to interpret the world from the emic's standpoint (Geertz 1983). My experience meant sharing with others. Whereas my informants would provide me with key aspects of the workings of their everyday lives, I would return the favour with whatever they might need that was within my reach and will.

I surfed the net collecting press articles the neighbours wanted and helped Rafi to correct the letters she wrote to the City Council requesting a solution to the situation regarding the *terraces* she was denied on several occasions. I also gave advice to Canamunt many times. I actually became a *de facto* member and they would call me their «neighbourhood chronicler» not without a smile. Once, Mari asked me to illegally force a door so that an old client of hers could enter and rescue a couple of objects she had forgotten in her apartment when evicted a week earlier. I went up the staircase with a young drug dealer that hung out at Mari's place. We unsuccessfully pushed the door. When my partner suggested prying the door open with a lever, I stepped back because of the legal implications such action entailed.

My engagement was also a political one.<sup>175</sup> In the days of the Med-Voices, I was driven by the desire to be a kind of hero denouncing the eviction of a whole neighbourhood, its demolition and rebuilding, as well as its sale to newcomers (see Sontag 1996, where the anthropologist is cynically portrayed as a hero). Some even attempted to make a politician out of me.<sup>176</sup> In time I came to realise that these were

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<sup>175</sup> «Engagement» here is not included by chance. I acknowledge my sympathies for the engagement found in Gavin Smith's seminal proposal for a social anthropology that is part of a wider political project (Smith 1999), and with Lyon-Callo and Hyatt's «ethnography from below» (Lyon-Callo and Hyatt 2003). Further work on engaged anthropologies can be found in *Current Anthropology* 51.2 (2010, see especially Herzfeld's contribution). For a critique of engagement see the work of the so-called «detached» researchers that make up the «objective», at <http://www.detachmentcollaboratory.org> (05/09/2013), who seem to fear the subjective implications of a politically engaged anthropological practice. See Candea (2011) for a recent article following this «detached school of thought».

<sup>176</sup> In those days (2004), I was even approached by a jeweller, Jaume Darder, who read in the newspaper about our Med-Voices research and invited me to his office for a chat. I never really

issues that needed to be understood in the context of a gentrification process, and through the complex relations that unfold with the unveiling of a system, going beyond merely denouncing its evils. I therefore began to study the topic of gentrification after I had already begun working the field.

Whereas at the very beginning of my research I was most probably a kind of nuisance asking questions here and there, and putting my nose into people's private affairs, to the extent that everyone referred to me as «the journalist», towards the end, once I had established stable relationships, people realised what I was up to and even offered a hand. In an attempt at acknowledging my true profession, Mari would proudly announce my arrival to her clients, when she saw me through the window approaching her grocery, with a «here comes the anthropophagous again». However, it is hard for me to say who ate whom. While I feasted on their lives, one course at a time depending on the moment of the research, by bridging distances between us, I unknowingly became their neighbour.

The techniques used throughout my fieldwork have more or less followed a classical model in social anthropology and, as usual, they varied from what I had previously designed to what actually happened. These mostly consisted of recorded interviews, notebook scribbling and countless conversations and observations. I carried out formal and open interviews,<sup>177</sup> but also informal conversations and, indeed, I hung around a lot. Detailed observation and participation in activities together with neighbours (such as the organisation of these activities, attending events, etc.) became necessary at one point or another. I kept an updated diary, which included as many helpful comments as undecipherable scribbles. I analysed the press, and extracted and broke down, for further examination, policy documents such as planning schemes,

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knew what he wanted from me but he seemed to imply that well-known Majorcan politicians of all types and colours had sat in that very same armchair before beginning their careers.

<sup>177</sup> I interviewed a wide selection of people, initially following Griuale's now classic observations (1952). Yet not everybody was eager to receive me. Some did not even agree to meet for a coffee! The two most blatant cases of this were two business owners who played a major role in the first sanitation period of the first half of the 1990s. Ricardo, a mix of an artist and electric appliances shop-owner and Joan, the watchmaker and former head of Canamunt between 1991 and 1995, are the best examples of this attitude. They both adamantly rejected my approaches, phone calls and intermediations. In Joan's case, I even noticed fear.

statistical data, and even tourism master plans. I researched the archives of Canamunt, systematically took pictures, and also collected and reflected upon email messages.<sup>178</sup>

Formal and open interviews were the first way of entering the field.<sup>179</sup> If the interviewees were neighbours, residents and businesspeople alike, I normally followed a protocol of questions on many aspects of the everyday lives of my local interviewees on issues related to workplace, consumption patterns, domestic provision, family matters, knowledge of the neighbourhood environment, relations with other neighbours, neighbourhood politics, etc. If they were technicians, politicians, planners, developers and so on, I would devise specific protocols on the particular topics of interest. At a different scale, I wanted to get to know what city they all aimed at and how their own life stories related to this. I often countered the pieces of information they gave me with what other interviewees had said.

Whether interviews were necessary or not is another matter. They were certainly not that useful for dealing with «common people», since, to a certain extent, interviews are always staged. Information gathered by other means, although less systematic with regards to its collection, always proved much more profitable. This is perhaps the main reason why I do not include many interview excerpts in this thesis.<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless, interviews were good for two reasons. First, they formally enabled me to reach people and they helped to break the ice between us. By this I mean that telling people you are doing research and then asking to record interviews with them, no matter how staged they might be, opens doors. These same people after looked at me differently, in part

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<sup>178</sup> Only a very small selection has made its way into this thesis.

<sup>179</sup> I carried out around 70 interviews with resident population (including former inhabitants), members of Canamunt, shopkeepers, bar owners, artists, writers, planners, technicians, politicians, academics, developers, activists, etc. Among these, there are about ten that were conducted under the aegis of the Med-Voices Project with Jaume Franquesa. Although not included, I have also had access to Franquesa's own research interviews and one by Joan Amer. The length of my interviews varied from a swift 20-minute exchange with a photographer who was a former squatter in Es Barri to a two hour one with the head of a social work services' branch of the Urban project. Having said this, the length of the interviews does not say much about to their quality.

<sup>180</sup> As time went by I relied less on interviews. Almost all the information gathered through interviews could have been collected in other ways, mainly participant observation. Of course, as we will now see, this meant keeping track of conversations in my field diary, something I could not really do in front of my informants..

because they already knew what I was up to (I was no longer «the journalist»), in part because thanks to the staged interview we became «friends».

Second meetings without a voice recorder were always welcomed and provided much better insights. I always made sure I gave plenty of information about myself. This helped people to share their thoughts in a much freer manner than they had in mind when I first approached them. Moreover, interviews were the only way to reach the upper classes, the politicians, the civil servants, the architects and planners, the developers, etc. They all expected me to record them and it would have been impossible to access them through mere observation and hanging around.<sup>181</sup> At the end of the day, since interviews are (dis-)information, they help to gain in-depth insights on what is none other than a peopled field.

Informal conversations took place through casual encounters in the street, at a bar, many times in Casa Rafi, or even in Ca na Mari. As mentioned, interviews could often end up as the open interviews did but, in contrast, I never recorded them and the data was less reliable because it depended on my memory. It could well happen that at the bar someone would tell something she did not want to explain while I was recording her. When I got home, I would rush to my diary and write down the highlights. If it really stood out, I would certainly remember it. Sometimes, while walking back home from Es Barri, I would write on a scrap of paper the data that I found relevant, such as prices and years. I thoroughly developed this technique with the following one, that of hanging around.

Hanging around was something difficult at first. I had no experience in sitting at a bar reading newspapers and figuring out sudokus with an ear on whatever the other clients might be talking about with the bar tender or among themselves. It definitely took some time for me to become part of the bar furniture (mostly at Casa Rafi) and for people to act freely as if I was just another painting hanging on the wall. Observing was easier in public squares, sitting on a bench but with the difference that from

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<sup>181</sup> In addition, the fact that most of their lives take place outside of the neighbourhood, and even the city, makes any other way of sitting with them fairly impossible. Of course, one could visit them elsewhere, something I did on a couple of occasions. There might not even be the need to sit with them since, after all, they are the ones who manage the news of the newspapers, the ones who write planning schemes, carry out surveys for statistical purposes and so on.

benches I could only see people, not hear them. Just as with informal conversations, my thoughts on what I had seen or heard would then go into my field diary. As for detailed observation, it worked in a similar way although it did not necessarily involve hanging around, and was far more focused on the everyday life existence of the inhabitants of the area under observation.<sup>182</sup>

My involvement with neighbours took various forms, the most prominent of which was that of attending the regular meetings of Canamunt starting in September 2007. They allowed me to join them because some members had been interviewed a few years earlier and others knew me from my days of hanging around while working on the Med-Voices Project. I also knew some of them from their student days at university. The fact is that I normally never intervened in these meetings, only on request and this only happened after I had attended many of them. The meetings had to do with the organisation of events, but they were also an opportunity to discuss the pricklier issues among the members of Canamunt. They all got used to my presence at the meeting table, where I sat slightly apart. In this way, I felt less intrusive.

Here, because it was already tacitly agreed, I kept record of the conversations by taking notes. Sometimes, after the meetings we would go out for a drink at one of several bars, normally Bar Flexas.<sup>183</sup> I managed to attend many of the events Canamunt organised and would even involve my own wife and children in the activities (concerts, activities for children, outdoor meals, etc.). Although it was not my aim, in this way I became closer to the neighbours and learnt to share their feelings. The danger was to what extent I was letting myself become «native» and losing track of what actually drove me to the field in the first place. In this sense, it was actually positive not to have my residence in the neighbourhood, as most probably I would have been far too absorbed by the activity that Canamunt was generating.

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<sup>182</sup> This only accounts for the people of Es Barri. It does not say much about the relation of the neighbourhood with the rest of the city, nor does it give an account of the everyday life of the capitalistic and renter classes or of the state bureaucrats and politicians, for whom I reserved personal interviews.

<sup>183</sup> At Bar Flexas, the associated neighbours would relax far more and gossip about several issues or various different people, regardless of whether they belonged or not to the association. When the bar conflict was at its height, Canamunt was obviously accused of favouring the bar where they gathered, in a clear accusation of clientelism.

As earlier mentioned, I kept an up to date diary. At the beginning, I was not very faithful to its maintenance but, with time, coinciding with my disappointment because of the individualised data interviews provided, I realised how crucial this diary was. I was able to track my own evolution in the field and the path I was taking. The diary not only worked as a record of what was actually happening in the field but it was also a kind of ongoing conversation with me. Many ideas that took shape there gained force afterwards. The field, though, was beyond the site. I also read daily press and analysed it and I took advantage of ARCA's exhaustive press clipping that dated back to the earliest 1990s when Canamunt was founded (ARCA is a heritage conservationist association I mention in almost all of the publications that make Part 2).

I after complemented it with my own clippings. I also broke down policy documents mainly related to planning schemes (different PERIs and PGOUs, that is, neighbourhood unit schemes and municipal general planning schemes). I there followed the rules that guided renewal. This was also applied to other policy documents (mainly tourism ones) and to legislation, especially the legislation related to heritage. I also used statistical studies based on demographic data, the main one being carried out by members of the first Canamunt (Associació de Veïnats de Canamunt et al 1993), but also by the City Council and others, such as those of the URBAN Programme of the EU (e.g. Morey + JMI 1998, Image 5, Appendix of images). Canamunt also let me enter their archive from where I was able to follow the minutes of their first meetings, the profile of their initial membership, graphic materials, photos, etc.

I systematically took photos of the field. This was partly because I carried on with the parameters established and developed within the framework of the Med-Voices, in which images held as an important position as recordings. And last but not least, IT became important, especially when Canamunt was reborn and everyone exchanged emails, Facebook was accessed and opinions on which route best suited the freshly recovered association were made available from home. Even ARCA included me in their mailing list. I also heavily relied on the internet to get to know who was who. In addition, some people accessed me through my own publications. In 2006, someone wrote to me in English saying he had bought property in the neighbourhood and



showing a certain discomfort with my analysis on the gentrification process I was detecting.

All of these methods and techniques were important for how I dealt with the field while building it. However, these methods and techniques zoomed on Es Barri, not out. They served to examine Rafi and Mari's doings, and those of all the other people encountered in Es Barri, within a context of renewal and gentrification. Nevertheless, they did not really help to understand these renewals, no matter how specific, beyond the EU inter-scalar policy of the URBAN and the global tourism market that put pressure on the tourism-cum-building activities aided by the worldwide credit and finance momentum of the 1990s. Here, secondary data and reading other authors was necessary, as was drawing on theoretical developments.

The anthropophagous was actually omnivorous too. Not only did I feed on people's everyday lives but I also tasted theory, especially that related to gentrification. Therefore, the following section maps out what gentrification is about in theory and it succinctly establishes the two main phases of disinvestment and reinvestment encountered in Es Barri.

## **1.4. The topic: Gentrification**

### **1.4.1. Peripheral notes on gentrification**

Gentrification is one of those words everyone in Majorca with an interest in urban matters is starting to get to know. In welcoming the handbook on gentrification of Lees et al (2008), Franquesa (2010b) wisely alerts us to the danger of building a «gentrification studies» pseudo-discipline since «what makes relevant the study of gentrification is that it offers us the opportunity, and it obliges us, to study a great diversity of processes that, nevertheless, are not limited to it. Gentrification itself is not as relevant as the window to the world it offers» (ibid: 70). Furthermore, Franquesa proposes, «intensifying ethnographic research on gentrification processes, but under no circumstances advocating for the construction of 'the ethnography of gentrification' as a more or less autonomous academic speciality» (ibid: 70).

This warning is not trivial since the amount and diversity of literature dealing with gentrification has certainly helped to make the study of this process into an almost

autonomous subject and, thus, it has developed a sense of specificity that is precisely running in the direction signalled by Franquesa (*ibid.*), that of becoming an overspecialised field of study. The «vistas» Franquesa implies, are none other than the relations of production of space that trigger processes such as that of gentrification. Furthermore, these relations, that may well take the form of the exchange of objects, are about classes, that is, subjects. Having said this, it is not my aim to box my ethnography into the currently existing production of space, nor to confine the latter solely to gentrification, but rather to deliver an ethnography on gentrification that provides room for further developing the theoretical body on the class struggle implications of the (re-)production of space in order to help to understand class in urban terms.

As we will see in Part 2, I view gentrification as an empirically attainable process that brings together several different issues the importance of which are far greater than, if I may say, the specific case of gentrification that leads us to them. I am here referring to issues of capital accumulation, State intervention, institutionalisation of civil society, class struggle, culture in the making, questions related to scale and so on. All of these have been at one point or other of major concern to the discipline of social anthropology, as well as the broader family of disciplines that contribute in one way or another to social theory writ large. After all, gentrification is yet another form the production of space takes,<sup>184</sup> and ethnography a descriptive tool in our reach for

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<sup>184</sup> Gentrification is not secluded to only one of the analytical categories used by Lefebvre for analysing the production of space. Take for instance the various examples offered by Harvey in the grid of spatial practices he construed without aiming at any kind of systematic exploration (1989a: 220). By using Lefebvre's dialectical understanding of the production of space, Harvey included Lefebvre's spatial practices, spaces of representation and representation of spaces on the vertical axis. On the horizontal axis he added a trio of paired categories which are rather more «geographical» (accessibility and distanciation, appropriation and use of space, domination and control of space) plus a fourth element he dubbed «production of space» but that I would rather refer to as «new systems of land use», following an expression from Harvey's own explanation.

