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# "Tourist you are the terrorist"

## Tourism for dispossession, urban conflict and the mediatisation of discourses around terrorism at the 'theatre of hegemony' in the city of Mallorca<sup>1</sup>

*We cannot allow these brainless spoiled brats, which is what they are, to pose a permanent attack on tourism. [...] we can argue whether we can improve it or not, but violent acts are not admissible. [...] The problem is not the brats, the problem is those who do not condemn these acts of vandalism, because they start throwing confetti, like in the Balearic Islands, and it ends with burning buses like kale borroka in the Basque Country.*

F. Martínez-Maíllo (2017), state coordinator of the Popular Party<sup>2</sup>.

### Tourist culture and the theatre of hegemony: dialogues and dialectics of power in Mallorca

In April 2016, a protest graffiti against the overcrowding of tourists woke up the main street of Carrer de la Pelleteria: "tourist you are the terrorist". However, tourists have not been the only ones recently portrayed as terrorists. From 2017, in various ways that I have gathered, state political parties and global news outlets associated the popular movement of opposition to the tourist model prevailing in Mallorca with terrorism - as well as those in Barcelona, Bilbao, etc. In the style of the London Daily Mail - "Protesters against overcrowding in Mallorca on trial for storming a high-end pier that makes tourists fear a terrorist attack" (Sobot, 2018)<sup>3</sup>-, different

media have echoed the protests against mass tourism using the semantics of terror. In the article I have analysed the recourse to these terrorist narratives both by the counter-powers that contest the tourist model and by the political and media powers that promote it with the aim of deepening the dynamic relationships between these actors and the power structuring process on the island.

Firstly, with the focus on the surface - the disguises - of power and counter-power, I propose that the emergence of discourses on terrorism in the tourism debate responds to the fact that the independence movement has become involved. In this sense, I look at the second part of the graffiti ("...you are the terrorist") based on the binomial independence-terrorism: on the one hand, to show how this construct responds to power strategies related to the (re) definitions of the

#### 1

I appreciate the suggestions of the anonymous reviewers who read the first draft and made it more readable and, especially, the comments and criticisms that Marc Morell gave me during the process of writing the text.

#### 2

In the documentary *Tot Inclòs. Danys i conseqüències del turisme a les nostres illes* (2018).

#### 3

Except for the original press in Spanish, I have translated the quotes into Catalan.



The city council removed the graffiti in June 2016, two months after it appeared. (2016)

FRANCIS ALEMANY

concept of terrorism that the Spanish state has historically produced; on the other hand, because it allows us to reflect on how "structures of domination constrain the formulas with which the dominated and oppressed can resist their condition" (Gledhill, 2000: 87). To begin with, the criminalisation of political opposition based on the imputation

of violence/terror is an old instrument of domination that, in the discursive field, is related to how Max Weber (2012) reflected a century ago on monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force that states claim for themselves. For the German, it is an unsolvable paradox in which the use of force that comes from outside state borders usually

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**Keywords:** tourism and urban conflict, discourses on terrorism and tourismophobia, graffiti, theatre of hegemony

L'article ressegueix les «narratives terroristes» que el 2017 emergiren entorn de l'esquerra independentista local en el marc de la recent intensificació del conflicte urbà derivada de l'expansió turística al centre de Palma. A la llum de la interpretació d'aquests discursos, reflexion sobre el 'teatre de l'hegemonia' en què, amb la qüestió turística al centre, diferents actors locals i globals co-constitueixen i reconstitueixen l'estructuració del poder a la ciutat. Propòs que aprofundir en aquest camp de forces requereix una aproximació a la 'cultura turística' que s'ocupi dels processos d'explotació capitalista i de conflictivitat política que en configuren la realitat.

