

On heritage: holiday rentals and social movements in the city of Mallorca

"Heritage makes sense when it resists the interests and business of the ruling class, not if it blatantly perpetuates them." (Lladó and Sureda, 2019)

"Monuments project on the ground a conception of the world, while the city projected, and still projects, social life (globality)." (Lefebvre, 1972 [1970]: 28)¹

The fading habit of holiday rentals

"We're trapped", exclaimed Carlos, a 23-year-old local man from the Eixample de Ciutat (also known as Palma), when entering the room where the meeting – held every fortnight by "Ciutat" for those who live in it, not those who visit – was taking place, to discuss the gentrification and tourist commodification of the city.² Carlos, a vocational training student who at that time was working as a waiter in a hotel in the city centre, explained to his companions, who made way for him, how in the last year, the owners of the apartments above and below where he lived as a tenant with

his partner had gone from having residential tenants to housing tourists. Since then, the couple, who have no assets other than their labour power, have had to deal with temporary neighbours who organise parties that last for days and confused visitors who ring their bell at all hours.

However, what most concerns Carlos is that holiday rentals have a place in the city at all, given that he believes they contribute to the increase in residential rent prices. At the moment, he and his partner are lucky and will continue to pay €500 a month because the owner knows them and likes them. But other tenants from all over the city have had to leave their neighbourhoods, either because residential lets have been switched to tourist lets or because the owners have asked for higher rents in order to "compensate" for what they miss out on earning from holiday rentals. Other factors affecting speculative dynamics and the lack of access to affordable rents are the emergence in the real estate market of public limited trading companies investing in real estate for leasing (henceforth SOCIMI) and the lack of a bold policy on social housing.

While it affects everyone, the most vulnerable population are the tenants, espe-

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All translations are mine. They are translations from English and Spanish into Catalan. The article is written in the Balearic variety of Standard Catalan, which implies the use of verb endings, vocabulary and expressions typical of the Islands. For example: among other meanings, a *lloure* means *without subjection, without surveillance*. So, in addition to the usual dictionaries, the reader will find it useful to consult the *Catalan-Valencian-Balearic Dictionary* (<http://dcvb.iecat.net>).

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Palma (de Mallorca) is also known locally as Ciutat (de Mallorca). For a dissertation on city's names, see Bibiloni (1979). "Ciutat per a qui l'habita", Ciutat those who live in it, is a relatively new organisation (September 2016), whose main objective is to denounce the growing touristification of the city.



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2018, with Blanco-Romero and Blázquez-Salom); "Una casa deshabitada no es en realidad una verdadera casa" (in Milà i Mansilla, *Ciudad de vacaciones*, Pol-len, 2018); "Urban tourism via the dispossession of oeuvres" (in *Focaal* 82, Winter, 2018), and "The rent gap in gentrification" (in Albet and Benach, *Global Capital and Processes of Regeneration*, Routledge, 2018).

cially retired people, people in precarious forms of employment and migrants, and single-parent families who cannot meet the rent prices demanded. For many, the authorities are failing when it comes to guaranteeing affordable housing. Some see the displacement of local residents as the disappearance of the city itself, understood as human heritage, something predicted by Màrius Verdaguer in *Ciutat esvaïda [Faded city]* (1977). Surprised by the fact that the city could change so dramatically in such a short time, in the mid 20th century Verdaguer stated that "there is a city for each individual and for each time" and, therefore, "for each individual who disappears, a city also disappears" (Verdaguer, 1977: 7).³ In the future city, he predicted, there will be "planes, trains, the big vessels of the future, and there is our imagination that gets drunk on beautiful dreams" (ibid.).

Half a century later, this futuristic drunkenness has ended in a nightmare, followed by a colossal hangover. It is in this context that different movements advocate limiting a tourist industry which in 2018 already brought 16 million visitors to the Balearic and Pityusic Islands, which measure about 5,000 square kilometres. The list of grievances is long: excessive use of water and energy resources, mass generation of waste, uncontrolled urban expansion, exploitation of a hyper-flexibilised labour force, replacement of small local businesses by large transnational corporations, destruction of neighbourhoods, saturation of public space,

exorbitant cost of private space due to the conversion of residential housing into tourist accommodation and the financialisation of the two. But some of the just over one million inhabitants of the Islands do not share this view and see an opportunity to rescue their family heritage.

