Insular identity and urban contexts: representations of the local in the construction of an image of Palma (Mallorca, Balearic Islands)

Mercè Picornell
Universitat de les Illes Balears
Spain
m.picornell@uib.cat

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the relationship between island and city in the configuration of an insular identity. The hypothesis addresses the special visibility that, in the case of small islands, results from the confrontation between two relevant singularities – the city and the island – in the symbolic conceptualization of territory. The opposition between island contexts and urban spaces is thus considered in terms of the local/global and rural/urban binaries. These are analysed in contemporary cultural representations of the relationship between the island of Mallorca and its historical and administrative capital, Palma. Since the 1960s, Mallorca has become a mass tourism destination with a considerable demographic impact, especially in the capital, which is the island's gateway for both tourism and immigration. This paper considers geographical, literary and media discourses along with particular mass-consumption cultural products to argue that Palma is represented as a predatory 'monster' devouring the island's 'local' identity. It is argued that different types of neo-ruralism have emerged and reinforced the opposition between the island and the city. This opposition underlies a process of counter-acculturation that delineates and strengthens Mallorcan self-representation in a context defined by an increasingly diverse population as a result of tourism and migratory flows.

Keywords: Balearics*,* counter-acculturation, island identity, local/global, glocalization, Mallorca, Palma, representations, rural/urban, Spain

Introduction

This article reflects upon the complexities of defining an urban identity in contemporary island cities by taking as a case study Palma, the main city in Mallorca and administrative capital of the Balearic Islands. This paper considers the problem of scale from a theoretical perspective and focuses on the complex interaction between the local and the global in the definition of insular urban identity. For this purpose, I refer to processes of glocalization (Robertson, 1995) and hybridity in its diverse articulations (e.g. García Canclini, 1990; Bhabha, 1994; Burke, 2010) as the standpoints that have defined a line of inquiry in the contemporary cultural analysis in which this article is inscribed. The purpose of my study is thus not to analyse geographical dynamics that other scientists have already studied (for instance, the Universitat de les Illes Balears research group 'Sostenibilitat i territory', 2014) but to instead detect cultural symptoms of a symbolic opposition that could have important consequences for the construction of the islanders' identity. Indeed, I will argue that an approach based upon representations of the territory and its identity is of special relevance in small island contexts,

where perception of the limits of the local is symbolically determined by maritime boundaries. Even when these boundaries have been porous throughout history (open to looting pirates, cultural contacts and economical interchanges), they make the opposition between what is *outside* or *inside* the island clearer than in continental contexts. In the first and second sections of this paper, I will analyse representations of the city as a 'monster' whose growth threatens the identity of the rest of the island. In the third section, I will argue that this image reinforces a symbolic and relational opposition between the urban and the rural that becomes evident in a number of popular-consumption cultural products recently created in Mallorca.

Scales and singularities: the expansion of a *monstrous* city

Island contexts enhance the symbolic opposition between urban centres and the remainder of a territory. As a result, the cultural conceptualization of territory is affected by the visible confrontation of two relevant singularities, namely the city and the rest of the island. In the case of Mallorca, this opposition is terminologically marked: that which is not 'Palma' is considered 'Part forana', an umbrella term serving as a conglomerate that lumps together all that is emblematically deemed to be the island's natural and rural environment. The 'Palma'/'Part forana' distinction is in common use, appearing, for instance, as a section header in the digital versions of the newspapers *Diario de Mallorca* and *Ultima Hora,* as well as being used to define the scope of civic organizations that are dissociated from the capital (such as the Press Association of *Part Forana* and the Federation of Seniors Associations from *Part Forana*).

Despite the term's currency, the opposition that 'Part forana' sets with Palma is geographically diffuse. First, because it is not based upon an intrinsic characteristic of the city itself: actually, some of the most picturesque neighbourhoods of Palma were created to host the rural-urban migration of local islanders. It is a relational opposition, reinforced by Palma's condition as the administrative centre of the whole island and of the archipelago. Second, because it excludes spaces that cannot be identified with either 'the city' or rural and natural environments: the residential suburbs that have mushroomed in the past decades near the biggest municipalities in Mallorca (the metropolitan conurbation of Palma, Marratxí, or Llucmajor), the eminently touristic areas (Punta Ballena in Magaluf), the towns or small cities that have traditionally hosted particular industrial activities (Inca, Manacor), and 'rurban' areas (warehouses on the outskirts of Marratxí). These sorts of spaces could perhaps be analysed as *urban* from a functional point of view, but they exclude some of the dynamics of the traditional social and cultural life of the city.

Royle (2009, p. 226) discusses Mallorca as a 'mainland island', "located within easy reach of major tourist demand and where, given that most of the tourists arrive by air or cruise ship, functionally … little different from coastal mainland resort areas in the same region." Yet, this is seeing Mallorca from the outside. Internally, the *perception* of maritime boundaries, to some extent, renders the island an enclosed space, enhancing the symbolic opposition between the Palma and the rest of the island. Such a confrontation is potentially less likely to occur in continental spaces, where non-urban territory can be conceived as spaces of transition towards another metropolitan area of influence (cf. Baldacchino 2005, p. 4). This is, however, just one scale of the many territorial and administrative categories that interpellate Mallorcans and demand a certain degree of identification:

1)   Mallorca belongs to an archipelago that is also an administrative unit (Balearic Islands), even though the archipelago is rarely perceived by its inhabitants as a source of common cultural identification. Mallorca, Minorca, Ibiza and Formentera were included under the 'Balearic Islands' by a political decision adopted by the Spanish state in 1833. Although some political campaigns have sought to promote a feeling of common identity between the inhabitants of the islands, the relationship between them is mostly determined by an opposition from the three smaller ones to the privileges attributed to Mallorca.