*El artículo revisita las «narrativas terroristas» que emergieron en 2017 en torno a la izquierda independentista local en el marco de la reciente intensificación del conflicto urbano derivada de la expansión turística en el centro de Palma. A la luz de la interpretación de estos discursos reflexiono sobre el 'teatro de la hegemonía' en el que, con la cuestión turística en el centro, distintos actores locales y globales constituyen y reconstituyen la estructuración del poder en la ciudad. Propongo que profundizar en tal campo de fuerzas requiere una aproximación a la 'cultura turística' que se ocupe de los procesos de explotación capitalista y de conflictividad política que configuran su realidad.*

This paper revisits the "terrorist narratives" that emerged in 2017 around the local left-wing pro-independence movement in the context of intensifying urban conflict due to tourist expansion in the centre of Palma. In light of the interpretation of these discourses, I reflect on the 'theatre of hegemony', whereby, with the tourism issue at the core, different local and global actors constitute and reconstitute power structures in the city. I suggest that delving into this complex issue requires an approach to 'tourist culture' that addresses the processes of capitalist exploitation and political conflict that shape its reality.

becomes illegitimate, violence, but what they must exercise daily to reproduce is legitimised as order. With this premise in mind, below I will expand a theoretical reflection where I will address the discursive conditions for the existence of terrorism (Zulaika and Douglass, 1996).

Secondly, and beyond the instrumentalisation of these narratives, I want to reflect on a deeper dimension of the conversion to tourism in Mallorca that the first part of the graffiti ("tourist you are...") condenses. This interpellation of the tourist, recognisable in most of the popular protests and strategies of the political-economic powers that I have collected, invites us to think of the Mallorcan context in terms of 'tourist culture', as M. Picard (1997) put it, since the tourism exchange constitutes the local cultural realities and defines the regimes of authenticity - and protest<sup>4</sup>. However, this approach to tourism has focused on the dialogic construction of cultural identities and neglected the political economy of the tourism industry. For this reason, in the attempt to deconstruct old cultural essentialisms, the framework of capitalist exploitation that underlies these dialogues has been naturalised. In my opinion, such an approach to 'tourist culture' unfolds as an ideological totalisation which, due to the reification of categories such as 'tourism' or 'culture', makes it difficult to analyse social tourism as a conflictual process, as here I am interested.

Different works (Boissevain, 2000 [1996]; Milano and Mansilla, 2018, Nogués, 2020) have considered the socially constitutive effects of tourism not only from the bidirectional cultural contributions between the tourist and the host, but with the focus on the tensions between the representations and practices that design or that discuss the tourist contexts where these interactions occur. Because, after all, "talking about tourism is talking about a wide variety of processes, and debating the tourism model is a debate about the country that one wants and the way in which the actors try to make

sense of the flow of events and adjust them to their interests" (Franquesa, 2008: 117). In this line, I propose that we observe the manifestations of tourist culture, such as the graffiti that interests me here, not only as dialogical products but as realities integrated in 'theatres of hegemony', global force fields in which social classes stage a struggle of appearances with material implications in the process of structuring power (Thompson, 1991; Smith, 2007). In the case of Mallorca, a theatre in which the circuit of dependencies, antagonisms and feedbacks that set in motion the struggle for hegemony has both the power source and the lead wire plugged into the (conflict surrounding the) tourist model. In this sense, the graffiti symbolises the tourism of the 'theatre of hegemony' in which power relations are (re)constituted on the island, a historical dynamic that has existed since the sixties, but which, as we shall see, the last tourist boom of the beginning of the 21st century has accentuated.

This approach to tourism - also of power and protest - from hegemony, which "is not a shared ideology but a common material and meaningful framework for living, thinking and acting in social orders characterised by domination" (Roseberry, 1994: 361) will allow us to interrogate tourist contexts not only dialogically but also dialectically, in the sense that capitalist exploitation and the conflict it generates also underlies tourist exchanges. In addition, the study of 'tourist culture' (of which the protest against a certain tourist model is also an expression) in the framework of the class conflicts that are staged in the 'theatre of hegemony', can contribute to observe in what way and to what extent counterpowers impact power relations.

