



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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APPENDIX OF IMAGES

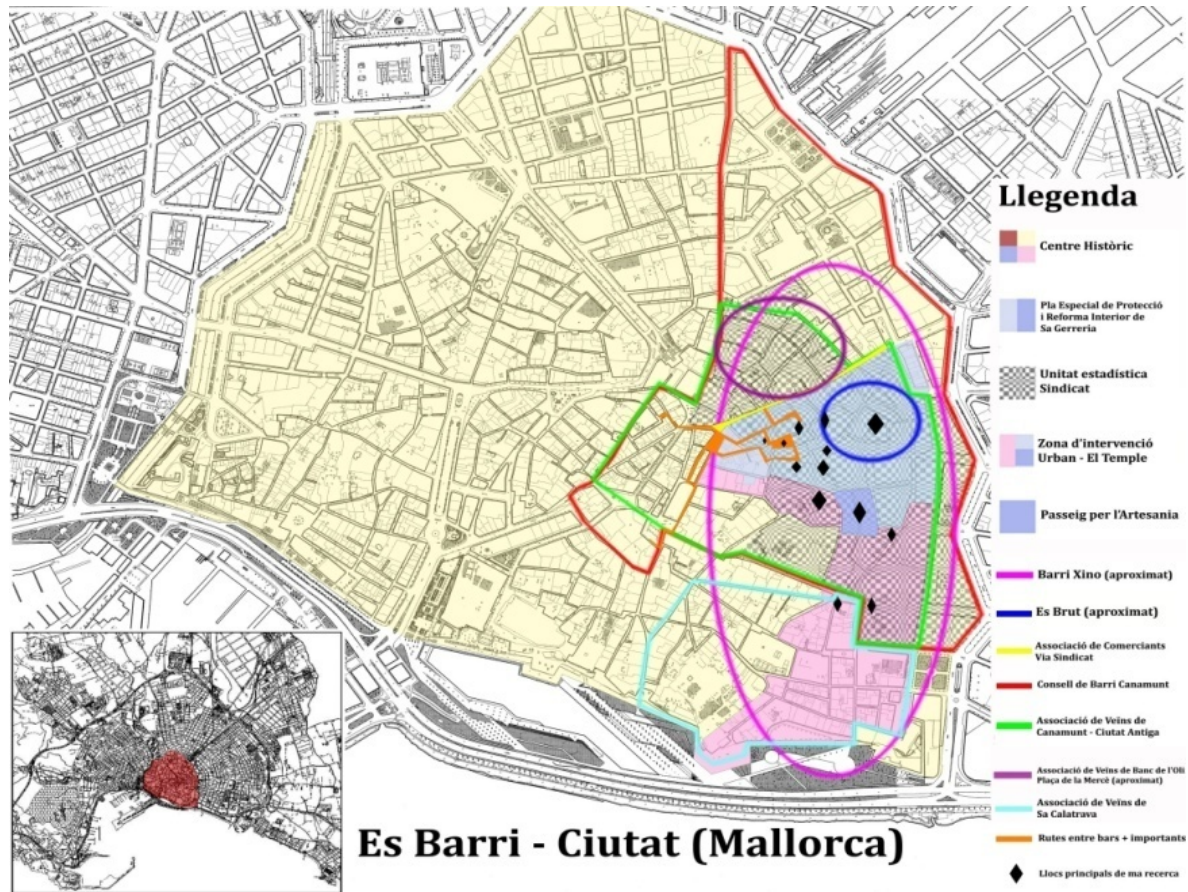


Image 1: Es Barri, in the Centre of Ciutat (Mallorca). Legend: *Centre Històric* = Historic Centre; *Pla Especial de Protecció i Reforma Interior de Sa Gerreria* = Special Planning Scheme for the Protection and Renewal of Sa Gerreria; *Unitat Estadística Sindicat* = Statistical Unit Sindicat; *Zona d'Intervenció Urban - El Temple* = Urban - El Temple Implementation Area; *Passeig per l'Artesania* = Crafts Boulevard; *Barri Xino (aproximat)* = «Vice District» (approximate); *Es Brut (aproximat)* = «The Dirty Area» (approximate); *Associació de Comerciants Via Sindicat* = Businesspeople's Association Via Sindicat; *Consell de Barri Canamunt* = Canamunt Neighbourhood Council; *Associació de Veïns de Canamunt - Ciutat Antiga*; Canamunt - Ciutat Antiga Neighbours' Association; *Associació de Veïns de Banc de l'Oli (aproximat)* = Banc de l'Oli Neighbours' Association (approximate); *Associació de Veïns de Sa Calatrava* = Sa Calatrava Neighbours' Association; *Rutes entre bars - Importants* = Routes between bars - Important; *Llocs principals de ma recerca* = My main research sites. Map: Marc Morell 2010.