2)   The conquest of the island by King Jaume I d'Aragó (1229), the proclamation of the Kingdom of Majorca (Regne de Mallorques) and its latest integration in the Crown of Aragon (Corona d'Aragó) determines the Catalan identity of the island. Nowadays, Mallorcans belong to the Catalan cultural and linguistic community (also present in the mainland regions of Catalonia and Valencia in Spain, Andorra, and the Northern Catalonia region of France), which has historically had a conflictual relationship with the Spanish state.

3)   The liquidation of the Crown of Aragon after the Nova Planta decrees (1715) that followed the end of the War of the Spanish Succession caused the integration of Mallorca, Eivissa and Formentera into the Spanish administrative unit, followed by Menorca in 1802, a move completed during the long 'Liberal Revolution' (1808-1835). The centralism of Spanish governments – and especially, the repression of Catalan culture during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1977) – led to the increasing use and presence of the Spanish language and culture on the islands. The Balearic Islands Parliament is currently governed by the *Partido Popular* (PP), the same political party that runs Spain's central government. Its cultural and educational policies against Catalan have encountered an intense social opposition.

4)   Europe has been important in the island's economic past and today provides the island's most important source income through tourism. As a Spanish territory, since 1986, Mallorca belongs to the European Union.

5)   At the same time, this tourism influx inscribes the island in a problematic position of 'Mediterraneanness'. Indeed, this identification locates Mallorca alongside other countries that are otherwise deemed alien, such as Algeria, Tunisia and Turkey.

Identification thus functions differently within and across different scales (Bernardie-Tahir, & Schmoll, 2014).

Mallorca is characterized by a high population density (217 inhabitants/km^2), the second-highest among Mediterranean islands, behind only Malta (1,327) and ahead of Sicily (195), Cyprus (94), Crete (76), Sardinia (68), and Corsica (37). Mallorca's population is unevenly distributed among its 53 interconnected municipalities. The island as a whole has nearly 865,000 inhabitants, of whom Palma is home to around 398,000. According to Quintana (1979, p. 38), this population concentration and other economic and social factors favour a high degree of potential communication among different population centres as well as

between these and the capital. Indeed, just three of Mallorca's population centres are more than an hour's drive from Palma, which, as Quintana states, is often considered the maximum diameter of an ideal urban space (ibid.). This distance has been substantially reduced to almost half with the construction of new transport infrastructures (Barceló, 2010, p. 290). This closeness is one factor that permits the entire island to be considered a unitary urban area, as Quintana (1979, pp. 33-39) does, defining urban populations in geographical, economic, social, and cultural terms.

According to Quintana, connectivity within the island space causes a 'territorial shrinking' (*encogimiento del territorio*), that probably we could link to Harvey's (1990) 'time-space compression'. This is related to the emergence of strategies of symbolic differentiation that stress conceptual distance between units that are nevertheless always in contact. The possibility that this contact results in some forms of blending that could erase the differences between territories may explain why strategies of symbolic differentiation are required. Moreover, in a context in which villages are increasingly *urban*, this differentiation would paradoxically transform those images conventionally related to the local or rural world (i.e. certain traditions, gastronomy, etc.) into identity symbols. In Mallorca, the 'city versus the rest of the island' opposition often blurs into the always-equivocal dichotomy distinguishing urban from rural (Williams, 1973, pp. 1-8). The rural often takes nostalgic and diffuse shape, associated not just with the actual cultivation of the land but with the lost Mallorcan traditions that 'need to be recovered' (see Barceló, 2010 and Miquel, 2000 for literary and cultural discussions of Mallorcan rurality). The rural is inscribed within a nostalgic discourse of the sort identified in British (Williams, 1973, pp. 9-12) and Greenlandic (Grydehøj, 2014) contexts. Yet the conceptualization of the urban is equally problematic because, even when it refers only to 'the city' (*ciutadà*, in Catalan), its sense is somehow linked to the concept of *urbanisation*, which has important economic, social and political connotations in the Mallorcan context. Those islanders committed to the defence of the territory may regard the *urban* – understood as the consequence of *urbanization* – as a menace to territorial integrity. This has further implications since territory has been consubstantial to the construction of a certain idea of collective identity in Mallorca. Valdivielso (2010, p. 364) highlights this influence in:

> the identification of subjects based on the distinction *in/out* – 'us'/them, locals/strangers –; the association between a rooted pre-tourism country, town or community and a conservationist territorial culture; the reference to emblematic spaces in historic memory – landscapes and place names – profaned by urbanism; the relation between density and population growth due to migratory waves encouraged by tourism *booms*.

However, this identification of the city as a threat to both territory and identity still finds resonance in geographic discourses, journalistic articles and recent literary texts. This image has been recurring since the 1960s, the start of an impressive growth phase in Palma's population as a consequence of Mallorca's transformation into a mass tourism destination that simultaneously attracts a significant number of migrants from other Spanish regions.