In the following pages, I have deployed both hypotheses with the emergence of the discourse surrounding terrorism as a guiding thread. For this reason, after contextualizing the expansion of tourism due to dispossession and the acceleration

#### 4

As Antoni Vives states, "one of the main causes of the appearance of the GOB was the recording and exhibition on the island of the BBC documentary *Majorca Observed* in 1970" (2020: 16). Thus, the first mobilisations in defence of the territory, the product of a local appropriation of the tourist gaze, make environmentalism a paradigmatic example of the cultural tourism of Mallorca.

of the urban conflict it has caused on the island (2), in the third section we turn to the instrumentalisation of the discourse of violence by the state to theoretically and historically situate the concept of terrorism in Mallorca (3). From here, I trace the 'terrorist narratives' that, both from counterpower (4) and from power (5), have orbited around the local independence left-ist movement and that have encompassed the rest of the organisations that headed the popular movement against the current Balearic tourist model. This task is the result of a selective review of local, state and international press pieces that, since 2017, have linked the protest to terror or violence in the framework of tourismphobia. All of this, flanked by the observations I have carried out as a demonstrator in several of these protests, a position that, although it leans towards the popular movements reviewed, has allowed me to contextualize their actions and give an account of how they have had an impact in the theatre of local 'hegemony'. Or, on the other hand, how the debate on the tourist model has been affected and stigmatised by the media coverage of discourses surrounding terror, phobia and violence.

### Tourism due to dispossession, urban conflict and tourismphobia in the city of Mallorca<sup>5</sup>

First of all, let us place the intensification of the urban conflict in which the graffiti is framed. In Mallorca, the 21st century began with a quantitative escalation that already exceeds 15,000,000 annual visitors and that has accentuated the tourist monoculture of the island's economy. A new boom which is explained in parallel with the consolidation of new paradigms of global mobility, the imposition of neoliberal policies of deregulation before and after the financial crisis of 2008, and the evolution of planetary geopolitics, in which the so-called "war on terror" has played a key role in transferring tourist masses from the south-eastern Mediterranean coast to the north-west (Cañada and Milano, 2019).

On the island, this new boom in tourism capitalism has been characterised by the generalisation of 'all inclusive' on the coast, cruises and, until the amendment of the Balearic tourism law in 2017, by the unlimited spread of tourist rentals in residential areas through digital platforms. All of this has encouraged real estate speculation traditionally associated with the Mallorcan tourist industry, which has converged with particularly intensive urban gentrification processes in the centre of Palma (Morell, 2019), where we can identify a context of 'tourism by dispossession'. The priorities of global capital have been redirected towards the commodification – through processes such as patrimonialisation – of areas of life that were previously part of commodity production or spaces of social reproduction through a process of co-optation of collective work, essential for the creation of tourist value in different neighbourhoods of the urban centre, previously working class (Morell, 2016).

The advance of the tourist frontier has spread throughout the island the harmful socio-economic and ecological impacts of the 'Balearicisation' of the coast: environmental predation, massive waste generation, uncontrolled urban planning, labour exploitation, spatial saturation, etc. The transformation of a residential city into a holiday city and/or heritage site has made housing more expensive in the centre of Palma and has trapped the socio-economic fabric of many neighbourhoods in the new geography of the capital (Franquesa, 2010). Heritage, which has generated so much value, "is not a product *per se*, but the common springboard towards the final commodity' and, at the base of this commodity - leisure, for the tourist - is the work of exploited people (Morell, 2016: 64). The pent-up social unrest from all of this has led to the intensification of the urban conflict and spurred the organisation of the protest movement against the tourist model. A two-dimensional 'tourismisation of social movements' (Milano, 2018) has occurred; first, because they now identify the tourism

### 5

Also called Palma, or colloquially Ciutat.

monoculture as the main accelerator of social inequality; second, because they have coordinated the local struggle with movements in other tourist cities, amplifying the criticism of the growth of tourism. Although, for example, the amendment the Balearic tourism law and the restriction of tourist rentals in Palma included demands from the local ecological campaign #SenseLímitsNoHiHaFutur promoted in 2016, in general the institutions have only resorted to the reduction to "green up" the tourist expansion, with solutions such as deseasonalisation that have not mitigated, but rather diversified, the problems (Valdivielso and Moranta, 2019).