After all, in addition to looking after and entertaining the tourists, the real business is in their transport and accommodation, which means that over the last six decades the tourist industry of the archipelago, which is one of the biggest attractions in the whole of Spain, has been spurred on by infrastructure development, property construction and speculation (Murray Mas, 2015). The latest episode in this process is holiday rentals, which involves the conversion of residential accommodation into tourist units thanks to digital platforms such as Airbnb. This is particularly evident in the Centre, declared an Asset of Cultural Interest, where up to August 2017, income from holiday rentals exceeded those that could be earned from residential lets by more than 350% (Yrigoy, 2018).

The threat of displacement that hangs over Carlos and his partner, and the disappearance of the living heritage represented by the city in which they live, is the consequence of turning property into a tourist and financial asset. So this article links different aspects gathered from fieldwork carried out in recent years.⁴ Here I explore how the platform capitalism of holiday rentals and the rentier class put pressure on the public administrations

Paraules clau: diferenciació de classe, integració capitalista, lloguer turístic, moviments socials, patrimoni construït.

Palabras clave: diferenciación de clase, integración capitalista, alquiler turístico, movimientos sociales, patrimonio construido.

Keywords: capitalist integration, built heritage, class differentiation, holiday rentals, social movements.

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Màrius Verdaguer was a Menorcan scholar who mainly lived in Palma and Barcelona. His book *La ciudad desvanecida*, published in 1953, was translated into Catalan in 1977. Since the mid 1980s, this work has been one of the main literary icons of the Palma built heritage conservation groups.

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This research is based on the commitment to link social anthropology with a wider political project (Gavin Smith 1999) and thus be able to grasp, illustrate and respond to the financialising strategy posed by holiday rentals.

Inspirat per la tesi de diferenciació de classe d'Eric Wolf i per com Henri Lefebvre desenvolupà el concepte d'integració capitalista, aquest capítol explora "l'economia col·laborativa" i la conversió de l'habitatge en allotjament turístic, via plataformes digitals. La denúncia per part d'una aliança de moviments socials d'aquesta mercantilització turística del patrimoni construït resulta en una divisió del treball singular que dona continuïtat al llegat de la lluita de classe ja existent. L'estudi d'aquest conflicte contribueix a entendre la financerització de la vida quotidiana.

Inspirado por la tesis de diferenciación de clase de Eric Wolf y por como Henri Lefebvre desarrolló el concepto de integración capitalista, este capítulo explora la "economía colaborativa" y la conversión de la vivienda en alojamiento turístico, vía plataformas digitales. La denuncia por parte de una alianza de movimientos sociales de esta mercantilitzación turística del patrimonio construido resulta en una división del trabajo singular que da continuidad al legado de la lucha de clase ya existente. El estudio de este conflicto contribuye a entender la financiarización de la vida cotidiana.

Inspired by Eric Wolf's thesis on class differentiation and Henri Lefebvre's conceptualisation of capitalist integration, this chapter explores the "sharing economy" and the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation via digital platforms. Such commoditisation of built heritage has been condemned by an alliance of social movements, resulting in a unique division of labour that imbues the legacy of class struggle with added continuity. The study of this conflict provides insight into the financialisation of everyday life.

to regularise the business. However, holiday rentals not only displace local residents, they also incite tenants to become organised. For that reason, I look at the forms that social movements take in Ciutat and conclude with a reflection on the class relationship that holiday rentals uphold in the current dynamics of financialisation, emphasising the polysemy of the concept of heritage and the struggle that emerges around it.

The tourist frontier: capitalist integration and class differentiation

The Business Law and Tourist Activity (DEAT) research team from the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB) explores how to regulate the collaborative economy, which it characterises as an unstoppable force spreading to all productive sectors, including tourist accommodation.⁵ The DEAT considers holiday rentals as the logical result of entrepreneurial self-management of individual assets: "[T]here is a market for everyone, [the hoteliers] no longer have the monopoly", "the market will end up regulating the supply [of tourist lets]". However, what the DEAT does not say is that it is the public authorities of the State that regulate these new types of accommodation and thus facilitate the expansion of tourism. That means capital does not function in accordance with its internal requirements, its logic or its own laws.