The result is one in which we find the multifarious ways that the production of space takes on the ground: transport systems, agglomeration, turf designation, mutual aid networks, zoning, policing and surveillance, forbidden spaces, community, spatial hierarchies, friction of distance, map making, diffusion of taste, demonstrations, popular markets, spectacles, monuments, etc. Within this grid, gentrification is absent. Among many other possible manifestations, gentrification involves the flow of capital and people characterised by the intersection of

precisely unfolding the field and accounting for its main established features, as well as the diverging processes that take place there.

Although ethnography always focuses on a given subject that becomes an object of research, here the relations people maintain in a given gentrification process, do not necessarily build a fence around them, but rather unbind the object under study. Ethnography places the object of study in relation to the «whole» in its tendency towards a social anthropology, that is, a holistic approach to what society is about departing from our specific case study and contrasting different theories there, as Candia (2007) points out (see Section 1.3.3.). I therefore commit myself to analysing how social classes are recomposed in the light of the descriptive, comparative, explanatory, and critical methodology that an informed ethnography offers.

Any dissertation on gentrification usually starts with its own «Once upon a time». As Slater (2009) rightly comments, such an opening normally invokes the coinage of the term «gentrification» by the German-born British urban sociologist Ruth Glass without actually having read what lies before nor what lies beyond the excerpt that includes the word. The excerpt in question is this one:

One by one, many of the *working class quarters* of London have been *invaded by the middle classes –upper and lower*. Shabby, modest mews and cottages ... have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. ... *downgraded in an earlier or recent period* ... have been upgraded once again. ... Once this process of '*gentrification*' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until *all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced*, and the whole social character of the district is changed. ... And this is an *inevitable development*, in view of the demographic, economic and political pressures to which London, and especially Central London, has been subjected (Glass 1964: xviii-xix; emphasis added).

Glass illustrates a process that takes place in the Central London of 1963 within a context of intense competition for land (a competition that makes of land a social

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«spatial practices» and «accessibility and distanciation», the «representations of space» and the «appropriation of space», and the paraphernalia that surrounds the property and possession defined by the «spaces of representation» and the «domination and control of space».

Perhaps the only claim one could take seriously of Unwin's critique of Lefebvre's production of space (Unwin 2000) is actually directed to Harvey for trying to harness Lefebvre's open dialectics (ibid: 17) to a more Anglophone quest «for certainty and a classificatory logic in which everything has its clearly defined place» (ibid: 13).

space!). The quote sets forth the view that gentrification responds to an underlying logic beyond the individual aggregation one could easily observe at the level allowed by social interaction. This logic is that of capital, but also that of bureaucracy, a double-edged logic that builds on the anti-planning essence of the planning legislation in use at the time (ibid: xix-xx). As Neil Smith comes to show, although there had already been literature dealing with this process *avant la lettre* (see Smith 1996: 34-40), in which a better-off class residentially substituted another one in a given neighbourhood, it is Glass' understanding of «gentrification», and the coinage of the term, that gave rise to the currently existing academic literature.<sup>185</sup>

Yet, despite the profusion of this literature on gentrification in the form of special journal editions, subject-devoted books and edited collections, it has not been until very recently, that gentrification has been arranged in the form of comprehensive written materials such as the already mentioned textbook (Lees et al 2008) and two readers (Lees et al 2010 and Brown-Saracino 2010).<sup>186</sup> For instance, take the textbook. The authors systemise and dissect gentrification into the origins and the future of the term, while examining the expanding evolution and the current situation of the processes it encompasses, its goods and its evils.<sup>187</sup> Most arguably, as the authors

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<sup>185</sup> Moreover, parallel to Glass' coinage, the very same process was also reported elsewhere in the non-English-speaking world. Four years after «gentrification» was first written in a publication, Lefebvre referred to a similar a process happening in the Parisian quarter of Marais. Under his «implosion-explosion of the urban fabric» hypothesis in which he described the intense urban transformations and class shifts across the urban geography of the Western world, he explained how city centres were becoming either the confinement places for the working class or the proper stronghold for the affluent (Lefebvre 1996: 71, and 74-75). Lefebvre named the process «bourgeoisification» (1991: 58). He repeatedly acknowledged such class shifts alongside the urban transformation although the theme itself was not central to his general argument (i.e. 2003: 126-49; 1991: 57-8 and 385; and 1991/2002/2005, 3rd volume: 151-71). Another author at the time that was aware of the process was Jacobs (1961) who insistently called for «bringing back» people from the suburbs into the central neighbourhoods so as to save these from decay.

<sup>186</sup> Although the approaches of the two readers are slightly different, they do tend to overlap on the most well known «debates» that have taken place during the last four decades.

<sup>187</sup> See Freeman (2006) for the most acclaimed academic argument in favour of gentrification. His view is definitely odd. He sees in newcomers an opportunity for those old timers who manage to stay. Of course, being the most acclaimed argument for gentrification makes it also the most abhorred one from those who see gentrification as an evil strategy against the working class. In his account, Freeman obviates that for people to move in others need to move out.

recognise (Lees et al 2008: xxii), they take an interest in whether it is economically or culturally driven and in whether it is best accounted for from a production-led argument or a consumption-led one.<sup>188</sup>

These ways of looking at gentrification have caused a major divide among specialists. This is not only because of the different arguments waved in favour of each position, but most importantly, because it informs us of how academia is politically mapped: from Marxist positions that many would have thought had long withered away, to ABC solutions of classical liberal handbooks. Furthermore, Lees et al (2008) also signal three further committed statements besides that of bridging the production and consumption Caesarea: The usefulness of gentrification as a political concept, the influence of the choice of methods and methodologies in the diverse outcome of the researches at stake, and, finally, the devotion to a critical stance that follows a social justice agenda within the geographical explanation of gentrification (ibid: xxii-iv).

The publication of these materials is something to celebrate but there are two important interlinked caveats to make, which, in fact, the authors recognise at one point or other but that they do not seem to supersede in any definite way. Firstly, most of the literature and empirically-research-based case studies of gentrification processes they collect and explain, originate in English-speaking countries. This may be so because most of the major publishing institutions hosting academic journals in languages other than English have not invested enough in the possibilities of IT until very recently, and because non-English speaking academics are not fluent enough in English when the tendency, arguable as it may be, is clearly about the internationalisation of academia towards its Anglicisation.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> I write «arguably» not because Lees et al (2008) view production and consumption as the same category, but because they understand them as moments within a unity. This is not a new trope. Production and consumption need each other. The question is one of determination. For an elucidating social-anthropological insight into the genealogy of «consumption» that explains how it has come to be an ideological category and that emphasises its relation to the world of desire but nevertheless denies its severance from production to the extent that it argues that most of what we call consumption is really production, see Graeber (2011).

<sup>189</sup> Not to mention that, in general, the more than probable monolingual aptitudes of English speaking academic researchers has been as a handicap in carrying out fieldwork elsewhere or for getting to know what other non-English-speaking academics are working on, etc. I am obviously speculating. Many English-speaking academics do know other languages.

Secondly and indeed linked to the previous comments, there is also the question of how widespread the trend of research on gentrification is elsewhere, beyond English-speaking countries. Indeed, gentrification has become global and it has become so in a double sense. Gentrification (or should we say its visibility through the globalisation of its research?) is now to be found beyond the English-speaking world. As the edited volume of Atkinson and Bridge (2005) shows, it has expanded both conceptually and geographically. Let us take Spain as an example. Here, major works on gentrification began two decades ago, most of them in the 2000s. Before then, work on gentrification was scarce and, where it existed, it mainly focused on what the appropriate Spanish term for gentrification would be (García Herrera 2001).

This is a problem for Spanish, but also for Catalan, both being the official languages in Majorca. In Catalan, the language authority has rejected the anglicised form *gentrificació*, and has instead proposed *ennobliment* [ennoblement].<sup>190</sup> As for Spanish, there has been a debate in geography against adopting its own anglicised term, *gentrificación*, and proposing unsuccessful translations such as *elitización* [elitisation] (García Herrera 2001). Others like Carreras (2010), have opted to speak of *centrifugación* rather than gentrification. By doing this they pay exclusive attention to the centralisation of certain areas of a city, not necessarily centres, thus focusing on another kind of process that can be related but is not always the same as gentrification. Most importantly, they also clearly evict the reference to class that gentrification bears.<sup>191</sup>

If I had to translate, I would prefer to go to the root «gentry» and use its etymologically related word *gentile*, which is written *gentil* in both of the Romance languages mentioned. *Gentil* derives from *gentilis*, which in Roman law designates

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<sup>190</sup> See: [http://www.termcat.cat/scripts/rwisapi.dll/@Termcat\\_dev.env](http://www.termcat.cat/scripts/rwisapi.dll/@Termcat_dev.env), 20-10/2010. It is true, though, that for both Spanish and Catalan, academics use the respective anglicised versions of *gentrificación* and *gentrificació*.

<sup>191</sup> Having said this, gentrification might take place elsewhere, not necessarily only in city centres. Take for instance gentrification in neighbourhoods that are not central, or even «rural gentrification» where the arrival of urbanite newcomers due to the productive changes on land, entails the transformation of rural communities. The examples of these strands of gentrification are many. See Brown-Saracino's approach (Brown-Saracino 2009) for the gentrification of both non-central-city neighbourhoods and villages in the countryside or resorts at the seaside. For her, the consumer's search for authenticity works as one of the main drive in the gentrification process.

«[e]ach of the individuals that belongs to the same clan (*gens*) ...», and which among its many meanings bears that of «noble».<sup>192</sup> Thus, I would prefer to use *gentilització* for Catalan and *gentilización* for Spanish. This use would still relate to the vocabulary of gentry, commons and enclosures. Having said this, due to the importance of use in academic circles, I opt for maintaining the anglicised version in both languages: *gentrificació* and *gentrificación*. Before the 2000s, almost nobody formally spoke in terms of gentrification. Specialists and ordinary people spoke of renewal (*reforma urbana*).

To complicate things further, these terms –not just *gentrificació* but also *ennobliment*, *elitització*, and others such as *aburguesament* [embourgeoisement] and *aristocratització* [aristocratisation]- never appear in conversations with people, or in the media. People speak in terms of «re-» words (mainly reform or rehabilitation, but also reconstruction, rebuilding, renewal, regeneration, revitalisation, requalification, re-urbanisation, re-etc.). However, they may refer to the overall process in terms of «displacement» and «eviction» if the «re-whatever» affects the people encountered in the field. Despite their real differences, all «re-» words actually denote how the static planning language adapts to the order of capital in its flat-rolling progression. For recent discussions on whether renewal and its acolytes are about gentrification or the other way round see van Criekingen (2010) and Díaz Parra and Rabasco Pozuelo (2013).

The fact that these «re-» processes involved the arrival of newcomers was normally absent from any debate. Besides being mentioned by the odd academic, the first time I ever read *gentrificació* in Majorca's press was in 2008. In an article signed by Antoni Mateu that appeared in the *Diari de Balears* (11/05/2008) following a personal crusade he carried out at the time in his weekly columns. The headline of the article was «[S]a Gerreria: Life and trade beyond the Sindicat Street. Old and new inhabitants share a space in a changing neighbourhood». I have to confess, though, that he used it because I explained it to him when he interviewed me. This was a case of how the use of the expert academic knowledge can get to be a newspaper headline. In recent years, many small Majorcan oppositional movements of autonomist and anarchist leanings have also started to use the term *gentrificació*.

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<sup>192</sup> See: <http://www.diccionari.cat/lexicx.jsp?GECART=0069518>, 20/10/2010.

Class was indeed present in these studies, but it was not central. Thus, since the early 1980s there were excellent studies that related landed capital to urban regeneration. Take for instance the work of Capel (1990) for a summary of Spain's urban morphology in the 1970s, including the abandonment of the city centres to the working classes and to the so-called underclass, itself part of the working class. Or take Álvarez Mora and Roch (1980) and López Sánchez (1986) who, following Castells et al (1970), worked on how capital respectively «re-conquered» the city centres of Madrid and Barcelona.<sup>193</sup> In Spain, the interest in gentrification began in the 2000s at a moment when many «degraded» Spanish city centres were being revamped to cater for classes different from those residing there.<sup>194</sup>

Duque Calvache (2010) compiles some of the most important Spanish works in the study of gentrification, mostly in the field of geography. He locates works on gentrification before the 2000s –such as Vázquez and Varela (1996) in Madrid- but the explosion of the subject seems to appear with Martínez i Rigol's doctoral thesis on central Barcelona (Martínez i Rigol 2000) followed by a profuse production of journal articles and conference papers and the odd monographic work. Most of these focus on the issue of gentrification and when they do not, gentrification at least serves to frame their research. Janoschka et al (2014) attempt at classifying and determining the idiosyncrasy of the production of gentrification literature in Spain and Latin America.

Some examples of case studies in Spain are Rodríguez et al (2001/2002) for Madrid, Franquesa and Morell (2005, Section 2.2.) for Ciutat de Mallorca, Vicario and Martínez Monge (2005) and Larrea and Gamarra (2007) for Bilbao, García et al (2007) for Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Díaz Parra (2010 and 2014a and 2014b) for Seville, Franquesa (2010a) for Ciutat, and González Márquez (2011) for Tarragona. The late reception of the focus on gentrification in Spain has been similar elsewhere in continental Europe. Take for

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<sup>193</sup> This is the emphasis Smith (1979, revisited in 1996) drew on and which would famously place gentrification at the centre of urban research by arguing that gentrification was about the return of capital, not people, as in individual choice in the realm of consumption, just like liberal commentators had maintained.

<sup>194</sup> The best known case of renewal/gentrification is that of Barcelona's city centre under the aegis of the 1992 Olympic Games. Other city centres, such as that of Ciutat would receive EU aid from the mid 1990s in the form of the URBAN Community Initiative. I speak of this programme in Section 3.1.



instance France where the 2000s also signified the blossoming of several papers and edited and directed volumes, amongst which Bidou-Zachariasen (2003), Charmes (2005), Fijalkow and Préteceille (2006), Authier and Bidou Zachariasen (2008), Clerval (2008) and Vivant et Charmes (2008).

Furthermore, Lees et al's textbook (2009) and the reader that accompanies it (Lees et al 2010), might have respectively borne the titles of *Geography of gentrification* and *The geography of gentrification reader* instead of *Gentrification* and *The gentrification reader...* Indeed, in the last three decades geography has been by far large the discipline that has most taken gentrification into own hands. This has meant a shift in the explanation of gentrification first given by Glass, which was above all sociological. Whereas some geographers place emphasis on the shaping of the urban environment by the accumulation of capital (e.g. Smith 1996: 59-88), ultimately managed by the capitalistic class, others highlight the arrival of higher budget newcomers, bearers of critical values of cultural politics in the search of location distinction (Ley 1996).

In short, and regardless of the differences encountered, although geography has fruitfully seized and broadened the study of gentrification, it is certain that it runs the risk of reducing its class dimension to a narrower understanding of social space. For many geographers, regardless of whether they are prone to production-led or to consumption-led explanations, social space almost equates to «land», or, at the least, the built-environment. By no means am I arguing they reject the social character of space, even if merely considered land or built environment, but rather, that social space is more than the social relations that make land and the built environment. By including literature from elsewhere in the academic knowledge, Lees et al (2008 and 2010) come to show that sociology is the discipline with the second greatest bulk of work on gentrification.