Image 2: Pau the Carpenter, poses behind the bench in a picture taken with the male members of his family at their workshop. The photo is from the mid 1950s. The carpentry shop was founded in 1940. Photo: Unknown.



Image 3: Pau, now with members of the organisation board for the *festes* of Es Barri at some point in the early 1960s. He is first on the bottom row starting from the left. Master Macià, the sweet shop owner who promoted the *festes*, is dressed in a suit. Photo: Unknown.



Image 4: Es Barri in the days of the *Barri Xino* («Vice District») in the early and mid 1980s. Notice the presence of the marines of the 6th Fleet of the American Navy. Source: Beltrán and Seguí (2011: 20).



Image 5: «Hey! Gimme a brown needle!», «Guy, don't waste your time with used insulines. They'll give you one in the van». Three junkies appearing in the sixth issue of *Barrio* (entitled «El Coca- Loca» [Mad Coke, as in a nickname], a comic funded by the URBAN Community Initiative and edited by the local Urban – El Temple Project. It was handed out to the drug addicts that lived in or came to Es Barri. I mention the URBAN in almost all of the sections in the second part. Source: Morey + JMI (1998: 1).



Image 6: Within conservationist circles the chimneys that represented the pseudo-industrial past of Es Barri, and hence of Ciutat, became an important icon, especially during the 1990s. Artist: Biel Ferrer 1990.

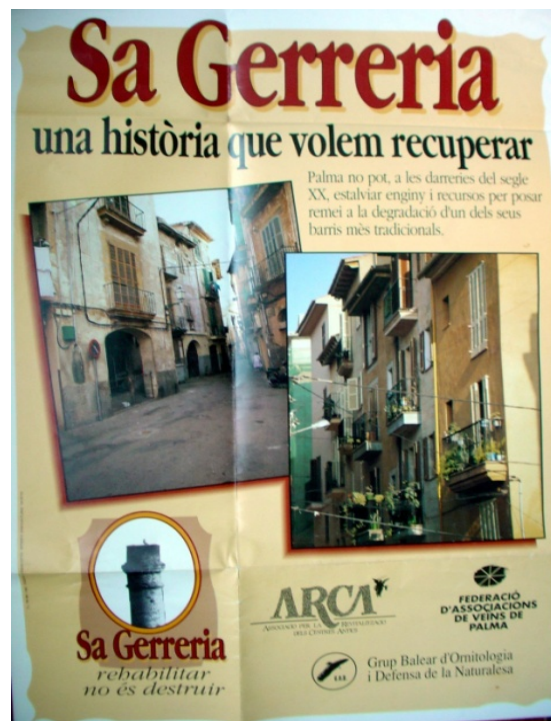


Image 7: «Sa Gerreria [The Pottery]: A history we want to recover. At the end of the 20th century, Palma needs ingenuity and resources to remedy the degradation of one of its most traditional neighbourhoods». Promotional poster for the 1991 campaign «Sa Gerreria. To renew is not to destroy», led by the Federation of Neighbours' Associations of Ciutat, the Association for the Revitalisation of Historic Centres and the Balearic Group of Ornithology and Defence of Nature.



Image 8: Leaflets announcing the *Festes de la Trinitat* (the *festes* of Es Barri), organised by the Neighbours' Association of Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga that was specifically created in 1992 to mobilise the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against evictions and demolitions. The festes went on for a decade, coinciding with the first renewal schemes that entered the neighbourhood thanks to the funds of the URBAN Community Initiative.



Images 9 and 10: Majorcan dancing in Plaça [square] Quadrado and bagpipers passing in front of Ca na Mari in the 1994 *festes* of Es Barri. Notice Mari smiling in white and Manel (Biel in Section 2.6.), a neighbourhood activist and pioneer newcomer behind the musicians with his long beard. Photos: Unknown; photographic archive of the *Associació de Veïns de Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga*.