Environmental platforms (GOB, Terraferida), neighbourhood movements (Federació d'Associacions de Veïns, Ciutat per qui l'habita), unions (CNT, SEPC), labour associations (Las Kellys), pro-independence organisations, anarchists, etc., demonstrated in the streets, on the beaches, at the airport and at the port. In September 2017, more than 3,000 people marched under the slogan "We've come this far!"<sup>6</sup>. Equally, and although the pro-independence left was not the one with the most weight and presence in the tourism opposition movement, the action with the most international resonance occurred when, a month before the mass demonstration, the youth organisation Arran displayed banners ("The class struggle is being fought here"), lit flares and threw confetti on the terrace of a restaurant on the old wharf, an action labelled by the media as anti-tourism and, as we shall see, related to *kale borroka* and jihadism. A year after having quietly landed in Mallorca<sup>7</sup>, 'tourismphobia' was consolidated in the media: "Tourismphobia comes to the Balearic Islands" (Sáenz, 2017), headlined *El Mundo* when the action of Arran transcended. As we will see, it was often accompanied by narratives associated with terrorism.

On a global scale, tourismphobia has been a strategy of political, media and business elites aimed at discrediting criticism and maintaining tourism growth (Blanco-Romero

et al., 2019). In Mallorca too, but in addition we must understand the term as the latest variation of the myth of the 'island of calm'<sup>8</sup>, an ideological construct through which the tourist industry has historically naturalised its interests on the island. Faced with the increase in conflict, tourismphobia thus appears as an exceptional disruption to reinforce the old myth: interpreted as a sudden, irrational spasm, it connotes that until now the island and tourism had evolved organically, without conflicts, and that they must return to consensus. Beyond illusions of calm, however, tourism has been a focus of constant political, economic, ecological and cultural tension since the Franco dictatorship fabricated the first boom in the fifties. Although tourismphobia – which presupposes an antagonism between residents and visitors that has been linked to violence and terror – is represented in the media as the first great cultural conflict of the tourist era, anthropology has witnessed decades of complex interactions between the different groups and social classes that, in parallel with the tourism process of the island, have woven realities and dynamics that are irreducible to the simple dichotomisation of local vs. tourist<sup>9</sup>.

### (The discourse of) terrorism in contemporary Mallorca

"The State writes the history of terrorism, which is instructive. Spectators never have to know everything about terrorism, but enough to be convinced that, compared to terrorism, the rest is acceptable, or at least more rational and democratic" (Debord, 1990: 24). Unfortunately, the revelation of these implications has not prevented legalistic approaches from still prevailing today which, since they do not discuss the spectacular, propagandistic origin of the term terrorist, put the anti-historical rationalisations of states ahead of the historical purposes of the social sciences, as has happened in the Mallorcan tourist conflict. But as much as terrorism is presented everywhere as something objective – pejorative, with the aim of underlining the state as a form of ideal political organisation and its monopoly of physical

### 6

Unity demonstration against overcrowding, driven by more than thirty entities, with no regional parties or majority unions. To deepen the (class) convergences between popular movements in these years of mobilisation against tourist pressure, Morell (2019).

### 7

A Viennese newspaper predicted: "Tourists go home!", "Tourism destroys the city", "Stop the tourists!": these messages greet frightened tourists from the walls of Palma's old town. In the Balearic Islands, tourismphobia is a recent phenomenon' (Gaulhofer, 2016).

### 8

The implications of which already exceeded the artistic goals since Santiago Rusiñol originated it: "Traumatized by the events of the Tragic Week in Barcelona, [the painter] projected onto the regional workers of Mallorca his desire for political calm, which is why he described them as happily apolitical beings" (Vives, 2020: 15). The "painting" coincided with the touristic yearnings of an expanding local bourgeoisie that made calm the founding myth of Mallorcan regionalism – a myth that, with the growth of industry, has welcomed submissions: the natural paradise, the island of love, the island of the party). To grasp the implications of the myth of calm in the urban development of the City, see Franquesa (2009).