In that sense, Lefebvre maintained that the State integrates new sectors in which to invest in order to expand production and generate surplus (Lefebvre, 1976: 322). This is how it has been on the Islands with a succession of "tourist booms" and their decisive contribution to the restructuring of capital, expanding the tourist frontier as new types of accommodation were established (Murray Mas *et al*, 2017).⁶ This process must be understood as part of the specifically Spanish accumulation cycle based on the so-called "brick economy" (Rodríguez and López, 2011; Coq-Huelva, 2013). Through the consecutive regulation of different types of accommodation, the Spanish State has incorporated into the tourist industry several heritagised landscapes, built environments and consumer segments.

Each new type of accommodation was approved by the legislator: hotels before 1973, apartments in the 1980s, second homes owned by foreign citizens from the EU in the second half of the 1990s, agrotourism at the start of the 21st century and tourist lets in the mid 2010s. With this last type of accommodation, the "tourist booms" converge with the "waves of gentrification" (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). So holiday rentals are driving and worsening displacement (Cocola-Gant, 2016) in what is now known as the fifth-wave gentrification, defined as the consolidation of property assets as financial assets, with investment funds becoming the major property holders, the intensification of mortgage debt and the lack of affordable housing (Aalbers, 2019)

These trends have become rooted in Spain. Between 2016 and 2017 real estate and construction sector profits increased by 54% (National Commission of Markets and Competition, 2018b: 48). Janoschka *et al.* (2019) state that much of this growth ends up elsewhere, beyond the sovereign reach of the State, which at the same time encourages bank divestment (allowing SOCIMI to restructure the market) and favours the concentration of real estate assets and their management. With regard to tourist lets, in 2017 the 135,291 places on the Islands available through Airbnb were managed by 3,137 agents (16 of them managed 22%) and the 10 main marketers had their headquarters in Germany, the United Arab Emirates, the Netherlands or were not locatable (Terraferida, 2018).

Wolf also highlights the central role of the State in the integration of new sectors. He looks at how capital resolves its crises by providing new rounds of capital extraction, advancing the strategic relationship that governs the capitalist deployment of social work. He maintained that each new round involves conflicts between segments of the capitalist class, some of which are aligned with segments of other classes, including the working class (1997: 308). With regard to the working class, we need to get over the idea that it can be reduced to wage labour (or to that plus fractions of the lumpenproletariat and informal

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Interview with members of the DEAT (Ginard, 2017). Leaving aside the issue of whether or not tourist accommodation is productive, holiday rentals are an issue that has raised passions in recent years.

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The "tourist booms" are "spacial solutions" in the sense Harvey (2006: 413-445) gives them. They reorganise the built environment through long-term fixed capital investments temporarily avoiding (and/or displacing) the overproduction crisis generated by capitalism (exhausting possibilities for profitable investment and destroying existing capital through its devaluation or underutilisation of the labour force). The state always intervenes, ensuring the conditions for profitability, credit and financing.

work), especially if we start from the idea that work is everything that one finds at the base of value creation appropriated from others, and ranges from wage labour to urban work and which, in our case, ends up being commodified in the tourist industry⁷.

Wolf's differentiation thesis shines a light on the current reconfiguration of tourist accommodation assets, as lobbying groups try to influence island politics in order to compete with hoteliers. Historically, the hoteliers have determined the tourist policy of the Islands (Amer, 2005), even exporting business assets (Buades, 2014), and always from an extremely complex class differentiation that is also incredibly unstable: bringing together wage relations, residence regimes, debt, etc. Following the body of academic work on the financialisation of homes, associated with the withdrawal of public benefits, including housing, and the growing inequality in the field of social reproduction (e.g. Lapavitsas, 2013), several authors have tried to clarify the concept of class by relating it to property and debt.