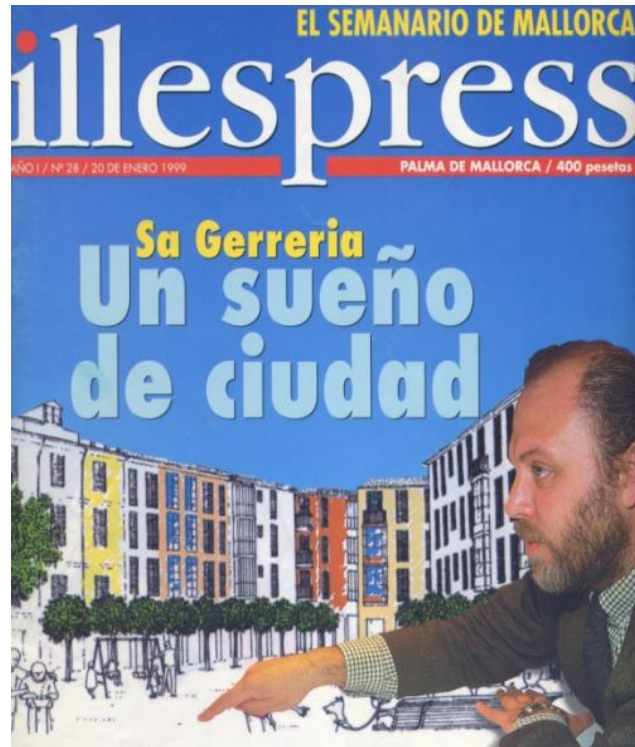


Image 11: «A dream of a city». Luis Alemany Mir, former General Director for Planning at the Balearic Government (1996-1999) became head of the Intervention Unit 2B of the Renewal Scheme of Sa Gerreria that would raise Es Brut [the Dirty Place] to the ground to make room for the dream of a city that many had in mind. Photo: illespress (1999).



Image 12: Mayor Joan Fageda (1991-2003), from the *Partit Popular*, «opens» the renewal of Es Barri (called Sa Gerreria here) by hammering the first building to be pulled down in 1997 to make room for the Passeig per l'Artesania [Crafts' Boulevard]. This was not a job for a single blow of the hammer! Photo: Pere Bota (1998), in *Última Hora*, exact date unknown.



Images 13 and 14: Es Brut [The Dirty Place] before and after its demolition. Image 13: Àngel Gené (2002); Image 14: Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell (2003).



Images 15 and 16: Es Brut soon became Intervention Unit 2B within the overall Special Renewal and Protection Scheme for Es Barri (PEPRI de Sa Gerreria). The photographs show what the site looked like when the underground car park was being built and when the properties went on sale. Image 15: Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell (2004); Image 16: Marc Morell (2008).



Images 17 and 18: Plenty of property has been sold during these ten years of research. The messages for both selling and buying are interesting: «I buy buildings with or without tenants. Apartments in need of renovation (regardless of their state) In the mainland and the Balearics», and «Renew to live». Image 17: Jaume Franquesa and Marc Morell (2004); Image 18: Marc Morell (2008).



Images 19, 20 and 21: Graffiti in Es Barri has accompanied my research since the very beginning. The first graffiti I encountered had a very critical tone (Vulture: «Speculative Corporation»). I later came across others that combined critique and art in much more subtle ways (Hanged man: «Keep clear»). None of these were signed. Since 2012 many murals have appeared that have become works of art and are signed by an organisation of associated street artists called SOMA. SOMA has a critical message but is also amazingly psychedelic, to the extent that its pieces of art carry really cryptic messages, if any. Image 19: Artist Unknown, photo by Marc Morell (2006); Image 20: Artist Unknown, photo by Marc Morell (2006); Image 21: SOMA, photo by Marc Morell (2012).



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Images 22 and 23: The contrast of these two images is extremely powerful. The first shows a gypsy family living in Es Barri in 1999, for many a marginal-class prototype, an underclass? The photograph was included in a report on the renewal schemes that affected the area. A text read: «The Urban Plan, and this is true, does not foresee a massive deportation of population of long-term residents, but sometimes the economic pressure is not easy to bear». The second image is a promotional poster that shows a family of middle-class «gorgios», perhaps upper class? moving into Intervention Unit 2B: «A unique opportunity for living in the Centre». Image 22: Caty Cladera, in *Magazine Illes Press* (Riera and Ballesteró 1999: 19); Image 23: Gerència Immobiliària Balear (2007).



Images 24 and 25: Image 24 shows the group of transvestite artists that acted at the first *festes* of Bar Flexas held in a public space of Es Barri, in 2008. For this they needed a permit which the Neighbours' Association of Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga managed to get from the City Council. Compare it with the image of the young women of Image 25 at the *festes* celebrated at some point of the 1950s , also in Es Barri. Image 24: Marc Morell (2008); Image 25: Unknown, appearing in the brochure for the 2010 *festes* of Canamunt.