In this sociology, we encounter yet another heterogeneous front, much of which rescues the «forgotten dimension of the class struggle» found in the Bourdieusian «distinction».<sup>195</sup> It mainly focuses on «classification struggles aimed at transforming the

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<sup>195</sup> Lefebvre opposed to Bourdieu's «distinction» the concept of «difference» (Lefebvre 1991/2002/2005, 3<sup>rd</sup> volume). Distinction, argued Lefebvre, is about the one-dimensional positivist sociological description of the ideology and practice of the middle classes, a category

categories of perception and appreciation of the social world» (Bourdieu 1984: 483). To a certain degree, this approach nicely fits Ley's «location distinction» (Ley 1996) and matches the case based on the feeding of the urban felines I have introduced in Section 1.2.3. and which I use in Section 2.6. Another subject that has mostly occupied the contributions of sociologists studying gentrification, is that of the individual decision-making and residential preference of the so-called middle-classes (see Butler 1997 and Butler and Robson 2003, but also different views such as Atkinson 2006).

Other sociologists have focused on a class-analysis approach to the process (e.g. Bridge 1994 and 1995) that eventually also brings in Bourdieusian thought by precisely showing the conflictive nature of cultural capital when having to choose between education and taste (Bridge 2006). Finally, some have focused on the solid self-awareness in terms of authenticity higher-budget newcomers show, as well as on the consequences their arrival has on impoverished long-time residents (see Brown-Saracino 2009). A similar conclusion to Brown-Saracino's quest is the one I arrive at in

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that is fictionally destined to absorb the various categories of workers in an age in which the working class is not so self-evident as a political subject (ibid: 162). This political dimension of class is crucial since in their tendency to uniformity, middle classes disintegrate, reduce and flatten the social. In this light, classes become mere essentialised interests and ideologies, or even ambitions and pretensions with political intentions towards those found in lower positions in the social hierarchy (ibid: 116-7). As for difference, it is about «making a breach in ideology and practices subordinated to state power, and hence, to the established mode of production» (ibid: 109). This understanding of the «middle class» as an absorbing category for the imploded «working class» is something I briefly reflect on in Sections 2.6. and 3.2., since it becomes the basis for explaining what I have come to call «urban labour».

As for Deleuze's seminal work on difference (Deleuze 1993), notice that although it may be said that both authors partially coincide –«Both writers recognise that repetition generates difference ...» (Butler 2012: 139 n. 127); Lefebvre's difference cannot equate to Deleuze's. In fact, they are antithetical. Whereas Lefebvre understands difference in a dialectical manner involving the negation of negation, as he does with all the categories he puts at play, and eventually leading to an affirmative politics of difference (Lefebvre 1971b), Deleuze abhors dialectics, at least regarding its Hegelian form. Furthermore, he clearly supports an affirmative identity of difference from the very beginning not as an exercise for overcoming the dialectical stage (Deleuze 1993: 338-9).

Lefebvre's difference gained momentum as time went by. Not only had he written the differentialist Manifesto (Lefebvre 1971b), but in his *Production of Space* (Lefebvre 1991) he coined the term «differential space», that is, one that dialectically fosters an «initially utopian alternative to actually existing 'real' space» (ibid: 349). This differential space is placed in an opposite relation to «abstract space», which is a space that seeks to put an end to heterogeneity by fostering homogeneity, through the logic of equivalence, and thus masking the dialectical contradictions it bears (ibid: 307-8).

Section 2.3. when referring to Ca na Mari (referred to as Ca na Pepa) as a deep expression of typicality for the newcomers, almost a living heritage subject embodying many of their projections of what Es Barri might once have been (p. 366 and p. 368).

Although they do understand gentrification as a topic shared by several disciplines, except for an *en passant* reference to Herzfeld's work on Rome (Herzfeld 2009a), Lees et al (2008) do not deal with any other social-anthropological production on gentrification. The cause of this may not be scarcity in anthropological literature, but rather inflation in geography.<sup>196</sup> Finally, there is not one reference to ethnography.<sup>197</sup> By making these comments, I do not wish to downsize the brilliant work of Lees et al (2008), but rather highlight some lacunae. In fact, their contribution is essential in so far as it fills in a long-time gap in the literature that deals with gentrification and provides a basic account of what the process is.

In the following section, I will develop Neil Smith's production-led rent-gap hypothesis by paying attention to a top-down approach that theoretically looks at the inexorable geographical expansion of capital across the built environment and the role the State plays within this expansion. By doing so, I do not aim at rejecting in toto consumption-led explanations à la David Ley. In fact, these are crucial for understanding who the newcomers are, since they nevertheless become important elements in any account which attempts to understand how gentrification works. Nor do I wish to marginalise any bottom-up approach ethnography allows. In any case, following the trend established by most literature on gentrification, I mobilise the existing geographical imagination so as to pave the way towards Parts 2 and 3 by showing the class substance that is behind social space.

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<sup>196</sup> The interest in gentrification from social anthropology is not at all trivial. Just to mention a few monographic volumes on the matter that come from different traditions within the discipline and focus on different geographical places: Williams (1988, who returns to the gentrification topic in 2002), Gregory (1998), di Leonardo (1998), Dávila (2004), Herzfeld (2009a) and Franquesa (2010). It is interesting to notice a prevalence of literature from and on the USA where, as already argued, the term gentrification is much more present. The presence of monographs on the Mediterranean responds more to my own interest in this region.

<sup>197</sup> In fact, despite their aim to make their textbook the main tool for lecturing a module, and although they do acknowledge the importance of methodology and its embeddedness in «the stories, explanations, theories, and conceptualizations of gentrification formulated» (Lees et al. 2008: xxii), there is not one chapter dedicated to any research technique whatsoever.

### 1.4.2. See-saws, switches, circuits, and gaps

Glass not only argued the «inevitability» of working-class displacement. She also acknowledged an underlying geographical uneven development logic in gentrification. For gentrification to occur there must be a previous phase of «decay»:

As standards of living rise and values even more so, as *old working class districts are reconstructed*, and others are increasingly hemmed in, the remaining pockets of blight become denser. *Some of these quarters*, off the beaten track –which are low on the list of municipal development and *not 'ripe'* for private investment– *are left to decay*. They have been neglected for so long that they are taken for granted ... (Glass 1964: xx; emphasis added).

There is nothing natural in the decay that precedes gentrification. As Glass captures, *it is left to decay*, it is neglected to the point that it becomes apparently natural. After Glass, perhaps the most prominent advocate for this view is Neil Smith. His Lenin-inspired seesaw theory of uneven development actually furthers the insertion of gentrification into major trends of investment and disinvestment in the built environment that feeds land markets at the several different geographical scales he focuses on: urban, global and nation-State (Smith 1990: 148-52).<sup>198</sup> Smith's account (1990), an updated summary of which can also be found in Smith (1996: 72-88), is the following: Capital moves to where the rate of profit is high.

This mobility of capital follows zero-sum logic in so far as it means it develops areas with a potentially high rate of profit while leaving aside, and therefore under-

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<sup>198</sup> For this to be able to take place there is a need for one or both of two things: the possibility of selling and buying land or that of improving it. Mauss (1979) already points out land has not always been a commodity. Its exchange has always been surrounded by restrictions «originating from domestic communism and from such a deep link family has to land and land to family that any demonstration of this would have been far too easy, and it is normal that soil [perhaps a less inalienable concept than «land»] escapes the law and the economy of capital. In fact, old and new “homestead” laws, as well as the most recent French laws on the “inalienability of family goods”, are remains of an ancient state of affairs» (Mauss 1979: 245, Footnote 125).

Polanyi, who actually deals with how the restrictions on the buying and selling of land mentioned by Mauss were removed, warns us that land, together with labour and money, did finally become a commodity, albeit fictitious. That is, human beings do not produce it ex novo, it is already there. However, it is also a cornerstone of his work to prove that market society actually builds upon not the literal production of fictitious commodities (land, but also labour and money) but upon the constant «improvements» of these in the search for economic profit (Polanyi 2001). We will soon see how important the concept of «improvement» is to the rent gap hypothesis.

developings, those areas with a low rate of profit. As soon as capital begins to realise the high rate of profit in the new developing areas, its interest in them begins to cease because the more they develop the lower rate of profit they can offer. Capital then starts to seek further undeveloped land, as long as it holds, again, a high potential rate of profit. The key to the whole process is that:

... the underdevelopment of specific areas leads, in time, to precisely those conditions that make an area highly profitable and hence susceptible to rapid development (Smith 1990: 149).

The different plots of urban land are left to fallow in a rotating manner, or, in Glass' terminology, they are left to decay until they become ripe for sowing and eventually harvesting the fruits once again. Thus, once the cycle closes, the process restarts and developed areas may soon become again underdeveloped. The process does not only function with land markets, Smith actually finds inspiration in labour ones (explaining the gain in worker's rights, higher wages, and so on where capital lands, eventually driving capital out to more profitable labour markets). Furthermore, it is possible to follow similar uneven development workings in a variety of different markets, including those of finance.

Central to Smith's theory of capital's geographical «see-sawing» stands Harvey's notion of «capital switch» that takes place between three distinctive circuits of capital (Harvey 2006a). These different circuits of capital are modelled abstractions that draw on one or other fictitious commodity (capital, land or labour). Thus, following Harvey (2006a: 441), the first circuit of capital involves immediate profit activities that actually entail the production of values and surplus values as well as the consumption of goods in order to maintain the social reproduction of labour. The second circuit has to do with investment and the consumption of fixed capital assets such as durable goods, built environment and infrastructure. Finally, the third circuit is about the disciplining of labour through a combination of technology, science, education and other social expenditure (health, welfare, armed forces, etc.).

Harvey argues that capital-switch trends in high investment infrastructure (secondary circuit of capital), for instance, the built environment, are temporary solutions –jacketed into his famously re-known concept of the «spatial fix», see Harvey (2006a and 1985b)- that offer refuge to the over-accumulation of the ever-flowing

primary circuit.<sup>199</sup> Since the solution is temporary, so is the sense of refuge. As Christophers reminds us, in a critique of Harvey's hypothesis (mainly based on his lack of empirical evidence), periods of intensified urbanization actually signal incipient economic crisis tendencies (Christophers 2011: 1348).

Harvey's second circuit is a highly particular and thoroughly deep development on Lefebvre's previous thoughts. Lefebvre had not only conceived the «second circuit» as a refuge, with capitalistic ground rent's origins deeply rooted in the feudal mode of production, and its future solidly reinstated within capitalism by the state (Lefebvre 1972: 124-62; 2003: 159-60), but explicitly draws on this emergent tendency in contemporary capitalism. For the case of state capitalism, Lefebvre's later production on the static/statist mode of production signals the coordination (the equivalence) of the different types of capital through the State's domination of social space.<sup>200</sup> With precisely the case of Spain in mind, Lefebvre argued that state intervention is crucial to understanding such a spatial fix for capital:

*Mobile capital and fixed capital are not the same; they are not managed in the same way ... The mobilization of rent and real estate wealth must be understood as one of the great extensions of financial capital ... [T]he entry of the construction*

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<sup>199</sup> As Jessop puts it, this fix is also about time. Spatio-temporal fixes, he argues from a rather different standpoint than Harvey's, that of regulation theory, are necessary to relatively stabilise periods of accumulation (Jessop 2002: 45) by helping to displace or defer contradiction dilemmas in a limited and provisional fashion (ibid: 35). Other authors will understand this «fix» as one collectively produced, in common, one that is later subsumed by Capital (De Angelis 2013).

<sup>200</sup> The space of state control is simultaneously the space of exchange. However, whereas exchange itself fragments the latter for the sake of exploitation, the former is homogenised for the sake of domination. Thus, in a text originally published in 1978, Lefebvre argues that if one can speak of a capitalistic mode of production, one should also acknowledge the «static/statist mode of production» (Lefebvre 2009: 234, there translated as «statist»). The «static/statist mode of production» is the main argument of Lefebvre's four-volume *De l'état* (1976c/1976d/1977/1978). This does not mean that for Lefebvre the state is an instrument of the dominant class (Miliband 2009), but rather emphasises its contested character. However, as Brenner points out, Lefebvre's proposition is not to radicalise existing state compromises, as Poulantzas (2000) suggests, but to replace them (Brenner 2001: 804).

Indeed, the State is crucial for the reproduction of capital, and space is the means through which the State renders possible this reproduction (Lefebvre 1976b: 21). If I translate «étatique» for «static» rather than «statist» it is because «static» captures better the search for the spatial fix Harvey later emphasises (1985b and 2006). For a further reading on Lefebvre's developments on the State, see Brenner and Elden (2009).

*sector into the industrial, banking, and financial circuit has been one of the strategic objectives ... [T]he real estate circuit has long been a subordinate, subsidiary economic sector. Even though it is normally a compensatory investment sector when the production-consumption cycle slackens or when there are recessions, it is gradually becoming a parallel sector heading toward integration into the normal production-consumption circuit. Capital investment thus finds a place of refuge, a supplementary and complementary territory for exploitation. ... In Spain, during the rapid growth period of the 1960s, Spanish capitalism became bogged down in the real estate sector and constructed a huge modern façade in front of the country's underdevelopment. ... [T]he real estate sector has become an essential part of an economy that consists of an all-too-familiar type of governmental intervention (Lefebvre 2009b: 177, my emphasis).<sup>201</sup>*

Interestingly, in a different paper in the second volume on the *Right to the city* (Lefebvre 1976a), Lefebvre will argue in a more forceful manner: «“real estate” and “construction” cease to be the secondary circuits and branches alien to industrial and financial capitalism, to move to the forefront» (1976a: 108). Thus, for Lefebvre, the spatial fix is not as temporary as Harvey (1985b and 2006) precludes, nor is it any longer a mere refuge but it becomes an enduring and central sphere of capitalist activity that actually announces the coming of urban society (Lefebvre 2003).<sup>202</sup>

Without being so far-fetched, other authors still grant a considerable amount of centrality to the second circuit explanation. For a recent reappraisal following data collected in the context of the USA, see Gotham (2006 and 2009). Whereas in his 2006 publication, Gotham argues, through the analysis of the secondary mortgage market,

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<sup>201</sup> This quote belongs to a selected and translated paper of a collection of writings Lefebvre viewed as the second part to the *Right to the city* initially published in French in 1970. Although I myself use the full Spanish translation of this second part of the *Right to the city* (Lefebvre 1976a), here I have here taken advantage of the English translation of this specific paper. It is interesting to see how Lefebvre actually portrays Spain as a model of this development process based on brick and mortar (for a thorough account that looks at the Balearic Islands, see Murray 2013). The final highlighted sentence of the quote becomes crucial. In Spain, government intervention in real estate affairs has proven to be a necessary step for the transition from capital disinvestment in the built environment to reinvestment, and more specifically, to its financialisation (Coq-Huelva 2014).

<sup>202</sup> If considering Christophers' findings, that is, that periods of intensified urbanization signal incipient economic crisis tendencies (Christophers 2011: 1348), Lefebvre's understanding would mean that the over-accumulation crisis the spatial fix announces actually becomes a kind of endemic... Of course, this is only a mere speculation but it could well be that this is what urban society is precisely about, a permanent crisis on a constant loop, on which the working class either becomes middle so as to follow consumption patterns or is driven out as an underclass.

that real estate is an independent sector of the economy, in his 2009 publication, he exposes the limits and contradictions of the securitisation process of financialisation in relation to the secondary mortgage market. In this light of the empirical data provided by the subprime kick-off of the current financial world crisis, he there argues that this market is part of the secondary circuit of capital.

In any case, whether the second circuit of capital becomes a recurrent temporary refuge for over-accumulation processes, or actually takes over and ends up leading capitalist activity, what I find of importance here is that either way places the built environment, and hence the improvements on land, as yet another means for capitalist activity to take place. This uneven development of capital across global geography, either via an elaborate seesawing engineering or a nonetheless complex switching from one circuit of accumulation to another, does not only contribute but actually allows its inexorable expansion. As mentioned earlier, Smith points out yet another important feature within this process of the uneven development of capital: that of the geographical scale (Smith 1990: 135-47).