While Lemoine and Ravelli (2017) argue that the democratisation of finance (e.g. through small, well-scattered actions) leads to widespread impoverishment, Harvey states that debt always claims future income and, by extension, future labour (2018: 450-451). After all, when have social classes been clearly defined? Their readability is never explicit, especially when the relationship of value creation and appropriation that defines them is constantly changing shape. However, this variability defines how social classes occur (Kalb, 1997 and 2015), the heritage of which is nothing more than their struggle (Morell, 2010) and it is precisely when these are in motion that they are easier to grasp (Cox, 2013). I will illustrate these issues in the following sections based on the tourist commodification of housing.

However, before this, I will return briefly to the DEAT and its commitment to the entrepreneurial self-management of property, the question with which this section started. What concerns the DEAT is the pulse that marks "the collaborative economy" and that we find

straddling the holiday rental digital platforms and the ownership of these holiday rentals. It is believed to identify a market that regulates supply. Against this principle, we now take a look at how use of the comforting jargon "collaborative economy" has become established and how its use has given way to other stories that encourage asset concentration and which are located at the opposite pole to allegedly equitable reciprocity. Then, we explore how the same State administrations have ended up delivering a holiday rental regulation that lands on our streets from distant EU bureaucracies thanks to the staggered mediations of the rest of the public administrations.

The collaborative economy and EU scalar politics

On October 26, 2016, Jorge Cuneo, creator of Hundredrooms, a company which at that time compared the holiday rental offers of digital platforms, took part in the BusinessDMallorca forum organised by the newspaper *Diario de Mallorca*. It was attended by 50 entrepreneurs from the sector who were concerned about their assets because the Balearic government had just announced that it would not allow a free-for-all of tourist lets. Cuneo spoke of the new digital exchange and placed the horizon of Hundredrooms at the crossroads between "the collaborative economy" and "the global impact." He summed up the reversal that the spurious link between the "digital technology revolution" and the *adage* "another economy is possible" had undergone.

With regard to the peer to peer networks (P2P), the work of Bauwens and Lievens, now collected in a single volume (2015), is fundamental. They point out that the free cooperation of producers creates a use value that goes to a community of users, not to the market. However, for Botsman and Rogers (2011), the collaborative economy includes more than exchange. There is swapping, trading, renting and gifting. New technologies and the P2P end up coordinating all these forms of economic relationship. It is Gansky (2010) who points to the possibility of gain by introducing the concept of "mesh", which connects different nodes to

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See Morell 2016, for a theoretical consideration regarding this way of understanding the working class.

coordinate talents, goods and services. This rational optimisation ends up claiming an income and thus the use value generated becomes the exchange value.

On the other hand, different works conceptualise the collaborative economy as an epochal expression of capitalism. Thus, while Rifkin (2014) announces the collapse of the capitalist system due to its crisis of values and the erosion of the pace of growth, Sundararajan (2016) sees in the expansion of P2P "crowd-based capitalism". Sundararajan demands that we rethink the regulation of labour markets and social security. Rifkin discerns a third industrial revolution in the increase in collaborative common goods. But instead we find the erosion of the growth rate and the crisis of values, and "crony capitalism" only encourages asset concentration and the accumulation of capital of digital platforms.

Srnicek (2017) holds a view which is more in tune with the criticism of political economy when he talks about "platform capitalism". He classifies digital platforms according to the way they do business. Thus, those for tourist lets are purely rentier. They outsource everything and only maintain as their own asset "control of the platform that allows them to obtain a monopoly on lettings" (Srnicek, 2017: 76). Apart from analysing, reflecting on and speculating about the social transformation that is "the collaborative economy", academia also inspires the same State policy.

Since 2016, the European Commission (EC) has produced several reports on "the collaborative economy", including holiday rentals (e.g. Codagnone *et al*, 2016). Even the leading experts advise the EC (Sundararajan, 2017). However, the EC's primary concern is neither erosion of labour rights, social protection, access to affordable housing, nor concentration of real estate assets, but use of generated data (Martens, 2016; Easton, 2017). In addition, with the holiday rental in mind, the EC criticizes the limitation of "the collaborative economy" because it adduces that this reduces revenues and employment: "Europe should be open to embrace these new opportunities" (European Commission, 2016: 16). This sug-

gestion is consistent with the expansion plans of the European Central Bank which aims to stimulate the consumption and integration of new investment areas (Kolasa and Wesołowski, 2018). These reports are drawn up in the context of the single market where the European short-term holiday rental association, the European Holiday Home Association, lobbies to maintain the real estate assets of its members and achieve the liberalisation of the tourist accommodation market (Haar, 2018).