### 9

Anthropologists have reviewed a multitude of ethnic (Nieto, 1977; Selwyn, 1996, Waldren, 1996) and social class (Miquel, 1989; Franquesa, 2010, Morell, 2016) ambivalences that blur the dichotomy.

force<sup>10</sup>—, the typology amalgamates historical and socio-political situations that are difficult to compare (Aretxaga, 2002). More than an empirically recognisable phenomenon, terrorism is an ideological representation aimed at ordering and symbolising reality. Therefore, we must redirect its study towards the examination of the discourses from which situations, people and ideas are classified as terrorists - the labelling process.

This approach becomes stronger if we pay attention to the dependence of terrorist representations on the category of violence. Although the unpleasant images to which it is associated in the media give it an aura of physicality, of objectivity, it is necessary to appreciate, as Walter Benjamin (1996), that violence responds to historical contingencies, and makes an act of appearance through moral evaluations conditioned by cultural models and power relations. Violence is, therefore, primarily discourse, assessments intended to rationalise certain acts (people, moments) as violent, which result from the same arguments that classify them as such; basically, a sign of communication whose values are relative to the morality and ideology of those who define it (Riches, 1986). Consequently, its terrorist acceptance is also an evaluative, hierarchical, discursive reality.

To differentiate terrorism from other categories of violence, several authors have defined it as a media creation in which the intercession of the media is essential for it to materialise (Domínguez, 2020). However, it should be considered that appeals to terrorism do not differ from other discourses on violence in the sense that their effectiveness is equally and basically based on rhetoric, since terrorist situations emerge as the acts, the behaviours and the ideas they categorise are interpreted by those who "have the responsibility" to respond to them: thus, counterterrorism becomes the *sine qua non* of the existence of terrorists (Zulaika and Douglass, 1996). In this way, the discourses of terrorism are erected into an 'enabling fiction' (ibidem: xi) that responds to the elaboration of narratives

capable of anticipating and stereotypically interpreting certain events and generating a climate of terror that it stimulates the collective imagination beyond the proportionality of the acts it refers to. With effects of 'fictional reality' (Aretxaga, 2002), terrorism is presented in everyday life as a collective reification that, sheltered under the guise of the common good and social peace, masks the asymmetries and political divergences of the conflicts what it feeds on.

This conceptual exorcism reveals the discursive bases and political predilections of terrorism, but if we want to know the particularities (forms, actors, meanings) with which it has emerged in the Mallorcan tourist conflict, we must interrogate it in the light of the island's history<sup>11</sup>. Part of the answer lies in the Spanish counter-terrorism of the last sixty years, since although the first Francoist Law of Banditry and Terrorism of 1947, framed in the post-war red panic, is explained by the resistance of the *maquis*, with the resurgence of armed action against the dictatorship in the sixties, anti-terrorist legislation was shaped around ETA. In addition, the beginning of the parliamentary regime coincided with the replacement of Soviet terror as the spectral enemy of the West by a new global paradigm of ideologically more diffuse and atomised terrorism (Aretxaga, 2002). In the debates prior to the political amnesty of 1977, with the differentiation between political prisoners and political prisoners "with blood crimes" - the vast majority of whom were from ETA -, the new state linked left-wing independence with a representation of terrorism that, unlike the Red Terror, was supposedly not driven by political goals, but simply by crime and xenophobia. In this context, it is logical that in Mallorca the media inauguration of terror emerged from the arrest of Macià Manera (1989), militant of Terra Lliure<sup>12</sup> to whom the state applied the anti-terrorist law.

Although the discourse surrounding terrorism in Mallorca in the following two decades was nourished by ETA, which in 1995 tried

## 10

In the 19th century the term was already used to criminalise internal state opposition, especially revolutionary opposition (Horvat, 2017). From the seventies it became a key word in the reconfiguration of global politics, and Zulaika and Douglass (1996) relate the centrality of the concept to the struggles of decolonisation, the antagonisms of the Cold War and the urban conflict generated by the expansion of neoliberal policies.