Image 26: More than 3,000 people gathered together at the *festes* of Canamunt in 2008 causing the festa of Bar Flexas to move out of Es Barri in 2009, always with the support of the Neighbours' Association of Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga. Photo: Miquel Àngel Cañellas (2008).



Images 27 and 28: Bar Flexas reached its climax during the 2010 *festes* when they moved to the park on the seafront to be able to host a larger public. Not only did they have the support of the Neighbours' Association of Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga, but they were now also backed by the Neighbours' Association of Sa Calatrava. Canamunt's celebrations, while including the celebrations of Bar Flexas, went on to incorporate other important venues and created their own symbols. Since 2012, the parade of Sant Rescat [Saint Rescue] has become one of the main attractions of the festes of Es Barri thanks to its mixture of irreverent festive humour and acidic critique. Image 27: Bar Flexas; Image 28: Unknown (2012), it appeared on Canamunt's Facebook on 16/03/2013.



Images 29 and 30: Rafi is one of those women that resisted the gentrification that took place in Es Barri, and she did so quietly, on her own, perhaps as a free rider some might venture. The case is that she has managed to maintain her business, now a bar, Casa Rafi, in a changing neighbourhood, and despite her humble background she has brought up her children on her own. She might have gentrified herself a little in order to keep up. The painting in the first image hung in her bar for years. I have never known its story but it captivated me from the beginning. Not so much because of the uncovered breast, but because it is impossible to find a painting like this hanging from a bar wall nowadays, not even where the Barri Xino once stood. In a way, the second image also links the present with the recent past of Es Barri. It shows one of the maniquins from Rafi's bar at the 2010 *festes* with a board hanging from her neck which reads «Coca from midnight». Coca means two things in Majorca. It is short for cocaine but it also means sponge cake. Rafi got the maniquins from Joan Forteza, one of the Ca na Mari people. Image 29: Unknown; Image 30: Marc Morell (2010).



Images 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36: Image 31 shows Ca na Mari, the last grocer's in Es Barri, decorated for Christmas 2006. The images below are of her main clients, most of whom I was able to interview: Cari, Joan Fortuny, Jaume Belló (not his real name) Blai (not his real name), and Francisca who left us not long ago. All Images: Marc Morell (2006).



Image 37: A member of the *Associació de Veïns de Canamunt – Ciutat Antiga* collecting her organic vegetables in the box scheme set up by the neighbours' association. Although definitely not the cause, it is interesting to reflect on the disappearance of the last grocer's in Es Barri (Ca na Mari) and the emergence of new food consumption patterns. Photo: Sebastià Amengual (2010) in *Diari de Balears*, 21/06/2010: 8.



Image 38: A list of the 25 bars that participated in the Martian Route held every Tuesday. They served a tapa with a drink at the low price of €2. Notice the concentration of bars: «This is not a set route! You can start wherever you want».



Image 39: Pub crawling the Ruta Martiana. Commercial gentrification threatens residential gentrification. Photo: Jaume Morey (2011), in *Última Hora*, 13/01/2011.



Image 40: « The Comedor Zaqueo in Plaça Mercadal [in front of Casa Rafi and the new Swedish-owned hotel] is offering breakfast to some 150 homeless, and evening meals to 300 hungry souls (see photo bottom). Demand for food and shelter is on the increase; the *Associación Zaqueo* is also offering a bed to over 5,000 homeless residents every year. Mallorca is not just all sun and sea and chill-out parties. Some find the going quite tough. Perhaps you can spare a thought. The photo (top) was taken in Palma, Mallorca, Balears, Spain. The date: August 27th, 2012. The time was 10:37:15. The photo (bottom) was borrowed from the *Internet*, courtesy of *diariodemallorca.es* and *Zaqueo*». Found at: <http://mallorcaphotoblog.com/category/religions/>, 02/07/2015.