In Spain, the EC's support for holiday rentals spurs on the National Commission on Markets and Competition (CNMC), which disputes in the courts the regulations of autonomous regions and municipalities that aim to ensure affordable residential rentals. For the CNMC, holiday rentals constitute "a real revolution in the housing market, generating benefits for users, citizens and the economy of cities" (National Commission of Markets and Competition, 2018a: 61-62). That is why the CNMC wants to reduce heterogeneity throughout the State and avoid restrictions that prevent the "good performance" of the market (*ibid.*: 64-66).⁸ But it was the Measures for the Flexibilisation and Promotion of the Housing Rental Market Act (Official State Gazette Agency, 2013), that modified the Urban Leases Act (Official State Gazette Agency, 1994), and allowed the use of property for non-residential purposes. The CNMC has challenged the Government of the Balearic Islands. It maintains that the modification of the Regional Tourism Act (Parliament of the Balearic Islands, 2017) "limits" the marketing of holiday rentals.

In contrast, social movements note that this regulation gives holiday rentals unprecedented recognition and they denounce the lack of a budget for carrying out inspections of the current illegal supply. Officially, the Islands have set a ceiling in terms of the number of places, regardless of the type of accommodation (623,624 according to Sáenz, 2017;) and each island council has established zones for holiday rentals. In Ciutat, holiday rentals have been banned in buildings between party walls but the lack of

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Having reached this point, we must outline the distribution of powers between the different administrative levels of the Spanish state in relation to holiday rentals: residential rentals are governed by state law, tourist policy is the competence of the autonomous regions and urban development is worked on at a municipal level. In the case of the Islands, each one has a council that harmonises municipal urban development. As the capital city of the archipelago, Palma is an exception in that regard.

inspections means breaches go unchecked. Especially in the Centre, which as mentioned above, is an Asset of Cultural Interest. I will now refer to the dual role of academia and then illustrate with a specific case of abuse "the global impact" of the business. Finally I will present the main holiday rental association in the autonomous region.

On academics, fraud, financialisation and associations

The UIB does not have a single voice. There are records of various controversies. In 2016, an agency of the regional government of the time funded a study by the Department of Enterprise on residents' perceptions of holiday rentals (Garau Vadell, 2016). It was intended to legitimise a policy that, as small as it was, was permitted. Habtur, the holiday rental association on the Islands, celebrated the results since many respondents hoped that holiday rentals would generate employment, would complement an increasingly scarce income and, at the same time, contribute to maintaining family assets. Also in 2016, another government body commissioned other researchers from the same UIB department to conduct a second study on the state of the market.

In front of IB3 Televisió cameras, Groizard and Nilsson (2016) claimed that it could still grow, that holiday rentals did not displace tenants and that they spread the gains of tourism, which up to that point had been a monopoly of the hoteliers. About fifteen academics, also from the UIB, questioned the report, denouncing the impact on residential rentals and the growing gap between landlords and tenants. In another episode, in January 2017, IB3 Ràdio announced that the UIB would establish an observatory of holiday rentals led by an associate professor who, they omitted to mention, was also the vice president - now president - of Habtur. Social networks suddenly flared up and the initiative was deactivated. Other academics unmasked predatory practices.

In the spring of 2017, following complaints of Queta, a member of Ciutat for those who live in it, a group of researchers and journal-

ists discovered that three floors of a building destined for people with difficulties gaining access to housing (such as Queta) had been illegally rented out to tourists at €150 per person per night. The building was in a neighbourhood in the city centre, which had long been subjected to intense heritagisation, improvements and gentrification (Morell, 2013). With other workers in the company managing these social housing units, the head of operations offered the flats to digital tourist rental platforms. This was a profitable business since each residential rent was €450 per month. The more they delved into it, the bigger the case became. The proprietor had other buildings in the neighbourhood.