## 11

We could identify the precedents of an exhaustive genealogy of terrorism in Mallorca in previous criminalization epistemes such as the demonisation that Muslims suffered during the Christian domination of the island in the 13th century (Maiz, 2006), also linked to Jews and witches and which bequeathed logic and content to later repressive forms against atheists, workers, independence supporters, etc.

## 12

Independence political organisation that practised armed struggle (1978-1991) in the Catalan-speaking regions. In 1989, they detonated two explosives in Mallorca against a Franco statue and at the headquarters of the Treasury, without causing any casualties. In addition, in 1987 there had been an attack in Barcelona against a headquarters of *Viajes Melià* (Amengual and Jordà, 2014), owned by Mallorcan businessman Gabriel Escarrer.

to assassinate the king there and in 2009 killed two civil guards, the narratives that connected the Basque and Mallorcan reality through terror did not arise alone from the action of that organisation. In 2006, during the protests of pro-independence activists, who had the support of environmental groups such as GADMA and later the GOB, against the illegal private swimming pool built in Son Servera by Pedro J. Ramírez, the right organised a support platform for the former director of *El Mundo*: *Basta Ya!*, the same name adopted in 1999 by a Spanish citizens' initiative focused on combating ETA<sup>13</sup>. A similar example occurred in another context of territorial defence, now in the city, when the *Salvem la Real!* campaign was activated in 2006 against the mega-project of the Hospital de Son Espases, which combined broad support, from the pro-independence party to the rector of *Secar de la Real*. After some demonstrators reprimanded the mayor during the pilgrimage that year, the local leader of the PP José M. Rodríguez "recalled that the terrorist group ETA had been born in the sacristies of the Basque Country and Navarre" (Mayol, 2017: 163).

It was after the attack in Madrid in 2004 that jihadist terrorism began to dispute the meanings of Spanish terror in ETA. In Mallorca, the circulation of the new narrative intensified in the following decade, when attacks on Western tourist towns became more frequent. The media peak occurred in 2017, with the anti-terrorist operation against an international cell established in Palma. Although the self-dissolution of ETA pushed the media shift towards 'religious terrorism', the new state epistemic of terror did not forget the independence movement<sup>14</sup>. Recently, the Mallorcan extreme right, reorganised around *Vox Balears*, has drawn comparisons between the pro-independence left and "street terrorism", requesting the illegalisation of the youth organisation *Arran* (AraBalears, 2018)<sup>15</sup>. Despite the passage of time, it seems that the history of the discourse of terrorism on the island obeys circularity: one of its latest emer-

gencies returns us to Macià Manera, since the *Círculo Balear* association qualified an act on the occasion of his death as a "public tribute to terrorism" (Última Hora, 2017).

With no pretensions towards completeness<sup>16</sup>, the record points to a recurring proximity between the discourses around terrorism on the island and independence. Although some cases have emerged in parallel with ecological claims and present elements related to tourist conflict, the involvement of the independence movement in the mobilisations is the key that explains the entry of terror on the scene, a persistence that obeys state anti-terrorist particularities also documentable in Mallorca since the eighties. Likewise, the recent parliamentary transformation of the extreme right is important to understand the perpetuation of terrorist discourses and their emergence in the tourism conflict of recent years which, aside from the usual narrative that links the island independence movement with Basque terror, it has taken on new implications in the shadow of the anti-jihadist paradigm.