Except for once in which he calls these geographical scales «social» (ibid: 4), Smith normally refers to them as «spatial». Here, «spatial» does not really mean the «social space» that Lefebvre, or even Condominas, work on. Rather, following Taylor (1981), who does call them «geographical», and not «spatial», they are ways of geographically understanding what is going on, thus, the global represents the scale of reality, the nation-State that of ideology and the urban that of experience (Smith 1990: 1995, Endnote 7).<sup>203</sup> These are not the only scales available since we could also include other geographical scales such as that of the region.<sup>204</sup> According to Smith, the «see-saw» of capital is most evident at the urban scale due to its seizable character for the average observer, and he mentions gentrification as a process that serves as an example

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<sup>203</sup> Although Taylor does refer to each of the scales mentioned as «geographical» (see Herod 2011 for a thorough review), his approach and terminology are a lot more «social» than Smith's! For a brief approach to «social scale» through the understanding of what the neighbourhood is, see Section 2.3. Section 2.5. works out the neighbourhood from a rather more geographical than social standpoint.

<sup>204</sup> Take for instance Hadjimichalis (1987), for whom the region is understood both as a process of restructuration from above, regionalisation, and as reaction from below against this restructuration, regionalism (Hadjimichalis 1987: 2).



through which to follow the see-saw, introducing the 'rent gap' hypothesis he had already been working on:

The geographical decentralization of capital in the construction of the suburbs led to the underdevelopment of the inner city. Capital was attracted by the rapid increase in ground rent that accompanied suburban development, and as the inner city with already high ground-rent levels and therefore low rate of return was systematically denied capital. This led to the steady devaluation of entire areas of the inner city, whether obsolete port, commercial and warehousing land uses or residential neighbourhoods. At some point, the devaluation of capital depresses the ground-rent level sufficiently that the 'rent gap' between actual capitalized ground rent and the potential ground rent (given a 'higher' use) becomes sufficiently large that redevelopment and gentrification become possible (Smith 1990: 150; see also Image 43, Appendix of images).

The quote summarises Smith's «rent gap» hypothesis, which is not only fully inspired by Glass' views, but also works out her Marxist and already extremely political concept of gentrification.<sup>205</sup> What Smith actually does is to pass Glass' gentrification through the sieve of a critical Marxist geography. Smith also does something more than that. He actually makes sure to emphasise the step of disinvestment of capital in the built environment that the creation of the «gap» requires.<sup>206</sup> However, that the process follows logic does not actually mean it is «natural». At the end of the day, the decay of neighbourhoods is related to private and public decisions, or the lack of them (Aalbers 2006). What follows is an exploration of the rent gap according to Neil Smith. For this purpose, I have selected parts of Smith (1990 and 1996).

Smith argues that when a new neighbourhood is built (assuming neighbourhoods are built in one go), the price of housing reflects the value of the structures and, importantly, the improvements made to the place, plus the improved ground rent that goes with these. He goes to explain that ground rent actually increases at the beginning and thus prices might increase for some time (Smith 1996: 60). If housing values ever decrease, they do so very slowly at this moment. However, they certainly do decrease

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<sup>205</sup> Smith's rent-gap hypothesis first appeared in 1979 (Smith 1979) although he had already framed it a couple of years earlier in his undergraduate dissertation (Smith 1977). Throughout the thesis, I have referred to Smith's 1996 update on his rent-gap hypothesis (Smith 1996: 49-71).

<sup>206</sup> See Sections 2.3. and 2.6. for differently summarised versions of this disinvestment phase in the rent gap, both of which I illustrate with the case of Es Barri.

as time goes by, entering what the literature on housing terms «filtering» (Smith 1996: 53). This is due to several reasons such as an improvement in the productivity of labour or in the materials at use, the fading out of the built environment's style (although depending on how outdated it is this can actually work the other way round, in the form of a valued built heritage), or the mere intense use.

If repairs are within one's reach they will be done, but if these happen to be major they might not be done at all, hence property devalues quicker. Devaluation means that prices fall in comparison to newer housing (Smith 1996: 61). If the owners actually maintain their property, they manage to stabilise the value of both the property and the land where they stand. It might well be the case, though, that they prefer to sell the property and look for something new. Nevertheless, at this point, many owners move out, retaining ownership but renting out their property, hence there is a large increase in the proportion of tenants to owners living in the neighbourhood. There is an important difference here, because it is not the same to be an owner as to be a tenant. Those residents who are owners are consumers and investors at the same time.

As consumers, they use their property, as investors their main concern is to increase the sale price of their property, hence, its exchange value. So, they tend to invest in the upkeep of their property (Smith 1990: 61-62). On the other hand, the owner who does not live in the building, who normally receives a rent, will only take care of the building in certain circumstances, e.g. newly built apartments or property of an outstanding monumental character. Nevertheless, when the market itself is deteriorated, which is normally the case when owners stop inhabiting their property and begin to rent it, there is a tendency to not undertake repairs. Likewise, the capital that is not invested in the maintenance of the building is released and used elsewhere.

Usually, the greater the lack of maintenance by the owners the more difficult it is for them to sell. This is aggravated when financial institutions restrict credit because then there are fewer sales and these become more expensive for the future new owners (Smith 1990: 62). If the tendency continues, the individual owner will find it hard to fight against the economic deterioration she has contributed to with her absence. Eventually, property values will diminish and the rents of the capitalised land rent in the area will drop below their previous capacity, also understood as the potential land

rent. If this happens, the owners that do continue to maintain their rented property will, of necessity, have to charge more than the average rents in the area.<sup>207</sup>

This move will be heavily influenced by the overwhelming majority of unmaintained properties, and, thus, their chances of attracting renters with an income above average diminish. However, following Smith's same argument (1996: 62), if these unmaintained properties were to attract renters with an income above average, they would hopefully capitalise the ground rent and thus trigger an upwardly spiralling process, which is known as «neighbourhood effect». Slater (2013) critiques this neighbourhood-effect genre of «where you live affects your life chances» which, according to some kind of economic magic, means that the more higher-income newcomers there are, the greater the chances of attracting further high numbers of higher-income newcomers, all of whom are in search of even better life chances.<sup>208</sup>

Slater (2013) points out that there is also the spiralling downwards version of the neighbourhood effect in which poverty feeds itself. At the end of the day, life chances affect where one lives. The tendency of transforming neighbourhoods inhabited by owners to neighbourhoods inhabited by tenants is not at all necessary within the overall process of decay. It might well be that rather than looking for a market strategy that aims at a potential ground rent, the owners cannot afford to maintain their own dwellings, let alone those they rent out. If this is the case we are confronting a much slower process but one which can actually be accelerated via blockbusting,<sup>209</sup> blowing,

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<sup>207</sup> It is interesting to compare this Marxist reading of the urban ground rent with that Lefebvre did in the mid 1950s and mid 1960s on ground rent in rural settings (Lefebvre 2015[1954] and 1983b[1964]), they actually follow a similar scheme.

<sup>208</sup> I suggest abandoning the term «gentrifier», normally applied to those people who move into gentrifying neighbourhoods, and rather reserve it for the class fraction represented by those who plan the process (developers, real estate agents, politicians, civil servants involved, etc.).

<sup>209</sup> The case of El Temple epitomises the practice of blockbusting in Es Barri. Here, blockbusting was not against owners but against tenants who had old rents protected by law regardless of how many times the property would be sold and resold. A developer with experience in harassing tenants in the nearby street of Botons, tried to scare a retired American cellist and the owners of a kiosk. These either lived or ran their business in the shop premises of what is very likely the most ancient built vestige of the Muslim presence in Ciutat (902-1229), the towers of El Temple, the old Gate of Gumara (Bab Al-Gumara).

The building had been modified through the centuries but it still kept its magnificent look, one that recently gained protection as heritage and hence put an end to its transformation into

redlining, vandalism, abandonment and, in some cases like that of Es Barri there might even be a reduction in the square metre cadastral value, which attracts many developers to what eventually becomes a succulent piece of land.<sup>210</sup>

Normally, what one encounters is a varying combination of all of these different strategies –see Smith (1996: 63-64), for more details. The disinvestment brought about by decay allows a cheapening of land and of the ground rents offered in the built environment. Then developers acquire both at prices that are far more interesting to them. However, «cheap» is of no use to the developer if it remains cheap. How do developers make a profit then? Here, the revaluing of land becomes the rational answer and it does so by what Smith calls the rent gap, which is the difference between the level of the potential ground rent and the currently capitalised ground rent.

The rent gap is mostly due to the devaluation of land and the built environment by which capital diminishes the proportion of available ground rent for its capitalisation; and to the expansion of continuous urban development, which have historically increased the potential ground rent in depressed urban areas. As the filtering process and neighbourhood deterioration take place, the rent gap increases. As seen, gentrification happens when the gap is so wide that developers can acquire property at low prices, pay the building costs and obtain gains from restoration. When this happens, one can speak of a capitalised ground rent or, as Smith (1996: 65) puts in plainer words, the neighbourhood is recycled and a new use cycle commences.

This version of the rent gap is based upon a great disinvestment previous to the arrival of newcomers. However, as Smith (1996:65) argues, it could well be that we find a gap where there is massive investment. The example Smith puts forward is that of the situation where there is a fast and sustained inflation or, when a strict market regulation on land helps to maintain a low potential ground rent that is later repelled.

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luxury apartments. The Courts decided the cellist and the kiosk owners should be compensated for the harassment they had received from the bully developer (express deterioration of building, robberies, damaging property, calling names, haunting them with threats, etc.). However, since El Temple was to be heritage, they were all invited to leave.

<sup>210</sup> Aalbers (2006) also includes the growth of drug-dealing markets and even the «exploitation» of the habitat needs of illegal immigrants. All of these activities are exploitative since they seek to bring down the value of land and property so as to achieve a wider rent gap via harsh disinvestment by indenturing the everyday lives of the so-called «underclass».

The important thing to keep in mind is that, one way or another, the appropriate rent gap is always achieved thanks to the different agents that make up the real estate and land markets. For Smith, this actually means that gentrification is the result of a production carried out by a social collective action at the level of the neighbourhood rather than the result of sovereign consumer choices made by individuals. As we will see in the following sections this is exactly what happened in Es Barri.

One of the agents Smith first mentions is the state with its renewal programmes, or with subsidies and full support when the former are absent.<sup>211</sup> But gentrification can also be promoted by private financial institutions that decide not to grant credit in a particular neighbourhood or by actively promoting another neighbourhood as a potential market for loans and mortgages for building activities (Smith 1996: 65-66).<sup>212</sup> Developers are also to be found in the production phase of gentrification. They usually acquire devalued property in a given area and they then renew it and preferably sell it.

However, as the case of Es Barri shows, developers can also pull buildings down, build them from scrap and rent part of the resulting property while selling the rest –

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<sup>211</sup> Bringing down the cadastral values as I earlier mentioned, is something that can only be done thanks to state intervention, in this case local state intervention. As the case of Es Barri shows, without the local government, gentrification would have looked very different. Actually, this way of proceeding is very much linked to Lefebvre's understanding of the role of the state in the second circuit of capital we saw at the beginning of this section. One could argue that his static/statist mode of production is alive and kicking under the neoliberal logic that requires state intervention in de-regulation and in rescues. In any case, what I find important is to highlight the role of the state within the gentrification process, especially if viewed under the rent-gap explanation. Although Smith (1996) does not really get his hands on it, he does later on in works such as that of Hackworth and Smith (2001), which also stresses the different global waves the process has had from 1968 to 1999 (ibid: 467).

<sup>212</sup> Notice that if the authorities have previously brought down the cadastral values of an area, which is the case of Es Barri, the result is virtually one that not only encourages but actually determines the movement of population and, hence, the gentrification process as initially described by Glass (1964). Thus, consumer preference, which does exist in one way or another, since people are not apparently obliged to take mortgages, is heavily influenced from political decisions that ease access to economic resources. Thus, mortgage capital does constitute a prerequisite. The clearest study for the whole of Ciutat in this sense, in that the financial system is the key to the development of the built environment, is Vives Miró's recent doctoral thesis where she places great emphasis on the complex network of businesses and political interests that are at stake in the urbanisation of Ciutat. She also offers the example of Es Barri's built environment (she uses the name Sa Gerreria), as the most clear example of gentrification throughout the city (Vives Miró 2013). For a summarised and previous version, see Vives Miró (2008a).

think for instance of the area known as 2B in Es Barri (see Images 13,14,15,16 and 23, Appendix of images). Besides these developers there are also newcomers who renew their own acquired homes and who normally need mortgages for the property and loans for the redevelopment (a typical case for Es Barri in the late 1980s and early 1990s). According to Smith (1996: 66), there are three types of developers. First, there are those who buy property, renew it and sell it in order to make a profit (this is present in Es Barri at a varying degree according to the quantity of property amassed and resold). Second, there are those who acquire individual properties for their own use after some important DIY (think of Verónica and Héctor in Section 1.2.1.). Third, there are those who acquire properties, renew them and rent them.<sup>213</sup>

Developers, whichever of the three categories they fall into, realise their return through the sale price of the renewed property, which includes the improvement of the capitalised ground rent and the profit they make on the initial investment in productive capital. As for speculators, Smith (1996) does mention them en passant but that is about it since he argues that these do not invest in productive capital. According to him, they do not produce changes in the urban structure, they only increase the price of the property they resell to developers.<sup>214</sup> Smith considers gentrification as a process that is far from being happenstance and that is certainly impossible to qualify

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<sup>213</sup> Not only does Verónica and Héctor's second apartment in a bordering area of Es Barri falls into this logic, but also those properties the developer of the 2B was unable to sell and is now trying to rent out.

<sup>214</sup> Nevertheless, speculators can be more than just that. They may well contribute to the displacement of old-timers via blockbusting, therefore acknowledging that they are making things easier for those who do finally develop by passing to them cleansed property, that is, free from inhabitants and the rights and duties that bind these to the properties. This is clear in the case explained earlier about the Torres del Temple. I also recall sale signs back in 2003 which said: «For sale, with or without tenants». Clearing out inhabitants from the properties to be redeveloped is not only about blockbusting. Some intermediate speculators actually specialise in tricking old pensioners or in finding appropriate building-block communities that are eager to accept low compensation for their eviction, if they actually get to that stage. The latter was the main activity of a young man I met in one of my weekly visits to Casa Rafi. He located sites that were ripe for development in terms of both the built environment and its community. Thus, contra Smith (1996: 66), speculators, besides merely speculating, do contribute to the increase of productive capital in the built environment. Of course, it all comes down to what is considered to be productive. In fact, when developers sell to higher income newcomers they are letting in people that with their daily lives will also add value to the neighbourhood, very much in the sense Freeman (2006) indicates, although this is not necessarily positive.

as inevitable. The devaluing of capital in the deprived urban neighbourhoods of the 19<sup>th</sup> century together with the increasing urban growth throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, have produced the conditions that make profitable reinvestment possible.<sup>215</sup>

Thus, carries on Smith (1996: 66), if this rent-gap theory is right, one would expect renewal to begin where the difference and available yields were greater, that is, especially in neighbourhoods where the downward sequence of values has ended, normally near to the city centre. However, once these areas are fully redeveloped and gentrified, developers will seek other neighbourhoods further away (Smith 1996: 66). Finally, Smith understands that the State is also important in so far as it is the state that brings together properties at what it calls a «fair market price» and then passes these on to the developers at the lowest price of the assets, since the State actually took on and put up with the costs of the last phases of the devaluation/disinvestment of capital, likewise ensuring that the real estate developers would reap the high yields without which there would never actually be any renewal at all (Smith 1996: 67).