Proprietor and managers had three things in common: (1) a past as executives in the savings and pension bank that assumed 45% of the assets resulting from the neighbourhood improvements (2) their passage through the new bank that absorbed the aforementioned bank in 2010, and (3) participation in the transfer of those assets through the "bad bank", SAREB (company for the management of assets from the restructuring of the banking system). In fact, the financialisation of property and management of holiday rentals and the inability to pursue the irregularities of the sector illustrate the class relationship found in the concentration of assets by some that deprive others of access to affordable housing.

Another strategy is to access the information that city councils have on indebted property owners in order to buy their real estate assets with the support of a bank loan secured against a property. According to the information provided by several neighbourhoods in a town in Pla de Mallorca during my fieldwork, this is how the former president of Habtur built up his holiday rental assets. Joan Miralles, a civil servant and vocational training teacher at the regional Ministry of Education, obtained his doctorate in sociology with a thesis on the impact on Mallorcan culture of acquiring residences by EU foreign nationals at the end of the 1990s (the "third tourist boom"). Miralles concludes that for the Mallorcans

it would be better to rent instead of selling, as this would prevent the loss of the heritage sovereignty of the land (2004). For non-owners, he argued, there is always "the spillover economy". Accompanying this commitment to a class differentiation that shows alliances with non-rentier segments that would also take advantage of holiday rentals (restorers, local farmers, etc.), Miralles rejects the claim that this type of accommodation leads to residential rent increases.

This idea is expressed profusely as a mantra of the holiday rental association both in the media (e.g. Miralles 2017, Sagraera 2017) and in the Vacation Forum, the mecca of the island's holiday rentals, in which Habtur has been taking part since 2016. The Vacation Forum invites digital platforms, tour operators, service providers (cleaning, decoration, etc.), financial entities, advocates of the free use of private property and members of the government who try to appease the ignited spirits of the attendees who always rebuke them for "imposing" limitations. The hoteliers, true pilots of the archipelago's destination, also receive. Figures such as Miralles aspire to rival them while increasing their real estate assets: "The sooner they accept that we have come to stay, that we represent an important part of the tourist offer and that the tourist model is something we must all decide on between us, the better ... The tourist market is not [the hoteliers'], the tourist is the one who chooses, we cannot close our eyes to an obvious reality" (HOSTELTUR, 2017).⁹

While Habtur's rhetoric seems to ask for a mere supplement of income, an argument also used by Fevitur (the Spanish federation) and the European Holiday Home Association, its most prominent members have various properties and are already considered highly qualified professionals. Not for nothing, at a talk I gave in a coastal town, an entrepreneur proudly announced that his business was small, since he only managed 40 tourist rentals. Many social movements denounce the social and ecological excesses of this greed and oppose it with different mediated strategies of awareness-raising, rather than resistance. I will now talk about

these movements and how they cooperate with each other, weave a continuity with the past and thus contribute to building a unique heritage with regard to class struggle.

The division of labour between the social movements

The exclusion of holiday lets in buildings between party walls in Ciutat was a rule brought in by the then mayor (now councillor), whose political career was rooted in the fight against evictions. Despite allowing some tourist rentals, the association wanted to take him to court for perversion of justice (*Ara Balears*, 2019). While in Ciutat his party had the support of citizens opposed to holiday rentals because they understood that it would push up residential rental prices (especially in the heritagised parts of the city centre) in other places on the island, his party encouraged their contained expansion to maintain

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The hoteliers are fiercely opposed to holiday rentals but if they become established, they will invest in them in the same way as they have done in the past with other types of tourist accommodation (Magro, 2017).

For years, the city of Mallorca has been subjected to an intense internationalisation of its real estate market. MARC MORELL, 2016



family assets. Without a doubt, however, the decision of the City Council was the result of the work of social movements.¹⁰

Historically, many social movements had already opposed the tourist industry and once again organised protests. On 23 September, 2017, a month after the Tourism Act amendment, a demonstration took place under the slogan *We've got this far*. About 3,000 people demonstrated in Ciutat in the first great mobilisation against the government's tourist policy. The protesters, summoned by environmental groups, urban movements and trade unions, called for bold measures to end excessive dependence on tourism.¹¹ The 23-S platform brought together up to 52 organisations. Here I will highlight the trajectories of the main ones, not so much for their specific contribution to the demonstration, but for their specific contribution within the division of labour in mobilising against holiday rentals.