### "You, tourists, are the terrorists": an interpretation of the parodic uses of terror in the mobilisations against mass tourism

With Mallorca as a backdrop, we have seen how discourses on terrorism are common in the symbolic repertoires of the exercise of legitimising institutional power. However, the graffiti with which I opened the article transforms the state portrait of the terrorist – criminal, clandestine, idealist – into a tourist – paradigm of idleness, cosmopolitan, consumerist. The contrast between both representations reminds us that, although the reaction against domination leads to reproducing categories of power, the practices of popular resistance are capable of inverting the symbols of the dominant order (Gledhill, 2000). The piece of graffiti reveals how the discourse of terrorism is also exhibited beyond state vestments, and not only around tourism. For example, in Mallorca the neo-fascist organisation responsible for the sabotage of TV3 repeaters in 1989 and death threats to the

#### 13

The promoters saw in it a formula to save the tourist image of Son Servera; others, a subliminal message that contributed to "confusing independence and terrorism" (Valentí, 2006).

#### 14

We recall the operation *Jaro* in Galicia, the Basque *Altsasu* case or the operation *Judas* against the Catalan CDRs.

#### 15

Previously, in 2012, the *Círculo Balear* denounced some songs by Mallorcan rapper Josep Valtónc, communist and pro-independence, currently exiled in Belgium, as apologia for terrorism.

#### 16

A hemerographic exploration would show how the terrorist profile of the island is unattainable: anti-university *unabombers*, PKK members, German neo-Nazis, Hell's Angels, etc.

writer Sebastià Alzamora in 2005, the *Círculo Cultural Mallorquín*, was never considered a terrorist by the state or by the media lobbies, but it was by the local pro-independence press (Sastre, 1991) or, more recently, by the STEI teaching union (Diario de Mallorca, 2019). Without moving from unionism, the CGT-Palma denounced as a terrorist attack the explosion of an artefact in front of its headquarters in 2007, and on the first of May 2012 the general secretary of CCOO-Balears labelled the budget cuts of the PP state terrorism (Mayol, 2017). Recently, discourses on sexist, environmental terrorism, etc. have proliferated. These examples show how hegemony is contested from the countertheatre of the street, which is in no way an ideological totalisation but a framework for action.

The logic of parodic inversion – because it manipulates the narrative genre – present in the symbolic association between terrorism and tourism is a starting point from which to "look beneath the symbol" (Durkheim, 1987) and establish an interpretation of the meanings that underpin the social reality symbolised by the sentence "tourist you are the terrorist". Since no one publicly claimed the graffiti and we cannot make an exegetical analysis, the most reasonable inference refers to "you, tourists, are the terrorists", a slogan chanted in recent years in protests against state and regional tourism policies by demonstrators related to the libertarian left and, above all, to the youth independence movement. I propose that we analyse the text of the graffiti as a derivation of "you, fascists, are the terrorists", one of the recurring slogans of these ideological currents that became popular in the Catalan-speaking regions in anti-Franco mobilisations and against the transition regime. In Mallorca it has been a historical constant in the mobilisations of the pro-independence left (e.g. at the 31-D demonstration, Diada de Mallorca), directed against unionist politicians, the extreme right and, especially, the state police.

Beyond the syntactic skeleton, however, the chant has implications that are important for

expanding the analysis of latent meanings in the piece of graffiti. Firstly, it responds to the particular links that the Spanish state has forged between the independence movement and terrorism: while replacing the independence supporter, the policeman now becomes a terrorist. Secondly, a global reference resonates strongly, particularly since the "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" inaugurated the war on terror. In the words of anti-capitalism, the chant inverts us/terrorist values that Bush instituted in 2001. Thirdly, it is not difficult to see how the inversion of the state discourse on terrorism is related to cultural models of plebeian protest that Mallorcans have historically employed, as in the case of blasphemy against authority through the festive representation of the devil in the Sant Antoni festivities – the demonisation of power (Alemany, 2020).

While it is important to recognise how the ideological implications of left-wing independence condensed into "you fascists are the terrorists" are attached to the graffiti of the summer of 2016 as historical continuities of a certain political expression of street, we cannot interpret the whole as a mechanical transposition from one field of mobilisation (political sovereignty) to another (tourist criticism). It is necessary to observe how the derivation is contextually moulded into a new intersymbolic relationship that transforms the meanings that the painting aims to communicate. Consistently, and from the consideration that graffiti was the emergence of a political discussion in the form of a 'spatialised conversation' (Stewart & Kortright, 2015), I have attended to the communicative elements that allowed a dialogue between sender and receivers. I consider that, integrated with the diachronic factors examined (historical frameworks, discursive genealogies, ideological implications, etc.), the study of the channel (I), the codes (II) and the messages (III) allow a positional reading of the spaces, the forms and the contents that make up the interpellation "tourist you are the terrorist".