In conclusion, Smith maintains gentrification is a structural product pertaining to the land and housing markets. Capital flows where yields are larger. The movement of capital towards the suburbs together with the devaluing of capital in deprived urban areas, eventually produces a potential rent gap. When this gap is large enough, renewal (or even new development) can start to challenge the available yields in other places and capital returns (following the capital seesaw pattern already explained in the local built environment). For Smith, this means that gentrification, as in the movement of people, has been the residential and leisure avant-garde but never the cause of a wider spatial restructuring. This local spatial restructuring occurs following the uneven development needs of capital, its accumulation and the crisis it triggers, all of which, to sum up, happen at a global scale (Smith 1996: 67-9).<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> That gentrification is not natural does not mean that it is not naturalised. An interesting line of enquiry would actually be that of looking into how the process becomes apparently «natural» and of the forces and agents that help this «naturalisation» in seeking their own profit. Further inquiries on similar lines could find out more about hegemony as consensual domination.

<sup>216</sup> A few years later, following Lefebvre's thesis on the «urban society» (Lefebvre 2003), Smith ventured that gentrification had already reached the status of a global urban strategy. This was so because urbanism was no longer a social-reproduction collateral effect of industrialisation, or its necessary reproductive asset, but actually came onto the central stage of worldwide

Some authors though, have argued against this uneven development explanation, being Rose (1984) one of the first to do so from a particular feminist critique that equally acknowledged network theory and agency alike. In this very same piece of work, Smith himself writes a very complete post-script including many of the different critiques received throughout the years, as well as his own counter-critiques or those maintained by others (1996: 69-71). The debates among Marxist production-led positions and those more on the liberal, consumer-side, are endless. Of course, to conflate these different extremes does not really make justice and at the end of the day all the authors involved in the discussion acknowledge that structure and agency are tantamount to each other although they still persist in their own angle.

Likewise, those maintaining consumer-preference theories and the individual election of a home have codescently commented on Smith's work and on what they perceive as his entrenched understanding of the drive represented by the movement of capital in the built environment.<sup>217</sup> However varied they may be, whether or not they acknowledge the determination of capital and the state's means of control, most, if not all, of these authors (e.g. Ley 1996, Hamnett 2003) see gentrification as inherent to the expansion of an urban middle class.<sup>218</sup> This middle class overtly seeks home ownership rather than tenancy, thus for these authors, is at stake is what they have come to call the «value gap», rather than Smith's rent gap. By value gap, they understand:

the net outcome of the different fiscal and financial structures on which the two tenures [home ownership and home rental] operate. The outcome of these differences has had a particularly marked effect on the ways in which properties are valued as items of exchange within the two systems (Hamnett and Randolph 1988: 71).

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production while connecting into the circuits of global capital and into the dominant mainstream cultural circulation (Smith 2002).

<sup>217</sup> Two clear examples of these comments are: «Ingenious simplicity of this argument» (Ley 1996: 42); and «inability or unwillingness to appreciate demand for inner-city locations for the middle-class» (Hamnett 2003: 155).

<sup>218</sup> In order to get just a hint of what this concept the «middle classes» entails, I will follow De Angelis and view them as something in between the social norm they have become and the descriptive and analytical tool we often make of them. That is, middle classes are passive classes by definition and are of little use to whatever social transformation one may have in mind (De Angelis 2010: 960). Even if we are to view them in consumption terms, these are always descriptive too.



Take for instance Ley's staunch argument on the role of the new middle class he studied in Vancouver and on how its expansion related to the growing service economy (Ley 1996). Here, the middle class was one constructed on the lines of Daniel Bell's famed post-industrial thesis (Bell 1978), that is, a middle class that develops a strong consumption culture embedded within a knowledge economy, and that has effects on the choice it makes of its homes. In most cases these middle classes that moved into neighbourhoods that were new to them and that acquired properties there, actually followed a deeply felt liberal ideology (in Ley 1996 but already advanced much earlier, like many of his ideas already exposed, in Ley 1980).<sup>219</sup>

Moreover, what matters here is the shift from rental tenure in a given neighbourhood to ownership. Most importantly, for Ley, the choice needs to be explained by the reasons the middle class for wanting to live in inner-city neighbourhoods rather than others (as if this were an explanation in itself). For Ley (1996), the identity formation of the middle class is central to understanding gentrification. Thus, «... gentrification is an expression of a critical cultural politics, a rejection of the suburbs and their perceived cultural conformity in favour of more cosmopolitan and permissive opportunities ...» (Ley 1996: 9), it is about «the self-production of a social identity in an ever more plural society» (ibid: 362).<sup>220</sup>

Part of this «embourgeoisement» of previous working-class neighbourhoods comes along in the form of their aesthetisation via arts, heritage preservation, environment concern, etc. (ibid: e.g. 365-6) overall contributing to this self-production of an identity. Hamnett's thesis, although very much attune with Ley's, goes somewhat further in his study of the London case (Hamnett 2003). In fact, Hamnett attempts at coalescing both Smith's and Ley's approaches. Hamnett states that each of them only offer, no matter how rightly so, a partial explanation of gentrification, just like Aesop's

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<sup>219</sup> See Ley (2003) for a later update on the role of Bourdieusian cultural capital in gentrification that expands on his previous insights (Ley 1996).

<sup>220</sup> This appears to be the case with Es Barri and its accommodation of a radical, politicised, youngish, professional community. However, we still need to explain why there are more newcomers on rents than owners. Thus, although it is true that the Canamunt people are heavily politicised and are producing their collective identity at a fast rate, the value gap does not fit here, since they are mostly paying off rents, not mortgages. We therefore may deduce that they do not have in mind potential future exchange values but only use values.

fable of the blind men and the elephant in which the first could only appropriately describe a part of the elephant but never the whole.

There is a need to explain both the production of devalued areas and housing as well as the production of those who, being better off than the «traditional» residents, go to live into these devalued areas following particular patterns of consumption and reproduction (Hamnett 1991). In his later work, Hamnett (2003) concludes that, thanks to the shift the city has gone through from being a base of manufacturing and port-related industries to becoming one of financial and business services, the whole process links to changes «in both labour demand and supply and to a marked upwards shift in the occupational class structure of the city» (Hamnett 2003: 9). Thus, London's middle classes have broken out from where they had previously been confined to, now occupying what once was the working-class areas of London (Hamnett 2003: 12).

The growth of the middle classes, though, brings in other important features that relate to the mode of tenure and to the value gap Hamnett had earlier proposed (Hamnett and Randolph 1988). To sum up, Hamnett is able to find a socio-tenorial polarisation characterised by the growth of home ownership and council rental and a steady decrease of private rental (Hamnett 2003: 128-58). This thesis maintains that the shift towards a post-industrial situation explains the reconfiguration of both the built environment and the population, the latter in terms of labour force. Another well-known example working on the middle-class character of gentrification is Caulfield (1994). Caulfield's thesis also follows Ley's but at a larger distance than Hamnett's.

Interestingly, though, just as Hamnett attempts to, Caulfield also aims to bridge the gap among Ley's more demand-consumer sided explanation and Smith's clearer supply-production thesis, but he does so from a completely different standpoint: desire and cultural practice. Rather than drawing on Bell and Bourdieu (the authors that Ley uses to understand the shift towards a service economy and the cultural-capital aspect the newcomers seek), Caulfield (1994) supports his stance inspired by Crow (1996) and Castells (1983). Crow's thesis on cultural industries (Crow 1996) follows Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002). Crow argues that cultural artefacts, rather than being produced *ex novo*, are actually stripped of everyday life and then commoditised.

Thus, the industry searches for appropriate cultural items that have the potential to become commodities. Likewise, Caulfield argues that «modern property entrepreneurs are part of the culture industry», since «[t]hey seek to produce, advertise, and market not just functional space but desirable places for everyday life», and, thus, «[a]s much as housing, their product is lifestyle». At the end of the day, argues Caulfield, desire cannot be invented (Caulfield 1994: 141). At the other extreme, and according to his understanding of the Castells of *The city and the grassroots* (Castells 1983) and not the Althusserian one of *The urban question* (2004), Caulfield viewed gentrification as an urban social movement of the middle classes.<sup>221</sup>

The gentrification debates go on and it is absurd to follow them all here. I have chosen to delve into the rent-gap hypothesis because of its accuracy for the case of Es Barri and for its exportability elsewhere despite the critiques gentrification often receives for being too focused on English speaking countries and ignoring urban traditions such as those of continental Europe (Musterd and van Weesep 1991) or Spain and Latin America (Janoschka et al 2014). Moreover, although these other geographies may well bring different cases and traditions into the gentrification debate, they do not challenge the simplicity and strength of the rent gap argument, one that renders the question of whether gentrification will ever end somewhat bizarre (Lees 2008).

Yet Smith's account on gentrification does require further examination. With his seminal proposal of a rent-gap theory, Neil Smith developed a consistent materialist explanation for gentrification that efficiently contended with individual consumer preference tenets by focusing on the cycles of capital's disinvestment and reinvestment in the built environment thanks to the necessary mediation of forms of collective social action (see Smith 1996). However, since the rent-gap theory had been devised to argue against «consumer preference», with the emphasis on the back-to-the-city movement by capital and not people (as in individuals), all understandings of «people» vanished, including those that hold people to be the bearers of particular class relations and interests (Marx 1976 [1867]: 92).

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<sup>221</sup> This urban social movement wants to be organized «around use value, toward cultural identity and existential meaning in everyday life, and toward an effective role in managing one's daily activities and local circumstances» (Caulfield 1994: 222).

Most research on gentrification has actually been on the inexorable expansion of capital, its seesaws, switches, circuits and closure of gaps. Gentrification is also about the working class, about mellowing down overly structuralist approaches. This can be done as Rose did when researching women's network strategies in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Rose 1984), or the working-class experience of gentrification against the revanchist city (also in Smith 1996). Revanchism is a class strategy that aims at putting an end to the urban welfarist class-compromise by ripping away the rights conquered by the working class in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Revanchism and rent gaps gentrification are obviously linked but whereas revanchism is read politically, rent-gap gentrification is read economically.

But what if we were to also read rent gaps politically? Rent gaps are about the distance between the highest and best uses of the built environment and the lowest and worst possible uses. The question, therefore, is how can these lowest and worst uses happen? I look into this in the following section where, after offering a brief account on the framing of the Barri Xino, I give a few examples of how it was constructed by the press and how it became the basis for a very specific literary genre. In this way I want to explore the bottom of the rent gap that later allowed the multi-scalar state-led revanchism that aimed at the best and highest uses via gentrification-cum-renewal.

This latter phase, mediated by the state, is explored in the last section of this first part of the thesis by looking into a few specific projects that took place in Es Barri starting in the mid-1990s and continuing through the noughties.

### **1.4.3. From the lowest and worst uses to the highest and best**

#### **1.4.3.1. The becoming of the Xino**

Es Barri was the last portion of the Centre to be regenerated. The official argument continuously stressed by technicians, politicians, social workers and many other professionals and managers I interviewed throughout my fieldwork, is that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and well into the 20<sup>th</sup>, this was a working-class neighbourhood. It had markets of all kinds, guilds that could be traced to medieval times, warehouses, workshops, factories, etc. It even enjoyed a relative social-mix. I say relative because of the low number of wealthy families and because most of these were to be found in the

peripheral areas of the neighbourhood. Moreover, on the other pole of the social continuum, Es Barri and its nearby quarters, also hosted extremely impoverished people living in bad conditions; as well as what were then generally considered immoral activities such as sexual labouring.<sup>222</sup>

This impoverished, working-class character was the norm for Es Barri. It is well documented in the literature of the time, in poetry, fiction, memoirs, travel literature, essays and encyclopaedic volumes: e.g. Borges (1983), Camus (1958), Ferrà Perelló (1980) and (1996); the German-speaking travellers collected by García i Boned (2003); von Habsburg (1990); Maura Montaner (1943); Oliver (1941), (1991) and (1995); Rosselló de Son Fortesa (2005); Rusiñol (1930); Sand (1968) and Verdaguer (1977). Take for instance Ferrà Perelló, a civil engineer in charge of major works in the Ciutat of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century who in his memoirs writes:

[The poor] was formed by all the proletarian families that, due to a lack of resources lived in poverty, including fortunate workers, those with few skills, those that were lazy, and those who, because of illness or reversal of fortune, went down in the world and were known as the unwilling penniless. They all rotted together in the ... ruined cells, of the former convents ... During the last third of the [19<sup>th</sup>] century, the young poor had already become assistants in ... steam-powered industries, and worked in all sorts of workshops ... invading and transforming our city (previously calm and sleepy) into a little Babylon (Ferrà Perelló, 1996: 123-5).<sup>223</sup>

In very similar terms, the fiction written by Oliver also caught the international proletariat that fed the industry of the area:

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<sup>222</sup> See, for instance, Escartín (2001) for a general view of the working and living conditions, and also see Canaleta Safont and Pujades Móra's (2008) work on the hygienist discourse that backed the municipal policy towards prostitution of the time and which gives an idea of the extent to which the activity was present in Es Barri. Depending on the extension of Es Barri we take into consideration, there were two or three regulated brothels, one first class and two second class. The latter exactly coincide with the core of the late 20<sup>th</sup>-century red-light district (Canaleta Safont and Pujades Móra 2008: 298). Less than a ten-minute walk away one could find the proper red-light district of the time with at least four official second-class brothels.

<sup>223</sup> Notice the coincidence of the calm Ferrà Perelló demands with that of the tranquillity announced by Rusiñol (1930). This was a calm mainly instilled by the presence of the church: Ferrà Perelló actually denounced the demolition of several religious properties –following the 1835 Spanish regulations for their confiscation. In time, the area of many of these demolished buildings would become Es Barri's picturesque squares. See Ferragut (1974) for a detailed account of this confiscation in Majorca.

The drawing pen and the crane's peak have passed once and again over the area, but they have not been able to erase the physiognomy of the place... ... I witnessed the bustle of that guesthouse, retinue of all kind of miracles, a guesthouse for pilgrims and searchers for good and bad ventures, peopled with errand boys and cartwrights, a Tower of Babel where many languages were spoken and the dregs of the one-hundred peoples of the earth gathered. They were rootless, uprooted destitutes, restless in the world, without a house or a shelter, running because of misfortune or loafing, as if condemned to shed their bed every night, with the characteristic loose life of the Cosmopolis, without a prop, always in strange land, far from their own people (Oliver 1941: 1)

Things started to change for Es Barri at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when, beginning in 1902, the walls were pulled down at the orders of Estada, a civil engineer and planner, who had a hygienist understanding of how to deal with the city and who had already put his ideas in writing a few years before (Estada 2003) :

... Palma's current industry has fallen very short of reaching a high degree of splendour ... [I]f in the future our city were to take on a very pronounced industrial character, it could significantly increase its population, at the same time, trade would unfold on solid ground, our wealth would grow, and we would have every reason to rightly believe that, despite our traditional indolence, Palma would truly become an important city, which would in addition bring the fast transformation of municipal services ... modifying the hygiene conditions of the population and, by all accounts, our wellbeing and social value would increase. It is therefore important to research the causes that oppose the establishment of industries in our city, to study their nature and rootedness and see whether it is possible to remove them or overturn them (Estada 2003: 69-70).