I will first present those that explicitly work to protect the environment. In 1973, the Grup Ornitològic Balear i de Defensa de la Naturalesa (GOB – Balearic Ornithological and Nature Conservation Group) was set up, and since then it has been the most important ecological organisation in the autonomous region: it has worked to protect the most sensitive areas from urban development and now works to promote active degrowth strategies. The GOB maintains that holiday rentals further deplete the scarce resources of the archipelago as well as its environmental heritage. Due to its experience, the ability of the GOB to mobilise people is probably the highest of all the groups that I mention.

Terraferida is a relatively new organisation, mostly made up of people who are part of the GOB. Not only is it based on a more incisive opposition, but in its ecological analysis it includes criticism of the economic predation model promoted by different lobbying groups for their personal gain, as well as expressing a political malaise with regard to corruption, improvisation and the accumulation of public resources by what they point to as a dominant caste. Given

the lack of official information on the subject, Terraferida has ended up specialising in offering solid quantitative data on the Islands' holiday rentals. That said, while the GOB is open to affiliations, Terraferida acts more like a closed group in this regard.

It is in Ciutat where residents' associations are stronger. The Palma Federation of Neighbourhood Associations (FAVP) resorts to neighbourhood activism dating back to the Francoist era. The FAVP maintains relations with Palma City Council by which it guides other entities through its bureaucratic labyrinth. Given the positions at the FAVP are occupied by more senior activists, there has been a recent, urgent need to incorporate younger generations from the various neighbourhoods where they have a presence. Most of these young people participated in the local replicas of 15M in 2011, which helped to break the dynamics of federations of neighbourhood associations in many of the State's cities, Ciutat included.

Holiday rentals have breathed new life into the FAVP, and have generated new allies in the call for values of use, such as Ciutat for those who live in it, to which Carlos and Queta belong. Its origins lie in the group Tot Inclòs (All Included), heir to Mallorca's libertarian tradition, which between 2014 and 2017 published an annual magazine denouncing the predatory model of tourism and recently pointed out the excesses of the tourist industry in a documentary of the same name. Ciutat for those that live in it is an intergenerational and diverse organisation, with fortnightly meetings. It organizes festive gatherings such as a lane for *trolleys* in the centre, an auction in the city's neighbourhoods, a have a dip on the most touristic beach, an occupation of an illegal holiday rental apartment, and so on.

True, these actions attract the media more than the general population. Even so, from the struggle to protect the territory to trying to ensure decommercialised cities, all these movements participate in a division of the singular task of opposing the introduction of holiday rentals. Their success lies not only

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In 2017, the municipal delegation of the mayor's party wanted to award its annual prize to Ciutat for those who live in it, who rejected it, stating that their task did not involve political patronage. The organisation insisted not only on completely eradicating holiday rentals, but also on ending the proliferation of so-called 'boutique hotels' across the city.

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Among other aspects, the protest was motivated by the growing arrival of visitors by air and sea (cruises), the boom in holiday rentals and boutique hotels, and the increase in car rentals. The precarious working conditions generated by the tourist model were also criticised, which the Kellys (hotel chambermaids) represented to perfection.

in the unique trajectories of each entity, but also in shared militants, common denominators and joint mobilisations, all coded expressions of what it means to be working class (Morell, 2016; Kalb and Mollona, 2018). In other words, there is a class convergence between the various organisations that, ultimately, deal with questions about the social reproduction of life and share a unique heritage in terms of their conditions of transformation.

Conclusion: the state of the heritage and class movement

In this article I have shown the State's role in regulating holiday rentals. Combining the integration thesis of Lefebvre and the differentiation thesis of Wolf, I have focused on how the expansion of the tourist frontier to holiday rentals has segmented the owners of accommodation resources while at the same time establishing alliances with segments of the working class, especially those that work in the transport, accommodation and tourist services sectors. In part, this has been thanks to the enthusiastic reception of "the collaborative economy" and its supposed "spillover effect." Furthermore, I have suggested that the conversion of dwellings into holiday rentals (the tension between asset accumulation and precarious living conditions) has

resulted in the denunciation of the tourist commodification of housing followed by a fruitful division of labour.