For example, geographers Artigues and Rullan (2007) have discussed the increasing spatial dispersion in the construction of single-family houses, particularly in the municipalities surrounding Palma. In contrast, the capital's growth seems to be based on multi-family housing units. I do not intend to refute Artigues and Rullan's well-founded theses but to instead highlight how, even here, metropolitan areas are represented as aggressive agents. The authors refer to the global dynamics affecting Mallorca in the following terms:

> In these new geographies, urban areas – and especially, metropolitan spaces – are still social bodies within the spatial order, characterized by their capacity to attract people, materials, energy, knowledge and capitals for the sake of their own existence and functioning. At the same time, *they 'excrete' marginality, residues and pollution.* Resuming on its millennial history, the urban phenomenon has come to stand for the most perfect human "ecological footprint' but the current situation involves a greater spatial scale occurring in a smaller temporal frame (Artigues, & Rullan, 2007, s.p. emphasis added).

The expanding metropolis – unsustainable and polluted – is conceived as a threat, an agent that attracts resources but produces – 'excretes' – marginality. A similar image is suggested in media discourses. In an article in the local journal *Lluc*, the journalist Sebastià Verd describes Palma as an 'urban monster' resulting from the tourism 'invasion': "Tourism has invaded everything. Palma is precisely – along with the coastal areas – the classical example of atrocity" (1977, p. 260). Indeed, Verd elaborates on this idea and states,

> Palma becomes unexplainable, as it suffocates the Majorcan territory and breaks its human dimension. Majorca suffers from macrocephaly, a deforming phenomenon that affects its normal image. Its body can, thus, be contemplated with certain repulsion. The sight of such an abnormal image disgusts the viewer however humanely we help and protect these creatures that nature has scorned. Yet, Majorca deserved better. It cannot merely be what lies behind the depersonalising and destructive meaning of 'balearitzar'. Go and see Palma's neighbourhoods, real human cages in which their inhabitants only have the right to rest after their working day'. (Verd, 1977, p. 260)

We may note that the term 'balearitzar', used by Verd above as well as in geography and tourism studies, was coined in relation to the urban model developed in the Balearic Islands in the 1960s-1970s, characterized by massive waterfront construction. The city is thus presented as the source of the island's 'maladies'. The lexicon used to describe the city's effects – *macrocephaly*, *atrocity*, *deformity*, *destruction*, *inhuman*, *abnormal*, etc. – on the rest of the territory contributes to the image of the city as a monster that alters what would be the island's 'normal' state. This imagery also finds resonance in literary texts such as Miquel Flaquer's (2006) poetry compilation *Ciutat*, a title that in Mallorcan Catalan refers to 'a city' as well as to 'the city' of Palma. It opens with an epigraph by the geographer Alberto Quintana arguing, as I have discussed above, for the identification of the island with a unitary urban area. Flaquer (2006, p. 31) describes this disproportionate urban territory as a depersonalized space, inhabited by robots that "live fast and die slowly over the tarmac." Mallorca is, according to one of the poems, "a huge landing strip in the middle of a too controlled space/city surrounded

by the sea", or, as stated in another poem, a "concrete monster that gains ground to the sea" (Flaquer, 2006, p. 40). As Grydehøj (2014) states, the modern city has been conceptualized as the "anti-island", a dirty and subversive place that challenges established norms. This same subversion can also be perceived as a cause of cultural innovation and attraction of new inhabitants that look for the freedom and impersonality of urban life. That makes the modern city an 'attractive monster'.

The symbolic dimension of the opposition between the island and the city thus overcomes any competition for the prominence of one or the other in the representation of the island. In an article on literary representations of Mallorca, Ribera (2002) argues that this opposition results from symbolic competition between two units – the city and the island – to play the main role in the representation of Mallorca. This is also related to a notion of the local that is paradigmatically linked to any product deemed local as *de la terra* (literally, 'of the land'). This occurs within an identity articulation framework with a romantic base – that is, centred on the environment, territory, roots and ancestors – that apparently excludes the global cosmopolitanism taking place in modern urban environments, especially in the context of remarkable touristic pressure.

Where the island might lose its identity

Many island cities, especially those with important tourism inflows, become gateways for both islanders and visitors. As discussed above, Palma has played this role since the 1960s, with the beginning of mass tourism and the arrival of migrants to cater to the tourism industry's demands for workers in the construction and hospitality sectors. Most of these newly arrived workers settle in Palma's peripheral neighbourhoods. This has a visible impact on both the landscape and the demography of Mallorca, an island with a tradition of out-migration that has rapidly become a host society (Domingo, Vidal-Coso & Serra, 2002; Salvà, 2003, 2009). This process is ongoing. The demographic increase can be divided into two stages. First, until the 1970s, most migrants came from other Spanish regions in pursuit of jobs. Second, since the 1990s, most people have arrived from abroad. These include the non-working resident population, associated with what Pere Salvà (2003) has called the 'New Florida' migratory model, namely retired Europeans with high purchasing power who live in Mallorca permanently or for long periods. King (2009, p. 58) warns that this population may cause "island gentrification," and Royle (2009, pp. 232-233) notes the economic and cultural risks involved in hosting a large population that does not integrate into the host society. Yet, the more recent immigrants also include a working population originating from either the rest of Europe or, especially since the turn of the century, from Latin America and Africa. Although Spanish immigration has decreased since the 1970s, it has never completely stopped, and since the economic crisis hit job opportunities, immigration from Latin America has recently decreased. In 1996, Mallorca had a foreign population of 32,102 people (4% of the total) whereas in 2010 this had increased to 241,704 (22% of the total) (Salvà, 2010). In addition, it must be noted that 'irregular' immigrants are not included in these figures.