Images 41 and 42: Image 41 shows a shop window sprayed with a graffiti that reads: «People without houses, houses without people». It is followed by the Okupa [organised squatting] symbol. Image 42 is a remnant of the days of the neighbourhood assemblies carried out in the streets as part of the Indignant Movement that followed the 15M events of 2011: «Neighbourhood Assembly, Here on Mondays at 8pm». Image 41: Marc Morell (2006); Image 42: Marc Morell (2011)

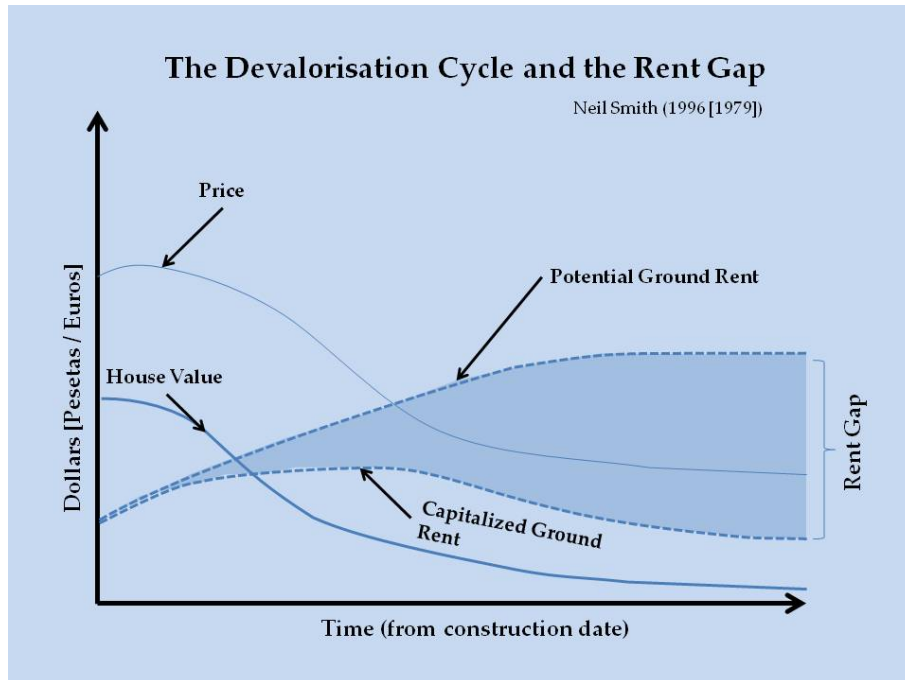


Image 43: Neil Smith's rent-gap hypothesis showing how capitalized ground rent needs to decrease so that when the potential ground rent increases the gap gets wider.

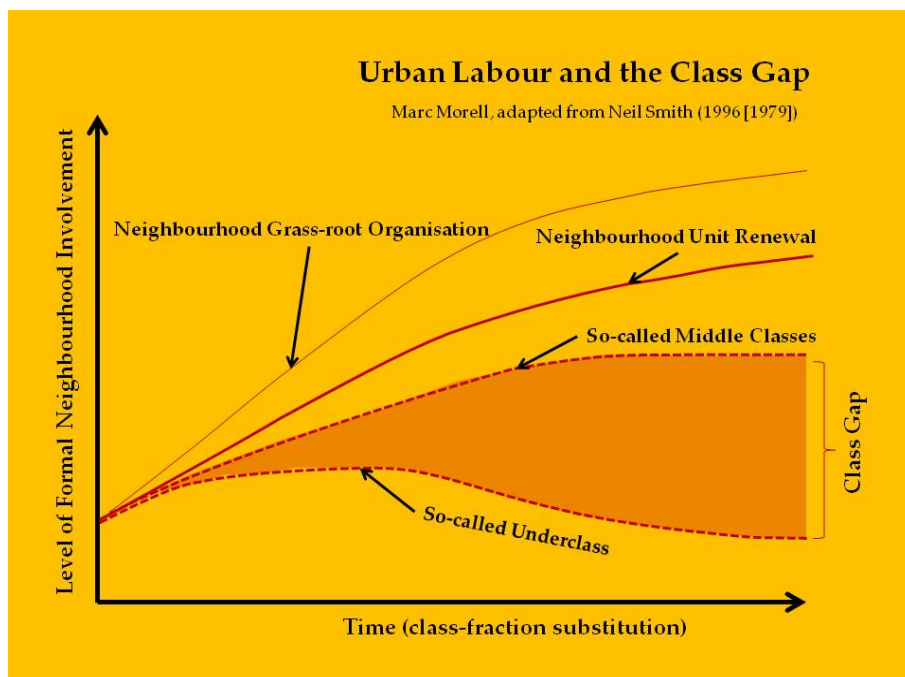


Image 44: My class-gap hypothesis in which the urban labour developed by specific class fractions of the urban working class allows the rent gap. Without this labour Es Barri's rent gap would not look the same. This is a qualitative intuitive graph, not based on quantification. Notice that whereas rent gaps need to close in order to reap the profits, class gaps need to get wider and never close. Closing the class gap is a necessary exercise of political imagination.