From what I have set out so far, we can affirm that holiday rentals are both a search for profits that hamper access to affordable housing, bait for the concentration of real estate assets, and the configuration of an essential area of life into a financial asset. This is no longer the financialisation of homes via mortgage debt of the early part of the 2010s (Sabaté, 2016), but rather the financialisation of tourist accommodation resources. Proof of this, Airbnb, the best-known tourist rental platform, is organising an initial public offering, a company's first sale of shares on the stock market (Schleifer, 2019). In addition, and on the rebound, the promise of an economic return offered by digital platforms encourages demand for credit to carry out improvements on real estate assets in order to place them in the tourist rental market.

The other side of these financial movements is concerned with the challenge of accessing affordable residential rentals for different types of tenants: vulnerable people such as Queta, a victim of real estate companies moved only by profit, or Carlos and his partner who have to thank the owner of their



Holiday rentals have revived local resident protest. The first mobilisation in that regard was the "carril guir" itinerary, attended by about 200 people.

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home for not increasing their rent or transforming it into a tourist let. Holiday rentals reduce residential rental stock, increase the price of those that stay in the residential market, and in turn increase demand for properties as an object of investment and encourage the formation of financial assets. In the long run, residents, whether tenants or owners, are displaced.

Returning to Verdaguer's fading memories, the question is not so much what kind of city will be left when everyone disappears, but what kind of city leads us to this virulent situation. Here the question of class comes to the fore, not as a polarised simplification in fundamental strata established by the demand for tourist rentals (Valdivielso i Moranta, 2019: 14), but always as a complex class relationship of integration and differentiation in the production of these rentals. The principle governing this framework is the State's defence of private property and its free commercial use. This strategy prioritises the gains from real estate assets over the fundamental rights that have often been the result of not-so-distant social struggles and led by social movements that represent the interests of the working class.

In this sense, we find three distinct and unresolved class fronts that are related to the emergence of holiday rentals and at the same time with the problem of access to housing: (1) owners who hinder residential rentals; (2) the concentration of assets, often in the hands of investment funds; and (3) an internally differentiated accommodation association that not only makes the employment conditions of remunerated work more precarious, but which also makes the housing conditions of the general population more precarious too. With regard to social movements, as with precarious housing, the practice of being in motion with other comrades in arms is also important. Of course, despite these clear examples of class formation, organised opposition is formally mediated by ideas of territory and community.

Nevertheless, they are all movements that not only address property and tenant relations,

but also have to do with value creation and appropriation relations. Take for example Ciutat for those who live in it, which fights to combat the replacement of residential lets with holiday rentals, but which also fights for a city that its members build day after day. There is a city in struggle for each member of Ciutat and there is even a collective one. Altogether, all these movements are a lively expression of a class in movement, which tries to combat the current confusion between social reproduction (housing) and production (tourist accommodation), not to mention the circulation that threatens them whilst gathering them up (formation of financial assets).

Franquesa (2013) talks about "cultural" heritage as the combined policy of conserving and circulating in the economic realisation of built heritage in Palma city centre. This hypothesis shows how the cultural affair has ended up appropriating the contents covered by the term *asset* (family wealth, built environment and land ownership, financial assets invested in, etc.) and that end up being potential economic gains which, in one way or another, are losses for others. Not in vain, referring to "cultural" heritage, Breglia (2006) recognises its ambivalence as it also has to do with other assets, labour inheritances linked to this "cultural" heritage and legacies from generation to generation. The introductory quote from Lladó and Sureda (2019) already points to how some people amass assets from certain uses of "cultural" heritage that is still extendible to collectively produced goods.

It is as if the monument and the city that Lefebvre (1972 [1970]: 28) tried to distinguish¹², had collapsed and the social life (the globality) that the city projects became a monument and remained equally subject to the economic logic of tourism. Of course, it is not easy to subject social life to the vertical dynamics of the culture of inheritance. It is often necessary to counter them with other less tangible assets, alliances around resisters, marriages rather than heritage, where life is reproduced socially, always in motion although the reason of state. Indeed, there

is a need to critically reconsider the class issue in the effective fight against the ways in which the multiple levels of state favour financialisation whilst hindering access to affordable housing. In order to understand the current class formation we must grasp how this is expressed.

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