The total population of the Balearic Islands increased by 25% between 2001 and 2010 (from 878,627 to 1,106,049 inhabitants) (CES, 2010, p. 412). The data for Palma is equally impressive for the period 2001-2010: in 2001, there were 346,720 inhabitants and only 21,392 foreigners whereas in 2010, these figures had increased to 404,681 and 83,739 people respectively (CES, 2010, p. 421). As for the arrival of tourists, figures have not stopped growing in spite of the recent economic crisis. In 2013, for instance, 9,488,686 tourists visited Mallorca, mostly international ones (8,509,925) (Ibestat, 2014). All of these tourists and migrants arrive via Palma and, in the case of the latter, many settle down there (King, 2009, p. 68). Following King (2009, p. 63), Mallorca could be called a 'nodal island' in terms of demographic and economic factors: "*Nodal* islands tend to attract and exchange population, leading to the creation of cosmopolitan, hybrid and stratified societies, often with an 'open' mentality towards the outside world."

This 'nodal' condition of the island especially impacts on the city of Palma, which is perceived as the main point of access and negotiation with whatever arrives from the outside. In the Mallorcan case, these exchanges (tourism and immigration) are occasionally understood as posing a threat to a 'true' local identity because of the diversification of the island's inhabitants, even when their presence is considered essential for the touristic economic model or when they are fully integrated into the island's social life, as occurs in the case of Spanish migrants. Thus, profits from tourism are apparently made at the expense of Mallorcan cultural singularity, which is perceived as being modified or 'banalized' merely to cater to tourists.

It should thus come as no surprise that many monographs on the city mention Palma as a place that has lost its identity, almost as a no-place that can only be recovered through the memories of an imagined pre-touristic stage: a quiet and provincial place, populated only by Mallorcans (whatever this might mean). Palma is represented as a lovely place whose beauty and heritage both belong to the past and are constantly being menaced by the progress of modernity (Picornell, 2010). Some chronicles trace this loss to the beginnings of the 20th century, when the walls that once surrounded the city's historic centre were demolished. The walls thus operate at a symbolic level as the limits of an enclosed and stable city, which could destabilise through its potential growth to the outskirts. According to a guidebook by Lluís Ripoll (1946, p. 24), it is through the cracks in the walls that "the old city would lose its character." The writer Jaume Vidal Alcover (1993[1986], p. 11) also identifies the dismantlement of the walls with the beginning of "the city's depersonalisation and dehumanisation." The image of Palma is that of a city that has eventually lost its identity. As another city guide states, "Ironically, it lives the drama of identity loss. A city without memories ... without a trace of its perfume" (Frontera, Rosselló-Bordoy & Soler, 1988, p. 26).

This perception of the city as a space that has lost its local identity is also a consequence of the contemporary city's impossibility of fitting into traditional notions of identity, linked to stable heritage and traditions over time (cf. Ronström, 2008). This dissociation between the city and identity models based on the possibility of shared roots or consistent heritage has generated critical debates that provide two main explanations. First, this identity cannot be univocally assigned to any coherent agency since such an agency is impossible to identify in contemporary cities. As early as 1938, Wirth (1938, p. 1) defined the city as "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals." According to Delgado (1998, p. 32), the city is a 'cannibal mechanism' that constantly attracts new population so that nobody can be considered a proper immigrant. Second, and intimately related to the first point, there is a multiplication of the possible cultural backgrounds upon

which a univocal identity or stable heritage identified with urban identity can be constructed. As Boym (2001, p. 76) highlights, the urban past "cannot simply be cast in stone, marked with a memorial plaque and interpreted as 'heritage'." Edensor (2005, 2008) also speaks of the memory of the city as a phantasmagorical space, inhabited by countless spirits of past experience. The double heterogeneity of urban memory, caused by the diversity experiences that have formed it and the plurality of origins of the city's inhabitants, complicates the justification of an urban identity resulting from a shared tradition or settlement in a particular space.

On the contrary, the metaphor of roots signalling an identity strongly linked to the territory has been productively used by the discourses defending both a particular Mallorcan identity and environmental conservation (Valdivielso, 2010). This image has enabled the articulation of a certain social consensus among progressive sectors in the political sphere regarding the need for environmental protection against excessive and hasty urbanism. At the same time, this image can be accused of echoing romantic perceptions of nature as it resembles the use of the pathetic fallacy (that is, the poetic attribution of human emotions or responses to nature) recurrently used by the Mallorcan poets of romantic inspiration, the so-called 'Escola Mallorquina'. Nonetheless, it also projects a notion of collective identity by dint of an idyllic image of nature. This is, however, a double-edged sword because its potential to create a cohesive citizenship that pursues sustainable economic models and more environmentally conscious forms of coexistence can all too easily become a banalized emblem, a postcard image: an idyllic space fixed in time and necessarily set in contrast to the contemporary urban spheres.

Counter-acculturation and redefinition of the local-rural in contemporary cultural consumption products

The local/global dichotomy connects with the opposition between the city and the rest of the island, since the former is conceived as the middle ground between the island and the outside. In contrast, the local tends to be identified with that which remains unaffected by alien influences, including those that come from the capital. In Mallorca, there has been a recent symbolic turn that appeals to what is deemed authentic and traditional, often associated with a rural aesthetics that eschews urban lifestyle assimilated to tarmac and concrete. Geographer González Pérez (2003, p. 137) asserts that:

> The progressive colonization of space by tourism and increase in income due to such an economic activity (second homes), has intensified the identification of local society with those rural spaces in the mountains or the interior that have been less affected by human activities.