Discussions had been going on for over thirty years.<sup>224</sup> The demolitions meant that industries left these neighbourhoods and, those that could, had to move to the urban

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<sup>224</sup> Both Lalaria Bañares (1992) and March Noguera (2002) offer a chronicle on the hygienist reasons of why the authorities thought the walls should be pulled down. The several texts included in, and edited by, the *Servei d'Arxius i Biblioteques* (2004) give a fuller account of the many different aspects of these walls, including, again, their demolition and the later protection of the few remains that were left. Texts introducing the latest edition of Estada's oeuvre (Estada 2003) signal the main controversies that surround this vast demolition.

Some support Estada's «well-intentioned» initiative but lament the pulling down of the ramparts. Others are puzzled by the official claim that pulling down of the ramparts was necessary due to the military regulations against establishing industries near to the ramparts – so why not change the regulations instead of pulling the walls down?; they ask themselves. Finally, there are those who argue that the reasons for publishing the original book were to win supporters for his urbanisation cause and to convince the population that the water they were consuming was not of good quality. Furthermore, in his «urban memories», Verdaguer (1977:

expansion area. Even in their absence, the walls are present since the avenues built in their place still contain the Centre. Yet this movement towards the new urban expansion area was just beginning. As people moved out, new people came in, mostly from the countryside, just as had always happened in the past. The Spanish Civil War (1936-9) stopped the city's expansion for a short time. The war aggravated the living conditions of the population who inhabited what had previously been the walled city.

In addition to the wartime living conditions, the excessive attention paid to the expanding urban area led to the neglect of the neighbourhoods of the Centre, amongst them, Es Barri. The Centre had been untouched, left fallow, for more than 20 years. It was not until after the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) that the City-Council decided to deal with the whole of the Centre under a comprehensive planning scheme that was supposed to uplift its most deteriorated areas. Coincidentally, the improvements the City Council decided to make in the Centre, was supposed to take place in all of its working class neighbourhoods (including Es Barri), and involved its demolition. The architect and planner Alomar Esteve, won the bid and in 1943 his General Scheme was approved, although it was not only published until 1950.

As it can be read in his winning project, published almost ten years later after the war ended (Alomar Esteve 2000[1950]), the aim was to monumentalise the street layout, as well as the new buildings that would be built after demolishing the existing ones. The publication of his project only came after he had been to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he learned about new planning theory, methodology and techniques in which he encountered the so-called humanist development ideas and practices of the time involving cutting-edge concepts such as the «neighbourhood unit» and «heritage conservation» (in the form of a kind of «conservation» within a context of generalised regeneration, that is, demolition).<sup>225</sup>

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132-6) accuses this social hygienist programme of becoming the ideological alibi of a speculative process of major economic and political implications, including as the cost of the lengthy demolition, the price of the freed up square metres, and the prospects of building new neighbourhoods beyond the old town.

<sup>225</sup> These terms, «neighbourhood unit» and «heritage conservation», are used profusely in the published regeneration project (Alomar Esteve 2000), to the extent that they guide the programme of renewal from its very start. I return to them and the use Alomar made of them in the closing Section 3.1.

As he later put in his memoirs, written under municipal- and state-led social democrat governments (Alomar 1986), and partially advanced in a state-funded work on his main thoughts on the city: «In view of the vital need for providing jobs to the discharged soldiers, the City-Council of Palma had the idea of carrying out an inner-city reform» (Alomar Esteve 1980: 28; a similar quote can be found in Alomar 1986: 19). The planning scheme, though, was intended as more than just an employment creation scheme, which was likely just a positive side effect. It was originally based on twelve main interventions off which only four were fully undertaken.

All of the interventions aimed to «open up» the old city to traffic (the current terminology speaks of «penetration routes»), reconstruct the unhygienic built environment, «dignify» the urban environment, and add value into those areas that had fallen in decay, while respecting anything that had a historical or monumental value. However, this conservation was really only a façade, one very much in tune with Estada's vision of modernisation and investment in the built environment:

The case of Palma is one of the gentleman who has inherited from his ancestors an old place in ruins but full of rancid beauties and family memories. The time has come to consolidate and modernise it; to inject cement into its crumbled foundations and to strengthen with reinforced concrete its shaky pillars; to install bathrooms, electric light and air conditioning, and even to replace with modern cars the horse-driven carriages that, until very recently the old nostalgic coachman, carefully cleaned and even drove now and again, not resigning himself to the passing of time, like the miller of Daudet's tale, who rolled in vain the blades of his useless mill (Alomar Esteve 2000: 8-9).

Besides the reference to improving the patrimony of the wealthy, Alomar Esteve's scheme also envisaged the building of modest housing but he only outlined its need in the last section of the scheme. It was a lot more important for him to focus on the major thoroughfares he wanted to develop via *soventramenti* [gutting], where narrow, popular streets had previously stood. In fact, a good deal of Alomar Esteve's efforts were to carry out the selection of what had to be gutted and what had to be promoted. Ciutat's heritage was starting to be seriously targeted as a tourism resource. The scheme clearly focused on tidying up the Centre and making it amenable to the wealthy.

Despite Alomar Esteve's intention to avoid major discomfort for those who were going to lose out because of eviction, and regardless of the lack of an organised



resistance to the demolitions,<sup>226</sup> he did displease many. Andreu Morell Huguet, a paper cutter at the time of Alomar's intervention, gives us an idea of how evictions took place under Alomar Esteve's regeneration scheme (Morell Huguet 1979). Born in the Majorcan countryside in 1913 into the large family of a village music-band conductor, Morell Huguet explains how he had to emigrate to the city with his mother and eight brothers and sisters when his father prematurely died in 1925.

In 1949, after years of different addresses and jobs in Ciutat and the mainland, after war and marriage, he rented a workshop, in which to cut paper, near to what was the red-light district of the time, not far from Es Barri. The area had been convent land in the past and had been subject to state confiscation. Alomar Esteve's intention was to build a municipal market there, L'Olivar.<sup>227</sup> Morell Huguet, his wife and their first two children, lived in a small, open loft within the workshop. In his memoirs, Morell Huguet summarises his encounter with a delegate of the building society which Alomar Esteve had, by his own admission set up for this purpose (Alomar Esteve 1980) and which was financed by Joan March, for the occasion:

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<sup>226</sup> It was a dictatorship after all, plus the fact that the major financier of the renewal was the most powerful man of 20<sup>th</sup> century Spain, another Majorcan, Joan March, once nicknamed «the last pirate of the Mediterranean» and recently «the most mysterious man in the world» (Ferrer 2008). Joan March, who made his fortune as a smuggler, was also a politician, only until the arrival of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936), and just as he did with the previous regime he helped to finance Franco's rebellion (1936) and the so-called Spanish democratic transition of the 1970s. The relationship between Alomar Esteve and March is not clear. Alomar Esteve worked for him on many projects across the island and it would not be surprising that this relation had a lot to do with Alomar Esteve winning the 1943 competition for regenerating the Centre, his studies abroad at the MIT and even his different appointments in Madrid and at the ICOMOS as a Spanish representative. So far, though, none of this has been proven.

<sup>227</sup> Robert Graves, the writer, who lived in and knew Majorca well, spoke of this intervention in L'Olivar in a book in which he gathered several memoirs from his stay in Majorca:

Although hundreds of the most picturesque houses in Palma, some dating from the fifteenth century, were destroyed a year or two ago to make room for a grandiose covered market, thoroughfares lined by office buildings and *kitsch* shops and housing blocks for workers, it is still a pretty city» (Graves and Hogarth 1965: 26).

«Picturesque» was a word Morell Huguet (1979) would never have used. It would have been difficult for him to take a distance from his everyday life and view it from such a pastoralist attitude worked by taste and the gift of having travelled due to a specific position of power, even if only a writer's one. Notice Morell was not a professional writer. He cut paper for a well-known Minorcan literary figure based in Ciutat and founder of a Catalan language publisher called Francesc de Broja Moll. In the prologue to Morell Huguet's memoirs, Borja Moll, commented the text lacked literary quality and only gave an account of a very mediocre life.

We had been in charge of the workshop for two years. It was summer 1949, when we had a visit from a man who said to he was one of the delegates of the new market's building society. He told us about the project, informing us that the whole of the Balearic Theatre [Street] had to be pulled down, since the old and narrow streets were not suitable for the [new] market building. He then went on to offer us an amount for the costs of transportation and the difference in price for the new location of our business. We asked him to make an offer. This messenger learning how to become a capitalist did not think twice. «4,000 pesetas [roughly less than €24] will do to compensate a little business like this». As soon as he had said this he draw out a document for us to sign. But we told him we would think about it. «Fair enough –he said, but do not take long to make your mind up though or else you will have to leave by force». He came back a few days later and this time the offer was of 8,000 pesetas and I thought, after getting informed: «Do not sign yet». He went off empty handed but after four days we received a letter from the building society in which we were given a date and a time to discuss the issue with the building society. [...] We discussed for more than half an hour. It looked like shopping in the flee-market: one asking while the other one offering, a hard bargaining that should have been recorded. After a good while of talking we settled it at 20,000 pesetas (Morell Huguet 1979: 92-4).

The episode with Morell Huguet must have been very common at the time. The building society, not the City Council, negotiated individually with owners and renters (Morell Huguet was a renter). As Sections 2.3. and 2.5. show, a negotiated approach to individuals rather than to collectivities, was also a common practice in the deals that took place in Es Barri during the 1990s. Members of the working class (including those of the class cloaca),<sup>228</sup> had to bargain their way out. Some, like Morell Huguet, liked to

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<sup>228</sup> Here I am using Draper's terminology (Draper 1977/1978/1986, third volume: 476-8) which I also use in Section 2.6.). The «class cloaca» is constituted by that working class fraction that is supposedly of no use to, and therefore falls out of, the existing social order. I write «supposedly» because this class actually does carry out an unwaged labour that is «exploitable» in the realm of the «urban», its presence, its everyday life, brings down property values and, eventually prices. Other terms similar to «class cloaca» are those of «lumpenproletariat» and «underclass».

Besides the odd different shade of meaning they bear, these terms are not very different from the one I have chosen. Whereas, on the one hand, Marx and Engels' «lumpenproletariat» strictly refers to that fraction of the working class that is unproductive, dependent on the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and will never achieve class-consciousness, «underclass» strongly relates to the labelling and victimising of poverty conditions. See, for instance, Gans (1995) and Zweig (2000) for an engaged critique on the latter. Vincent (1993) enters a somewhat deeper analysis on how the hegemony of capital is actually achieved thanks to the relation between the capitalist economy's need for labour reserve that the underclass provides and how untenable this category is in political terms for capitalist society.

think they had made a good deal, others resisted longer and got a better one. In the end day though, those who eventually left by force got the worst possible return. There was no way of knowing when to stop bargaining. Bargaining collectively would have been a different matter (and it did happen in Es Barri of the 1990s), but could never have happened under the Falangist rule of Franco's regime.

L'Olivar was one of the four projects Alomar was able to carry out. The other eight, including the one that affected Es Barri, failed to happen due to a lack of funding and probably also due to a political decision to invest elsewhere in Ciutat and the island. After all, the 1950s were at the gates of the arrival of mass tourism and, thus, the establishment of Majorca's economic mono-crop for the next half a century, continuing to the present days. On the island, Alomar Esteve is a key figure for understanding the contradictory relationship between development and redevelopment, and preservation. However, Alomar Esteve was not the first urban planner to think in terms of preserving remains in the face of development: Estada himself was careful to pull down all the walls and leave the waterfront ramparts as a witness to the past and, he certainly theorised on the need to conserve parts of the city.

Planning was for him the device through which development could take place. Of course, whether he did so for the mere sake of his philias for history or whether he was moved for both gentrifying the newly built quarters and for attracting a future cultural tourism remains a controversial issue for which we may never have an answer. At an interview I held with the municipal architect of the *Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge* [Municipal Housing Authority], he argued that although he had not scientifically contrasted it, he had a theory of what had happened to those areas where Alomar Esteve's partial plans should have arrived but never did. The case of Es Barri is probably the best know of these with two projected avenues leading towards the East and half a two-lane semi-roundabout that partially surrounded a major square built where the Inquisition had had its headquarters (confiscated by the state in 1823).

Due to its humble working-class condition, land prices were already relatively low compared to other areas of the Centre, so many people with privileged information were encouraged to buy properties there with the more or less firm promise that it would become prime land because the municipality would be forced to expropriate at

a higher price than usual. Those who actually made a good profit deal were the ones who bought and immediately sold land. Those who were not able to sell remained trapped, earning the rents of the increasingly impoverished strata that arrived throughout the following decades. There was even the case that the descendants of some of them had to end up living and aging there. Now, this is interesting because at the same time others were leaving Es Barri towards the more ventilated expansion areas beyond the now inexistent walls.

To cut it short, together with later generations of those families that had bought properties thinking they would finally reach Eldorado, other people filled up the properties. By the end of the mid-1970s, the area was already referred to as Barri Xino.<sup>229</sup> The first revision of the 1982 general scheme mentioned in Section 1.2.3.2. (Ajuntament de Palma 1982), three years after the election of the first democratic municipal government, offered detailed data for those in favour of renewal. In 1983, just four years after the first democratic City Council had been chosen, there were specialised publications for the general public that included data on the decay of the Centre and the need to carry out major works so as to attract people. Everyone agreed Es Barri was the most affected neighbourhood (e.g. Picornell et al 1983: 12).

The press also made its way through to the public. It bombarded public opinion with the images of the evil that were to be found together with a language of revanchism that quite often only aimed at stigmatising Es Barri and the people that lived there:<sup>230</sup> «Barriographies: Barrio Chino, Palma's 'Harlem'» (El Día de Baleares,

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<sup>229</sup> The term Xino, although unique to Catalan and Spanish (where it is written Chino) has an acceptable translation into English, at least into US English. Park (1967) refers to it a «vice district», an extreme type of moral region, that is, the result of the distribution and segregation of particular city populations (Park 1967: 43). It is interesting to note that although Park himself viewed «moral regions» as part of the «natural» life of cities (ibid: 45), he actually mentions the term «vice» several times often linking it with interpretations of a social-pathological kind. Furthermore, notice that these moral naturalisations are the ones that normally accompany the neighbourhood decay I have accounted for in the previous section following Smith's words (Smith 1996). The Xino was not a unique phenomenon of Ciutat. For the Xinos of other cities see: McDonough (1987), Subirats and Rius (2005), Castaños (2010) and Fernández (2014) for Barcelona, and Bagué Hugas (2006) for Girona. Radio Futura would immortalise these Spanish neighbourhoods in its masterpiece «En el Chino» (Radio Futura 1985).

<sup>230</sup> See Kallin and Slater (2014) for a much more systematic analysis of how stigma intervenes in the value of the built environment by marginalising the groups of people that inhabit it.

05/02/1985). Literature would soon appear too, depicting in a most realist manner the human characters to be found:

I'm not sure of what I'm doing thinking of all of this here, in the bar of the transvestites, without daring to enter the labyrinth of narrow streets built on fear and misery. They come and go in search of anonymous, clandestine, clients who approach the vice and perversion shrouded in shadows. In pairs, they tour the neighbourhood and, up and down, the pavement of Ferreria that turns towards the Porta de Sant Antoni. At the bar, they suck at green drinks, speak of their cunt, of the men that could make them a child, of having their period, of being more of a woman than the one who just left, who is none other than a sissy in skirts and a cunt-head (Pomar 2005(1988): 37).