Integrating such an identification into his own critical discourse, he calls these territories "identity spaces" (ibid., pp. 138-139), concluding that "In a word, a great part of the local population yearns to maintain identifiable rural features, not just in terms of traditional family bonds but also having periods of leisure in second homes." This neo-rural yearning – which in his article is contrasted with the adaptation of the same landscape amenities as a 'Mediterranean rural world' to be consumed by tourists – also seems to exclude the possibility of an urban localism, of a Mallorcan identity rooted in the city.

This symbolic neo-ruralism is clearly present in the musical products addressed at a young audience, which have been acclaimed in the island's limited musical circuit. For instance, under the label of 'rural rap', 'Valtonyic i Swing' (2011) has become a successful phenomenon thanks to the circulation through social networks of a music video featuring the song 'Tradicions'. This combines rap beats with a committed defence of what are deemed to be Mallorcan traditions, ranging from gastronomy to leisure and everyday activities. Moreover, the video is set in a rural landscape, which features peasants and tractors in the countryside along with traditional dances in the streets of a Mallorcan village. The success of the 'Tradicions' music video is behind the 2012 creation of a new group with the generic name 'Rap rural'. Their hit 'Així va això' (Rap rural, 2013) has a similar format but is closer to funk. However, the compilation of Mallorcan traditions included in the lyrics resembles the tone of outdated campaigns of tourism promotion: "There is a flower in the middle of the Mediterranean" and "Mallorca on the map and on the map there is a treasure" (translations my own). The lyrics and aesthetics of 'Tradicions' and 'Així va això' contrast with those of the Palma rap group 'Los talegueros', a mix between rap and flamenco sung in Spanish. In their hit 'Corrupción en Palma' (Talagueros, 2012), they denounce political corruption in the city, ignoring how it affects the rest of the island.

Among many other potential examples is one of the greatest hits of the pop group 'Anegats'. Their song 'Es missatge és clar' (Anegats, 2009) is elegiac in tone and locates traditional objects and popular characters taken from legends, popular songs and other folkloric items in a context perverted by a modern lifestyle in the aftermath of the tourism boom. The chorus reproduces a classic version of traditionalism: "We must stay with old people to last/ and listen to rooted traditions" (translation my own). Exploring different styles including reggae, rumba and samba, the Mallorcan guitarist Joan Bibiloni brings together several well-known local singers to record 'Nyam Nyam' (2012), a compilation of songs based on typical Mallorcan recipes. The music video for the song was widely circulated on social networks and features the musicians playing, singing or dancing in beautiful rural landscapes, which are designated as the source of the 'local' food promoted by the song. A similar image is given in the promotional video for the Mallorcan brand 'Melicotó (2012), which markets clothes and complements typically Mallorcan idioms and pictures. The video, also spread across social networks, opens with a young man wearing a tropical shirt and a typical Mallorca souvenir T-shirt. He is visibly sad while at a grey and deserted touristic beach, but this abruptly changes to a brightly coloured rural landscape accompanied by more lively music when he starts wearing his new T-shirts. These are described on the brand's website as "definitely rooted in the island" (Melicotó, 2014a, translation my own). Urban spaces are never mentioned or represented in any of these products.

With a considerably less idyllic tone, a number of youth platforms defending a rural identity have emerged over the past years in Mallorca, especially concerning the topic of traditional 'fiestas'. These take place in many towns and villages, especially during the summer celebrating the local patron saint or in January for the festival of Sant Antoni. These festivities have become better known thanks to their promotion by several websites that have encouraged the urban population to attend them. In the villages, however, this has been met by some opposition, with individuals considering these urban youths, scornfully called 'quillos' (also written 'killos'), to be an 'invasion' of the 'traditional' celebrations. This slur is a short form for the Spanish word 'chiquillo', and it has a similar meaning to 'chav' in British English, defined and discussed by Owen Jones in his essay *Chavs: The demonization of the*

working class (2011). In our context, however, it stands for 'not integrated into the *authentic* Mallorca' and is often used to describe urban youths in general who visit the villages outside Palma's metropolitan area. Thus, Mallorcan 'quillos' are no longer just 'llonguets' (a term, which can be amusing or pejorative, traditionally used on the island to refer to those from Palma), but neither are they 'forasters': a derogatory term used against migrants or their offspring coming from non-Catalan speaking regions from Spain (Barceló, 2006). Instead, in contrast to the 'original villagers', a certain urban condition, certain looks and class conditionings (young people from working-class neighbourhoods) are essential aspects of the characterisation of Mallorcan 'quillos'. To be qualified as a 'quillo', living in a city is not strictly necessary. For instance, the label is applied to the youth from certain coastal areas under great touristic influence, but the term is rarely associated with individuals from traditional rural villages.

This discourse is reflected in the lyrics of punk bands such as 'Gonelles morts' whose song 'Fora *killos* de ses revetles' (Gonelles morts, 2013) rejects the presence of 'quillos' in traditional village festivities. These unwelcome visitors are identified with those to whom everything looks exotic when they leave Palma. Indeed, they are met with the advice of re-connecting with rural Mallorcan roots by dint of hard work such as "harvesting almonds or chipping stone." Otherwise, more radical measures will be taken to prevent them from coming, such as "adding rat poison to their drink" (translation my own). A similar discourse underlies several Facebook groups with a considerable number of followers, such as 'Mallorquins en perill d'extinció' ('Endangered Mallorcans'), whose logo is a man dressed as a typical Mallorcan peasant breaking free from chains, 'Fora *killos* de ses berbenes' ('*Killos* out of the open-air dances') and the so-called 'Plataforma cívica fora *killos* de ses revetles' ('Civic platform *killos* out of the open-air dances'), whose logo is a pair of crossed shotguns. In addition, these arguments are supported in blogs and opinion columns of local magazines claiming the need to avoid overcrowded celebrations by limiting the access of non-locals, if necessary. See, for example, the post "La fi de les Revetlles (o verbenes)" by Potti in the on-line local magazine *Es binerbo* from the small village of Montuïri (Esbinerbo.com, 2011). In this regard, the blogger Jaume Ribas proposes the creation of a manifesto against those who pervert traditional festivities. His first draft concludes with the following words:

> Quillo, we do not want you/ Preppy (*pijos*), go back to Palma/ Lost 'llonguet', find yourself or leave/ Youngster from Part Forana, respect the village you are visiting. You owe them the festivity, which is theirs and you just borrow it. Mallorcans, contribute to create a sense of belonging. Be true to yourselves (Ribas, 2013, translation my own).

This classification of Mallorcan youth is curious: *killos* are inherently unwelcome; *pijos* are unmistakeably matched with Palma; *llonguets* are also from Palma but are redeemable because even though they are not from a village, they can still find their lost identity; those coming from the *Part forana* are welcome if they behave with respect. The last sentence is also memorable because it implies that Mallorcans have the duty of 'fer poble'. This term is difficult to translate because of the double meaning of the word 'poble' in Catalan: *people* as well as *village* or *town*. This ambiguity is used in the manifesto quoted above to refer to a process of construction of a community in which only the villagers are included. This problematizes the urban population's prospective contribution and makes the dissolution of the dichotomies analysed above even harder.

The final words, "siau qui sou," refer to an emblematic verse by the poet of the "Escola Mallorquina" Miquel Costa i Llobera (1854-1922). This verse was popularized in a song of the same title by Guillem d'Efak (1929-1995), poet and songwriter born of a Mallorcan father and a Guinean mother. D'Efak worked as a tourist guide, and he exudes an insular identity in many of his songs. He is, then, a good example of the hybridity that often underlies the discourse of local identifications. This line has been used as a claim to defend Mallorcan identity against attempts at Hispanicizing it by means of cultural and linguistic impositions by the central Spanish and local governments (depending on the political party in power in the regional government of the Balearic Islands). Indeed, this verse illustrates one of the hoodies designed by Melicotó (2014b).

Island tourism host communities conceptualize and negotiate their relationships with short-term and long-term visitors in complex ways (Baldacchino, 2012; Grydehøj, 2011). How do island communities react to 'outsiders' who attempt to become 'insiders'? Today, local identity in Mallorca is identified with a diffuse and somewhat banal notion of rurality, which is constructed in opposition to an empty 'other', largely identified with the urban. In fact, Hall's (1991, p. 22) discussion of ethnic identities in Britain is equally valid to the Mallorcan case: "It is located in relation to a whole set of notions about territory, about where is home and where is overseas, what is close to us and what is far away." Playing with Hall's words, the 'overseas' in the Mallorcan case is not what is beyond the island's maritime boundaries but is an enemy within that consists of citizens lacking their own identity. Thus, being appropriately insular, appropriately Mallorcan, requires more than just distancing oneself from tourists (Gibbons, 2010, p. 165). The construction of a neo-rural identity requires an internal opposition that symbolically keeps the local away from the global.

According to Edensor (2005, p. 831), collective identity should be grounded in a social memory that is "increasingly cosmopolitan, for collective memories transcend ethnic and national boundaries as cultures become deterritorialized and are transmitted into the local via the global media." Huyssen (2003, p. 26) also discusses the complexity involved in contemporary urban identities and highlights the threat that global identity or memory pose to its coexistence with local forms that are forced to redefine their space. The cultural practices analysed above set a clear contrast between the local/insular and that perceived as foreign, global and lacking identity, but this does not necessarily involve a process of acculturation, that is, an identity loss caused by deterritorialization. Instead, two forms of cultural mixing are prevalent: hybridity and counter-acculturation.

Much scholarly attention has been paid to the concept of hybridity, the intricacies of which are beyond the scope of this paper. However, the diverse initiatives for defending the local in Mallorca are shaped by genres and circulated through networks that clearly transcend the local space allegedly being defended. For instance, reggae, pop, punk, rap, fashion T-shirts and Facebook do not immediately come to mind as prime examples of a traditional and rural milieu. This milieu is based on an interplay between the coexisting local and global, generating new forms of what Robertson (1995) calls the *glocal*. Moreover, it results from a process of counter-acculturation aimed at resisting the loss of identity references. The recreation of a culturally cohesive image thus underlies this attempt at recovering references that have nonetheless been blurred. My point here is not to criticize any lack of cultural purity (as if we could ever grasp it) in the proposals analysed above; the most dynamic cultural products and a myriad of renovated traditions in the ever-changing reality emerge from different forms of fusion and mixing. The paradoxical condition of these products, which

integrate what they are allegedly criticizing, is what allows them a broad circulation. According to Boym, the city presents the most favourable space for the establishment of such productive contact because encounters among strangers take place in shared physical space and generate what Boym (2001, p. 76) calls 'local cosmopolitanism': "Urban identity appeals to common memory and a common past but is rooted in human-made places, not in the soil: in urban coexistence at once alienating and exhilarating, not in the exclusivity of blood." Urban identities cannot be constructed on the metaphor of roots. Instead, another discourse is needed to permit a plurality of origins. This has not yet been articulated in Palma.

Coda: the changing name of a crossroads city

The policies implemented by Palma City Council have not contributed to the construction of a new discourse for the contemporary city, one that combines insular and urban forms of identity, diverging from those articulated in spaces that perceive themselves as 'rural' and 'local'. I wish to conclude this article by discussing a controversial issue among Mallorcans, namely that of the changing name of a city. Palma was officially recognized as such until 2011, when the conservative party in power at the City Council decided to change its name to 'Palma de Mallorca', triggering a complex debate with many implications. According to the mayor, this change seeks to simplify identification of the city outside the Balearic context. In other words, the name change responds to a tourism marketing strategy.

The argument for changing a city's name has generally been political rather than promotional, as in the cases of Leningrad-Saint Petersburg and Byzantium-Constantinople-Istanbul. In fact, a political motivation underlies the case of Palma as well. As Bibiloni (1998) has noted, this 'new' name is not particularly original as it simply recovers the 18th century mainland designation used to distinguish the Mallorcan capital from other similar place names such as Las Palmas or La Palma. The choice of 'Palma de Mallorca' may indeed resolve this confusion, but it has also created a new one through the use of the city's name to designate the entire island. For instance, in a press conference held in Palma in August 2013, Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy referred to "la isla de Palma de Mallorca" ('the island of Palma de Mallorca'). The link created by the preposition "de" in "Palma *de* Mallorca" is redundant locally since there is but one Palma on the island. The name change is symptomatic of Palma's difficulties in successfully inscribing itself into the network of relations, first of all, with a Spanish administration that needs to link the city to the island to identify it properly, and, on the other hand, with a Mallorcan context in which Palma embodies both centrality and urban space. Indeed, an alternative common denomination for Palma among Mallorcans is simply 'ciutat' ('city') (often capitalized and occasionally even given in its recovered Medieval form as 'Ciutat de Mallorques'), highlighting the unique and emblematically urban character that the capital enjoys. The variability of the city's name suggests the unstable nature of its image, its condition as a port city, as a space where the island establishes productive and/or conflictual relations with whatever comes from outside.

I have sought here to discuss how Palma is a port and capital city in more than just the literal sense: it is the gateway through which the island comes into contact with other cultural communities. In addition, I have discussed how this 'port condition' comes into play with Palma also being an island city and the capital of an eminently touristic region. For this purpose, I have outlined how localism projects its own anxiety of identity loss onto the city, often represented not just as empty space but also as devoid of identity. Palma's evolution as a city in which a multiplicity of identities is produced has yet to be accepted by its own inhabitants. This is related to a universal and complex problematic: negotiating cultural links that constitute people as a community becomes more difficult in a context governed by global dynamics that make population centres more diverse (encouraging migration) and more equal (as consumers of global culture). This process has become evident much earlier in Mallorca than in many other regions, thanks to the impact of foreigners, whether tourists or immigrants. This has also turned the island and its capital into a testing ground for developing strategies to cope with this constant contact. These strategies do not necessarily involve submitting to that which is perceived as 'local' or taking radical positions to defend it. Instead, it has increased the possibility of mixing – appropriating alien genres to articulate the defence of 'Mallorcan culture' – and the ability to ignore the other's culture lest its pollutes one's own – for instance, an almost non-existent relationship to those tourists who visit the island without any cultural interest and only look for sun, sand, and cheap alcohol.

Acknowledgements

References

Anegats. (2009). Es missatge és clar. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b5ChptYmYe4

Artigues, A. & Rullan, O. (2007). Nuevo modelo de producción residencial y territorio urbano disperso (Mallorca, 1998-2006). *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 11. Retrieved from http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-24510.htm

Baldacchino, G. (2005). Islands: objects of representation. *Geografiska Annaler*, *87B*(4), 247-251.

Baldacchino, G. (2012). Come visit, but don't overstay: critiquing a welcoming society. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *6*(2), 145-153.

Barceló, X. (2006). "Forasters" in Mallorca: The Literary Image of the Spanish Immigrant in the Contemporary Majorcan Novel. Unpublished paper at Anglo-Catalan Society Conference. Lancaster University, November.

Barceló, X. (2010). A la recerca de les possibilitats expressives de la ruralia: la literatura d'Antoni Mus. In M. Muntaner, M. Picornell, M. Pons & J. Reynés (Eds.) *Transformacions: Literatura i canvi sociocultural dels anys setanta ençà*, (pp. 287-302). València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

Bernardie-Tahir, N., & Schmoll, C. (2014). Opening up the island: a 'counter-islandness' approach to migration in Malta. *Island Studies Journal*, *9*(1), 43-56.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bibiloni, G. (1998) Palma de Mallorca? *Avui*, 11 June. Retrieved from http://www.bibiloni.cat/textos/palma_mallorca.htm

Boym, S. (2001). *The future of nostalgia*. Nova York: Basic Books.

Burke, P. (2010). *Cultural hybridity, cultural exchange, cultural translation: Reflections on history and theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Consell Econòmic i Social. (2010). *Memòria del CES. Sobre l'economia, el treball i la societat de les Illes Balears*. Palma: Consell Econòmic i Social de les Illes Balears.

Delgado, M. (1998). *Diversitat i integració*. Barcelona: Empúries.

Domingo, A., Vidal-Coso, E. & Serra, J. (2012). Apunts sobre sistemes migratoris i llengua als territoris de parla catalana. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, *73*, 145-166.

Edensor, T. (2008). Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working class spaces of Manchester, England. *Cultural Geographies*, *15*, 313-333.

Edensor, T. (2005). The ghosts of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space. *Environment & Planning D: Society and Space*, *23*(6), 829-849.