The description of people working in the prostitution scene was something many could not let go for it gave the perfect material out of which to build a fiction since this reality looked like fiction. Notwithstanding, Pomar's novel drew in-depth description of characters and the relationships between them thanks to his ongoing research in taverns and clubs while he drank his life away. The world of sex in exchange for money that he describes, and above all, the morals that governed «drug-land» were far from the so-called middle classes that would eventually walk the territory. Besides novels like Pomar's described above, there was poetry too. In a book published long after it was written, Capellà also knew how to catch the scene of a pimp and drug dealer in coarser language than that of Pomar:

Mr. Martorell sports a refined moustache, he is dressed to the nines, smokes Virginia and he keeps his hands in his pockets so as to dissimulate the filth under his nails. He rarely visits the streets where horses [as in heroin] run about and, if he were to, he would never do it alone. Old whores waylay him on the street and he invites them to a white coffee or to two drops of whatever they want with an imperceptible right-hand gesture to the waiter. In the past, he screwed them all at will. He was a thirsty cub that made the most of a triangle of dark waters, geometry of wish. Others who owe him the invested capital or yields from some sort of loan avoid him and look at him out of the corner of their eyes. On the borders of the neighbourhood, from the steering-wheel of his car, he waits for the cash that pimps and dealers owe him. Indulgent, patient, sometimes indifferent, he settles up scores when the hands of all watches stop. Then, cobblestones covered in blood clots will summon conspiratorial silences. Anyway, he will have never crossed the neighbourhood boundaries that are inhabited by white-kidney toads and hairless prostitutes' kids in search of prophylactics and needles among streams of urine expelled by penises. Mr. Martorell nurtures houses in ruins the washbowl and the towel of his Mum's room. And the tenderness of this memory

has soothing effects on him. He wipes away his tears with the back of his hand. On the other side of the street four unshakable men have recovered the debt (Capellà 1998: 13).

Not everything was so coarse in the cultural production based on Es Barri. One of the squares where Rafel Vaquer, a comic book artist, used to hang out in the 1980s, became the main scene of the adventures of Johnny Roqueta, a character that for years appeared in *Jueves*, a Barcelona-based publication. Almost all the scenes of Johnny's strips are taken from Es Barri as well as other parts of Ciutat and many of the stories it contains centre around the urban tribe culture developed there, in which alcohol and drugs, so present in Es Barri of those days (see Image 5, Appendix of images), do appear now and again but never as in Pomar and Capellà's work. We do see a return to these themes in Beltrán and Seguí (2011 and 2014) with the real stories of when Beltrán was in his teens and he got involved in crime until he ended up in prison.

In 1989, the first renewal scheme for Es Barri was approved under the name of the «Sindicat» (the major thoroughfare bordering north, as well as the name for the statistical unit of a still larger area). The aim was to transform the area into something new that citizens would appreciate. There was even the idea of building a museum of prostitution which was realised. Yet this never happened, and as for the renewal scheme, it would have to wait longer. However, the press was altogether reluctant to abandon the idea of renewal. In addition, it went on about it repeatedly until opposition finally appeared in the form of a group belonging to the Federation of Neighbours of the city that would eventually would move in to live in Es Barri:

The exodus begins (*Última Hora*, 12/01/1989)

The opposition group at the City Council denounces the insecurity of the neighbourhoods (*Día de Baleares*, 25/01/1989)

The exodus from the «Barrio Chino». Its inhabitants reorganise elsewhere in Palma (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 02/03/1989)

The City Council offers housing to the evicted families (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 02/03/1989)

The convenience of avoiding a new «Barrio chino» (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 03/03/1989)

The Barrio Chino escapes from the Mayor's hands. The arrival of the renewal scheme is obliging pimps and criminals to leave for other places (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 12/03/1989)

The City Council wants to reach an agreement with the Government for the renewal project of the Barrio Chino so as to avoid large renewals in order to conserve buildings when it is already written (*El Día 16 de Baleares*, 04/04/1989)

An oppositional movement appears against the demolition of the «Chino» so that a modern area is built. The opponents cannot believe the decision of the Mayor to pull down more than 55 buildings (*Diario de Mallorca*, 11/06/1989)

The Federation of Neighbourhood Associations presents a formal complaint against the special scheme for the renewal of the «Barrio Chino» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 29/06/1989)

The Federation of Neighbours opposes the renewal scheme of Sindicat (*El Día de Baleares*, 29/06/1989)

ARCA [the preservationist group] formally complains against the renewal scheme of the «Barrio Chino». It thinks there hasn't been a rigorous study of the historical character of the area» (*Última Hora*, 05/07/1989)

Businesspeople «suspect black money» is invested in the Barrio Chino by acquiring property with speculative aims» (*Diario de Mallorca*, 22/12/1989)

The renewal scheme for the «Barrio Chino», an opportunity for citizen involvement (*Última Hora*, 27/12/1989)

The historic centre is broken. Those opposing the renewal of the «Barrio Chino» claim there are reasons that relate to the respect for the street layout of the city (*Diario de Mallorca*, 07/01/1990)

Promises of renewal, heritage conservation groups and, organised newcomers opposing renewal became the staple diet for Es Barri. In later years, though, the area would still be of interest to comical novelists like Palou (1993), who offered a mix of hilarious encounters between Majorcan countrymen and gypsy clans involved in drug dealing, and with the King's family on their official vacation on the island. Eventually newcomers did arrive. Bennàssar, a young novelist, would base the birthplace of his main character in Es Barri, one that was already fading away:

Do you know who will come to live here? I'll tell you. The civil servants who work a ten minute walk away and who can pay for the new flats that will be built here will come, and wealthy people too, but those of us who have always lived here, we'll have to sleep in the street like dogs, or leave for other neighbourhoods. And this is what you journalists have called rehabilitation, restoration, and progress. I'll tell you what this really is: property speculation, a human mess, and an attempt to cover our existence. They think that if they move us out of the way, if they hide us, we will disappear, and you know as well as I do that that is not so (Bennàssar 2005: 109).

Novels, poetry, and comics. These are also ways of looking into the ways the worst, lowest uses take place, and that become so necessary for understanding the dimension of the rent gap that is not solely reliant on the growth of the potential rent gap but also on its decrease. The so-called underclass, the lumpenproletariat that inhabits Es Barri, helped unknowingly with their daily lives to bring down the value of the neighbourhood, allowing others to make a profit. These illustrations are ways of understanding, together with the historical explanation that began with Alomar's unsuccessful renewal, the multifarious ways in which the city is laboured.

In what follows, we will have the opportunity to delve into all these issues in a more comprehensive manner. The five publications that make the next part not only offer a blend of theory, methodology, and the field, but also shed light on how the object of study is one that develops under the gaze of the researcher.

#### **1.4.3.2. The culmination of a process: State mediations**

In 1999, the City Council of Ciutat published a booklet entitled *The historic centre of Palma. From monumental renewal to comprehensive renewal. The history of a process.* (Ajuntament de Palma 1999). The booklet was to praise the different renewal schemes that had taken place in the Centre and its adjacent areas ever since the first democratic municipal government was chosen (Puig de Sant Pere, Es Jonquet, Es Jonquet and Sa Gerreria). However, the booklet also praised the combination of different scales of government. The back cover proudly shows the logos of the URBAN Community Initiative Programme of the EU and the Pla Mirall [mirror] of the Balearic Government too. This is a publication which aimed to highlight a joint effort.

The publication contains the presentations of the two politicians in charge of the City Council and the urban planning office at that moment: Joan Fageda and Carlos Ripoll. Mayor Fageda's presentation is an ode to the past the Centre then contained. He clearly states that it is the responsibility of Palma's citizens to recover the city but that they have to recover it by renewing it. The Old Town is New now; he says. The main ideas that guide this apparently noble task are stated much more clearly: «Priceless riches of the past!» and «[i]ncommensurable riches of the future» (Ajuntament de Palma 1999: 5). Although «incommensurable» means it cannot be measured, for



Fageda it seems a synonym of infinite, endless.<sup>231</sup> That may be the reason why he was the first to hammer down the buildings of Es Barri (see Image 12, Appendix of images). Ripoll's presentation is more grounded, let us say it is far more technical, in the sense that he brings in a political civil-service pride for working for the public:

... not even with the most refined literary and graphic arts would it be possible to convey the enthusiasm, respect, concern, sometimes fear, and always professionalism, of the political, administrative and technical team responsible for the care and daily work of the Board-Management-Consortium ... Nevertheless, what remains is the confidence in the fact that the work done, already present in the everyday life of those living in our old town or visiting it, will manage to convey better than any report or book, the satisfaction for what has been achieved and the confidence in the success of all that still needs to be done (Carlos Ripoll, Councillor for Urbanism, in Ajuntament de Palma 1999: 8).

Both presentations showed a city that seemed empty. A city that was once lived by people and soon after abandoned.<sup>232</sup> They both conveyed the idea that with determination the local authorities could return the old splendour to the Centre's streets and squares. It was as if they had been called to bring back life to where there seemed to be none. Similar calls for «returning» to the Centre were made from various different instances. Even the political parties in the opposition joined in. Take for instance Carles Bona, at the time the spokesman for urbanism in the Social-Democrat PSIB-PSOE shadow government of Ciutat (and husband of the former Vice-Chancellor of the Universitat de les Illes Balears), who at interview in which he argued the Centre could not become a museum, he stated:

[The Special Redevelopment and Protection Scheme for Sa Gerreria] can still be improved, it is a positive step forward. The idea is good for intervening on the most degraded area and attempt to revitalise it by putting an official institution, the courts and all that surrounds this, which will generate businesses such as restaurants, bars and cafes, offices, and, at the end of the day, a substitution of

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<sup>231</sup> This idea was present across the elite in charge of the renewal process. Section 2.6. (Publication 5) includes the quote of a well-known local architect and planner who in 1995 declared the Centre was an unexploited mine and he implied that only certain people were able to value the riches this mine contained (p. 358).

<sup>232</sup> Together with what had «been achieved», the physical renewal, Ripoll intentionally obliterates the social «renewal» brought by the expropriations and evictions of the so-called marginal classes. These had either remained or moved in during the days of decay. Hence Es Barri was never really emptied.

people. What happens though is that there is *a need to foresee the relocation of the people who now live there to other places as well as define the kind of people we want to fill in the hole left by those who leave*. If they are only going to "yuppies" capable of buying 30 or more million-worth properties or if there can also be subsidised housing for younger people, with other characteristics *that make the population a little more within the standards, more in tune with the average level of Palma* (Carles Bona, PSIB-PSOE spokesman for urbanism, in Oliver 1997, my emphasis).

The Centre was not empty. It had to be emptied just as other areas had been emptied previously and it had to be refilled, just as the other areas had been too. The aim of the 1999 institutional culminating booklet was precisely that of embellishing this class-fraction substitution. After the presentations of the big men I have already mentioned, it continues with a brief introduction of the major works developed in the Centre since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although Ripoll does make an effort to speak of the monumental Ciutat Alomar fought for, the reality is that the great planner is only mentioned *en passant*. After all, with democracy, Alomar became a Social-Democrat and at the time of the publication, and after, Fageda and Ripoll are conservatives. The main idea is that the city centre did not evolve with the new times:

The pass of time transforms the oeuvre of man's hand. Realisations that once meant something now mean something else or have no sense at all; spaces that once accomplished a function are now required to accomplish a very different one for different times. Everything passes, everything changes in the life of man and in that one of his communities.

Neighbourhoods that were once a trading emporium sheltering the duties of guilds and artisans –the backbone of Palma's economy at the time- lose their functionality in the midst of the charge of new historic times.

Neighbourhoods that had a clear social purpose –to serve fishermen and their families who had their fishing gear in nearby docks- lose it with the simultaneous evolution of their own work and the uses the bay is put to.

The process is unstoppable, lacking the assignments, functions and uses they were conceived for, an involution begins that throughout generations becomes an authentic degradation. They lose the activity that gave them sense, as well as their active population.

Until the same city becomes numb.

In addition, the process reverses: the recovery, the renewal of the neighbourhoods that have degraded throughout the century, in the Old Town of Palma (Ajuntament de Palma 1999: 17).

The tone is similar to that used by Fageda and Ripoll. This is, again, a part of the city that is assumed to be devoid of people and needs the return of those who once left it behind. Degradation seems to happen as if it were a natural process against which nothing can be done but wait and see. From then on, the booklet explains each of the renewal schemes of the Centre that took place in democracy before the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria of 1995. When we get to this specific scheme the tone changes. There are no longer sections that criticise certain aspects of the schemes, how could there of Sa Gerreria was not even finished then! The focus is now a celebratory one under the label: «The culmination of a process» (Ajuntament de Palma 1999: 55-72).

Thus, what we encounter is a sum of different projects belonging to different administrations and funding bodies that made up what the local authorities termed «Comprehensive Implementation Scheme for Sa Gerreria» (CISG), not to be confused with the first of the schemes included, that of the City Council's PEPRI of Sa Gerreria. The aim of the CISG was to act on the physical and monumental environment as well as on the population (for which «new life» had to be brought onto) by intensifying flow of economy. This could only be accomplished by bringing together the Local Housing Authority, the Urban Planning Authority, Social Services, etc.

The PEPRI of Sa Gerreria (see Image 1, Appendix of images) was finally approved in 1995 (Ajuntament de Palma 1995), after half a decade of extremely contentious politics surrounding its future implementation.<sup>233</sup> Previous projects of the Social-Democrats (at least until 1991, when it was known as PERI Sindicat) had foreseen the demolition of almost the entire neighbourhood following Alomar Esteve's original plans (2000) but which in the end had not taken place. Those were the days when the Neighbours Federation not only fought against the project allied with ARCA and GOB (remember the «To renew is not to destroy» campaign of 1991, see Image 7, Appendix of images), but created an ex novo neighbours' association, Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga.

Through the pressure they exerted, they managed to get a «P» for protection included, turning PERI (Special Inner Renewal Scheme) into PEPRI (Special Inner

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<sup>233</sup> I do not go into major detail about the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria here since I have mentioned its major achievements and downfalls across the thesis and I delve into it, almost to extenuation, in Sections 2.2., 2.3., 2.4., and 2.5. of Part 2.

Protection and Renewal Scheme) in the new Conservative proposal of 1991. Including the protection of the built environment and maintenance of the population in Es Barri was a partial victory. The fact is that the necessities of the City Council in terms of funding for the scheme, and indeed the entrepreneurial turn of the city in planning matters (see Franquesa 2007 for an excellent historical account of how this turn came to be) led the local authorities to include other projects that had their own agendas: The regional government's Pla Mirall Palma-Centre, and the EU funded Urban – El Temple Project.

The PEPRI of Sa Gerreria would be fall short of emulating the model of the PERI of Es Puig de Sant Pere which had been undertaken by the first democratically elected government after Franco (Ajuntament de Palma 1977-1980) and which followed the Bologna model the Neighbours' Federation of Associations (FAVP) sought. The Centre was now ripe to become a business in itself and Es Barri had definitely achieved a lucrative rent gap. Little by little, in the following ten years, the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria that had been agreed with the FAVP was eroded to the extent that the text that sustained the renewal became a lost myth at the expense of the Mirall and Urban – El Temple projects. However, the PEPRI still served a purpose. It assigned a new use to every single block of housing and designated those buildings that were to be demolished and those that were to stay standing.

The periphery of Es Barri would initially remain as it had been found. However, as time went by, small developers, like those acquiring the block at Ca na Mari (Section 1.2.3.2.), or the ones who now want to revamp the block where Casa Rafi is (Section 1.2.3.1.), would enter Es Barri and slowly fashion it to the requirements of the thriving real estate market of the Centre of Ciutat. A middle ring of properties followed a different path and was to enter in the pack of major renewal although mainly funded by other public authorities (the Courts which the Spanish State funded and all the different projects of the EU-funded Urban El Temple). Most of these meant the absolute demolition of the buildings after the compensation and eviction of those owners and inhabitants that still remained. Finally, the core of Es Barri, known as Es Brut [The Dirty Place], would be rased down to the ground:

A disaster of such 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 capital city. In silence. They have ruined 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 cobbled stretches. What is left of the old nucleus is almost a stage, a piece of furniture, whole 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: 89.)

The person in charge of transforming Es Brut into the newly revamped, modern housing of the Intervention Unit 2B, always under the scheme of the PEPRI, was the developer Gabriel Oliver through his company called *Gerència Immobiliària Balear* (GIB). Since the 2B was run by the municipal PEPRI, in order to be managed by a private company it needed to follow a call for tender. Yet things are slightly more complicated because the applying developers needed to be allied with a builder so as to form an UTE (a joint venture explained in footnote 5, p. 2). GIB's builder was Llabrés Feliu, one of the major builders in the Balearics. GIB and Llabrés Feliu jointly competed with Brues, a Basque company, in this case a developer and building company specialised in these kinds of works.

Finally the UTE that GIB and Llabrés Feliu put together was awarded the project. This meant that all those people owning property and living in the Intervention Unit 2B had to deal with GIB, not with the municipal authorities. Here is where GIB's initial investment to pay Llabrés Feliu would come in, since it would gain from speculating with the profits of evictions in order to construct its new flats for new families (see Image 23, Appendix of images). This seems like a neat story but it was not so. As pointed out in Section 2.5., there were important local bosses involved here. The journalist Andreu Manresa –writing for the nation-wide journal *El País* with Social-Democrat leanings quoted above- not only mourned the demise of the built heritage Es Barri contained, but also remembered the dirty deals behind the new Es Brut, and he does so in extreme detail:

It is yet another story of «Balears S.A. [Public Limited Company]»: The company the PP [*Partit Popular*, Conservative Party] decided had won the call for tender and to whom it gave the business with taxed foreclosures and the eviction of residents was Llabrés Feliu, associated to the former President of the PP and the Balearic Government Gabriel Cañellas, via the companies of Palma Antigua and Massanella. The associate manager is Gabriel Oliver, spokesperson of the

employers' platform, a friend of the right. The architect in charge of the work is Luis Alemany, who that same year 1998 when the contract for the works was awarded, was a general director for the Balearic Government of the PP. Brues, a Basque company that had decided to compete for the for tender actually received better marks for the architectonic proposal and thus denounced a deviant procedure. Carlos Ripoll, EU MP and former general secretary of the PP – one of Cañellas's men- was at the time in charge of Urbanism in Palma and he decided who was to win the tender. In this period in which the transformation of the neighbourhood was being promoted, Ripoll acquired two impounded properties from La Caixa [a savings bank] that were in ruins, in front of the doors of which the entry to the new Courts was to be opened. 'Ciutat Rodríguez' [another party member linked to the Mirall Scheme of other parts of Ciutat, not the Centre] remains slit open and with a crater (Manresa 2005: 91.)

As mentioned, though, what really perverted the original writing of the PEPRI in favour of the maintenance of the population and of the built environment, were the associate bodies. Take for instance the Mirall Palma Centre Scheme funded by the Balearic Government. At an interview I had in 2007 with its former manager, Jerónimo Saiz, himself the former Regional Minister of Public Works under President Cañellas, he talked about how innovative this whole network of projects gathered under the CISG was. His position was that of bringing together the PEPRI of Sa Gerreria with the Urban – El Temple Project. It was not easy because whereas, on the one hand, people had to remain in the neighbourhood, as the PEPRI said, and improve its living conditions, as the Urban Community Initiative fostered, on the other, the idea was to attract people that would make the economic fabric, mainly tourism, come alive.

Thus, the aims of Mirall Palma Centre were somewhat contradictory: (1) To recover the Historic Centre for the city; (2) to promote the return of the population to the Centre; (3) to promote quality tourism; (4) to recover [improve] the marginal population; and (5) to economically reactivate the Historic Centre. This would then translate into specific actions on the ground each of which would be led by a specific organisation:

- (a) the urban and social transformation of the neighbourhood via planning, by the Urban El Temple Project;
- (b) façade renewal and installation (or improvement) of infrastructure (electricity, water supply, sewage, pneumatic waste collection, optic fibre and so on), by Mirall Palma Centre;

- (c) to gain public facilities, by the Spanish State (Courts) and by the Urban - El Temple Project (Social Centre Flassaders, Crafts Boulevard, Crafts School, Old Folks Home, and the Estel swimming pool);
- (d) to recover a bastion of the ramparts, not assigned to any particular organisation;
- (e) Nou Estel real estate project (including swimming pool), by the Urban – El Temple Project;
- (f) Public Housing Project, by the Local Planning Authority.

Whereas (b), (c), and (e) happened and were successful (after the funds came from elsewhere and these were invested in fixed capital, (d) only made it long after these schemes ended and via a process completely independent to this comprehensive scheme, and (a) and (f), those investments in variable capital such as compensations for evictions, public-housing subventions, grants for opening workshops, training in arts and crafts, general social services, programmes for drug-consumption prevention, programmes for the voluntary social insertion of sexual labourers, etc. stopped as soon as the funds ran out. Of course, what remains to be seen is what this comprehensive renewal was really about. I will briefly look into this in Section 3.1.

Let us now return to our local bosses. For a long time the renewal of the Centre had the main aim of the planning department of the City Council of Ciutat. Alemany Mir (1992) is perhaps one of the most interesting documents in which to discover the renewal philosophy that would start to happen in Es Barri (Sa Gerreria) in 1999. One devoid of people. In the same year, Alemany Mir, the author of this document who had been the General Director for Planning of the Balearic Government between 1996 and 1998, was appointed as the main architect of the 2B unit of intervention for Sa Gerreria's renewal scheme. This was the only intervention unit of the renewal scheme that evicted the whole of the population for the sake of the built environment.

Alemany Mir was always accompanied by an artistic entourage of people. Photographers such as Pepa Llausás (who contributed with her work to a publication of another EU-funded project that criticised renewal, see Morell and Franquesa 2005) or painters like Xisco Fuentes (Fuentes 2004) went to him to ask for the relevant permit to get inside the works of «Ground 0» and portray the pastoral lifeless fading of decay. These images of hidden homes that looked like dens, forgotten brothels of a dubious taste, and abandoned plots of land could be thought of as a nightmare Ciutat was

leaving behind. Not without reason did Alemany Mir speak of his Intervention Unit 2B built where Es Brut stood as «a dream of a city» (Martínez 1999, see Image 11, Appendix of images).

However, this dream would not have been possible without the help of Carlos Ripoll. He had been responsible for bringing the EU URBAN Programme that was implemented in the areas of renewal of Sa Calatrava, Sa Gerreria and El temple, the last of which, despite giving its name to the whole area, never happened (Ajuntament de Palma 2003). As explained in-depth in Section 2.4., Carlos Ripoll, an EU MP by the mid-1990s, brought down to Es Barri the philosophy and the aims of the URBAN Community Initiative. The URBAN sought to improve deprived neighbourhoods across the EU urban geography. The most exhaustive study of the URBAN I have come across, is that of Gutiérrez i Palomero (2009a). His work, though, is often expressed in a perhaps too over-celebratory tone.

Therefore, we have to understand his contribution as the outcome of an extremely in-depth collection of case studies leading to a report on the URBAN's successes and failures. This is especially the case in what he views as the URBAN's main methodological contribution (perfectly summarised in Gutiérrez i Palomero 2009b): Integrated focus, involvement of citizenry and local agents, multilayered governance character, synergy with local projects, networked innovative practices. However, gentrification is far from being Gutiérrez i Palomero's subject. Following well-established literature (e.g. Bourne 1981, but also see more recent updates, such as Temkin and Rohe 1996), Gutiérrez i Palomero tends to view gentrification as a «natural» phase of neighbourhood life cycles (2009a: 50 and 51).

On other occasions, though, Gutiérrez i Palomero actually realises that the very same URBAN may generate expectations regarding the surplus values that the requalification of the spaces entail (ibid.: 727). Although it is not Carpenter's main aim when producing a balanced evaluation of the URBAN (Carpenter 2006), he is also aware that these kinds of projects may only displace the cause of deprivation elsewhere. This is exactly what planners, politicians and developers expected and this is why they so fiercely fought to attract the URBAN to Ciutat. The expectations the requalification of spaces was to generate was no other than a profit-seeking strategy



that would entail displacing and attracting new population, that is, one of the possible processes I understand as gentrification.

Besides Gutiérrez i Palomero and Carpenter, there are many authors who have addressed the URBAN. On the one hand, there are those that simply celebrate its existence for the sake of the consciousness they raise regarding «the urgency of tackling social exclusion» as opposed to the effective but nevertheless «less durable» riots (e.g. Drewe 2008). On the other, others seem to read the URBAN either as a programme that clashes with local specificities and traditions at best, or even a pseudo-colonial tool of urban restructuring at worst. Take for instance Chorionapoulos (2002), who at an early stage already argued that the URBAN followed Northern European management and government patterns regardless of the specificities of Southern EU countries.

Marshall (2005) offers a not dissimilar argument, this time shrouded under the outer «Europeanization» threat for urban UK, reviving the British-Continental divide. Contra these understandings of the URBAN as an outer planning culture that influences local know-how, the Majorcan experience I have had the chance of examining on the ground, rather illustrates the reception and execution of the URBAN as had previously been done with any other planning scheme. That is, the ways in which local elites, mostly the autochthonous landed capitalist class backed by their interest alliances with political-bureaucrat castes, appropriate to their advantage what planning schemes, here the URBAN, have to offer. There are of course, authors who see in the URBAN a neutral actor that can help to save specific severed urban political economies they have focused their research on.<sup>234</sup>

As seen, for the case of the Urban, the specific project for Es Barri, half of the investment came from the EU and the other half from state, regional and local authorities. In the case of Es Barri, though, the latter investments counted as match funding in the form of the already existing projects: the local PEPRI of Sa Gerreria (the second «P» meaning Protection...), the regional Mirall and the State courts, and the

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<sup>234</sup> See Halpern (2005) for the case of Berlin, Murtagh (2001) for that of Derry –who introduces the importance of producing positive place imagery, as if this were not the final aim for any URBAN regardless of the degree of conflict dividing the city.

future never fulfilled PERI of El Temple (Ajuntament de Palma 2003). Thus, de Gregorio Hurtado (2010) is wrong when stating that many localities did not contribute to their URBAN projects with monetary funds. As seen, following URBAN recommendations, the Urban (not capitalised since I am now referring to the Urban Temple of Ciutat) joined other schemes that were active in the area.

The works on these different projects and schemes lasted until 2004, little after I first arrived to the field in 2002. As mentioned, the Urban «improved» the built environment of Es Barri. The project also included measures for tackling the decay from a purely social angle, such as training and educational courses for the Es Barri (Pascual Barrio 2004, 2005 and 2007). Originally, according to the URBAN Community Initiative guidelines, all of these projects, whether investing in fixed or in variable capital, were aimed at improving the life conditions of those who were equally perceived as derelict: the social remains of the Barri Xino, that is, of the inhabitants who were there when the Urban began. However, the built-environment projects, which spatially fixed to Es Barri, would soon become a decoy for attracting new layers of wealthier population, one of the aims of the CISG, and of which Saiz was so proud.

In fact, and as clearly put in Section 2.5. (see also Franquesa 2007), what the Urban did was to contribute to a sense of security and low-risk venture for those private investors that did not have enough with the PEPRI and the Mirall Scheme, not to speak of the very same potential newcomers who invested their own money (as in the case of the many pioneer members of the Association of Neighbours of Banc de s'Oli who wrote the long letter against the *Ruta Martiana* in Section 1.2.2.3.). Yet there was not only the need to attract direct investment in fixed capital and variable capital, no matter how temporary the latter might have been, it was also important to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

As we will see in Section 3.1., the involvement of the neighbourhood idea, the heritage allure or expert knowledge in general, help to build an atmosphere that couches further confidence. This is also noticeable in the alluring categories such as «creative», «entrepreneurial», «innovative», etc. so common nowadays. In fact, this «creativisation» also had very material outcomes in the development of the built environments of Es Barri. Take for instance the Crafts boulevard that was supposed to

be the star project of the Urban (e.g. Ajuntament de Palma 2006a). The Crafts' Boulevard (Passeig per l'Artesania, P'A) of Es Barri was the first area of the neighbourhood to be bulldozed in 1998 (see Image 12, Appendix of images), and it first opened to the public on 5<sup>th</sup> July 2001.

Joan Parella, in charge of the initial project of the P'A recalls with satisfaction how he came up with the name. The Catalan «passeig» means «boulevard» but it also means «walk». In 1995, when the City Council of Ciutat first applied for the Urban, Joan Parella had been to the cinema to see *A walk in the clouds* (dir. Alfonso Arau). The film tells the story of how a couple who have only recently met (played by Keanu Reeves and Aitana Sánchez Gijón) stay at her father's vineyards and have to fight against all odds to keep their relationship going. At one point, there is an accident and the vineyard is set on fire but Reeves manages to find a plant that has not been burnt and miraculously saves the vineyard. Joan Parella saw himself playing this role, and just as had happened in Arau's film, he would bring back life to Es Barri thanks to the P'A, this time a walk in the crafts rather than in the clouds.

However, the Crafts' Boulevard was not a success, mainly due to a lack of interest from the city and from the very artisans (see Sections 2.2. and 2.5.). It would soon be substituted by Palma Activa, another empty project involved in the so-called creative economy of Ciutat. The following excerpts illustrate what Palma Activa was supposed to achieve. The local development agency seems to aim at developing certain attitudes while displacing others:

Boosting infrastructure aimed at becoming an entrepreneurial breeding ground constitutes one of the most powerful symbols of the support to entrepreneurial people from the very beginning of their entrepreneurial activity. Our Business Centre, creative economy cluster and the newly created Co-working Space, represent the first steps towards a commitment to the future based on the growth and consolidation of embryonic business ideas (Ajuntament de Palma 2012: 74).

... To boost the creation of businesses and to promote entrepreneurial culture in the municipality of Palma is one of our main projects. Taking into account all of this we assess entrepreneurs and business people in all phases of their projects, from the first exciting ideas of starting a business to its concreteness in viable entrepreneurial projects that generate jobs.

In this sense, the promotion of the so-called «entrepreneurial spirit» has to be directed to train our customers in those skills that are characteristic of

entrepreneurs, some of which are to a certain degree innate, although they can also be acquired via proper instruction.

Thus, an entrepreneur is someone capable of detecting an opportunity, achieving resources so as to take advantage of it and that all of this generates value (Ajuntament de Palma 2012: 85).

Reading this quote it would seem that all the confidence created, all the investment made both in the built environment and in training the capacities of people, here in terms of entrepreneurial and creative innate skills to be discovered by some sort of guru who understands the language of witchcraft, has only one aim. An aim that constantly reappears in new guises and that is designed to guide us all, including Es Barri, to the culmination of a process that never seems to end, that is, the generation of value. But, what kind of value? Value for whom? Generated by whom?

In Part 2 that follows, we have a middle level, an interlude before the answers, the concluding questions I venture to ask. The publications of which it consists sketchily clarify what has so far been described and discussed. Each of the five publications brings together the path, the field, the road map and the topic. They all speak about value, about how it is generated and who generates it and the tension it holds when some aim to put to use while others only find the use of exchange. Rather than tying up the process, all five publications continue it, leading the reader to think about how the field is made, how it is thought of, and how the researcher grows with it too. In the end we make our research topics as much as they make us.