Esbinerbo.com. (2011). La fi de les Revetlles (o verbenes). Posted by Potti. 16 July. Retrieved from http://www.esbinerbo.com/2011/07/la-fi-de-les-revetlles-o-verbenes.html

Flaquer, M. (2006). *Ciutat*. Palma: Documenta Balear.

Frontera, G., Rosselló-Bordoy, G., & Soler, G. (1988). *Palma*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma.

García Canclini, N. (1990). *Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad.* México: Grijaldo.

Gibbons, M. S. (2010). Islanders in community: identity negotiation through sites of conflict and transcripts of power. *Island Studies Journal*, *5*(2), 165-192.

Gonelles morts. (2013). Fora killos de ses revetles. Retrieved from http://gonellesmorts.bandcamp.com/track/fora-killos-de-ses-revetles

González Pérez, J. M. (2003). La pérdida de espacios de identidad y la construcción de lugares en el paisaje turístico de Mallorca. *Boletín de la A.G.E.*, *35*, 137-152.

Grydehøj, A. (2014). Constructing a centre on the periphery: urbanization and urban design in the island city of Nuuk, Greenland. *Island Studies Journal*, *9*(2), 205-222.

Grydehøj, A. (2011). 'It's a funny thing that they were all bad men': Cultural conflict and integrated tourism policy in Shetland, UK. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, *1*(2), 125-140.

Hall, S. (1991). The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity. In A. D. King (Ed.). *Culture, globalization and the world-system* (pp. 19-39). Binghamton NY: Macmillan-State University of New York.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present pasts: Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Ibestat (2014). Turistas con destino principal las Illes Balears por periodo, isla y país de residencia. Estadísticas. Retrieved from http://ibestat.caib.es/ibestat/inici

Jones, O. (2011). *Chavs: The demonization of the working class*. London: Verso.

King, R. (2009). Geography, islands and migration in an era of global mobility. *Island Studies Journal*, *4*(1), 53-84.

Melicotó. (2014a). Melicotó, camisetes mallorquines. Retrieved from http://www.melicoto.com

Melicotó. (2014b). Siau qui sou. Retrieved from http://www.melicoto.com/shop/dessuadora-siau-qui-sou/

Melicotó. (2012). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UsCam6ogIJk

Miquel Novajra, A. (2000). *El campo en la cabeza*. Madrid: Los libros de la catarata.

Nyam Nyam. (2012). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h3UsXrPeYgE

Picornell, M. (2010). Palma, ciutat oberta? Estaticitat i mobilitat en les representacions d'una ciutat cruïlla. *Journal of Catalan Studies*, *13*, pp. 129-175.

Picornell, M. (2012). El rèdit estètic de la glocalització. Noves formes de representació de la Mallorca contemporània en l'obra d'Antònia Font, Biel Mesquida i Miquel Bezares. In *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes. Miscel·lània Albet Hauf, 4*, 215-246. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Quintana, A. (1979). *El sistema urbano de Mallorca*. Palma: Moll.

Rap rural. (2013). Així va això. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jldD_UqRQP0

Ribas, J. (2003). 'Manifest anti-anti-revetlers 1.0', *Saltant la línia*, 27 June. Retrieved from http://saltantlalinia.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/manifest-anti-anti-revetlers/

Ribera Llopis, J. M. (2002). La ciudad en la isla: Ciutat de Mallorques. *Revista de Filología Románica*, *3*, 229-240.

Ripoll Arbós, L. (1946). *Palma. La ciudad de Mallorca*. Palma: Imp. Mossén Alcover.

Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash & R. Robertson (Eds.), *Global modernitie*s (pp. 25-44). London: Sage.

Ronström, O. (2008). A different land: heritage production in the island of Gotland. *Shima*, *2*(2), 1-18.

Royle, S.A. (2009). Tourism changes on a Mediterranean island: Experiences from Mallorca. *Island Studies Journal*, *4*(2), 225-240.

Salvà, P. (2003). La immigración en Baleares: de un fenómeno tipo *Nueva Florida* a un modelo migratorio de *Nueva California*. In G. Aubarell (ed.) *Perspectivas de la inmigración en España. Una aproximación desde el territorio* (pp. 129-154). Barcelona: Icària.

Salvà, P. (2009). Les Illes Balears: de terres d'emigrants a territoris d'immigració. In J. Santesmases i Ollé (ed.) *Els processos migratoris a les terres de parla catalana. De l'època medieval a l'actualitat. Actes del VII Congrés de la CCEPC,* València, October (pp. 375-391). Valls: Cossetània Edicions.

Salvà, P. (2010) Mobilitat humana i sostre de població: fins on pot créixer la nostra població? Seminar series commemorating INESE's 30th Anniversary, 18 November. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears.

Sostenibilitat i territory (2014). Universitat de les Illes Balears research group. Retrieved from http://www.uib.cat/recerca/estructures/grups/grup/GIST/

Talagueros. (2012). Corrupción en Palma. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=COs71ZbYLxg

Valdivielso, J. (2010). Les polítiques del lloc a les illes Balears: identitat, medi ambient i territori. *Journal of Catalan Studies*, *13*, 351-372. Retrieved from http://www.anglo-catalan.org/jocs/13/articles.html

Valtonyic i Swing. (2001). Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jhdfWP5weFk

Verd, S. (1977). Ciutat de Mallorca: passat i futur, *Lluc*, *675*, 8-9.

Vidal Alcover, J. (1993[1986]). *Unes passejades per ciutat*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a way of life. *American Journal of Sociology*, *44*(1), 1-24.