### I. Contesting the tourist landscape

Despite the regulations with which civic ordinances codify urban space, streets are 'open spaces' that stimulate all kinds of symbolising processes and semantic enunciations that go beyond the uses for which urban planners conceive them (Delgado et al., 2003). After all, it is the requirements of immediate social practices that turn them into ritual scenarios that turn civic geometry into moral, political, cultural landscapes. In this sense, the spraying of the graffiti on Carrer de la Pelleteria had a highly symbolic dimension. Located in the stately neighbourhood of Montisio – the leader in terms of per capita income –, the street is an interstice of tourists, who stroll it from end to end of the year to admire or are grouped together in heritage itineraries along the medieval tour of the city which concentrates museums, churches and emblematic attractions (cathedral, town hall, palaces, manorial courtyards, etc.). Before the moratorium on tourist accommodation in single-family flats promoted by the municipal council in 2017, the street was part of the fraction of Palma intended for visitors to stay overnight. Consequently, more than a tourismphobic spasm, the channel of the graffiti is a tactical decision aimed at disrupting the tourist landscape that government and private initiatives have devised for the old quarter. In a way, the words of a hotelier in the area exemplify the effectiveness of manipulating the landscape through graffiti: "[...] offers a disastrous image of our hospitality" (Duran, 2016).

First, because the priming of the discourse of terrorism right in the very centre exceeded the vandalistic intention with which it was mediated: it became a vindictive manipulation of the moral landscape, focused on "claiming, obtaining and defending something that is considered one's own, in the sense of *appropriate* and not of object of *property*" (ibid, 2003). Apart from contesting the exclusions on which spatial production is based - and the political economy of the producing bodies -, it was fundamentally aimed at recognising urban space as a social, political, 're-appropriated'

product (Lefebvre, 2013). Second, because the claim, far from being content to dirty the headquarters of a party or company responsible for the tourist discomfort, sabotaged the landscape itself. At a time when capital's priorities are focused on the touristic revaluation of traditionally residential urban areas through processes of commodification of historical heritage (Franquesa, 2010), criticism is channelled through the manipulation of the backdrop required for the expansion of tourism. If usually those who want to reproduce and provide continuity to the social order "imitate the passivity of inert matter" (Halbwachs, 2011: 136), it is logical that the dissension denies the necessity and is expressed on the "virgin marsh" authenticating the travellers' experience.

### II. Parodic questioning of the producer of the space

Although all unregulated murals are spatial claims, they have also been studied as pastime practices, environmental transformation or urban art. Although the graffiti that I am concerned with here outweighs the protestant intention over the artistic, we must recognise that the codes used have an aesthetic dimension that it shares with protest actions against tourism that go beyond the island's borders. "Tourist you are the terrorist", like poeticization of the citizen framework (through the evocation of abstract symbolic values), staged a desire to transform Carrer de la Pelleteria into metaphorical territory so that it could act as a speaker in tourism debates. Like the performative action it was – an anonymous, intersubjective and deterritorialising interruption of everyday life –, the emergence of the tourist-terrorist association is related to "artivism", protest actions that often appropriate artistic and festive formulas defined as the aestheticisation of direct action (Delgado: 2013). We find elements of these aesthetic drifts in the graffiti and in other recent vindications that were wrapped in costumes, parodies and spectacularisations, such as the Arran action with confetti on the old pier or the "Carril Guiri" of the group *Ciutat*

*per a qui l'habita*, a parade in which around 300 participants dressed as tourists toured the most saturated central areas to claim the right to the city against "tourist colonialism" (DBalears, 2017). Now, beyond the mere aestheticisation of politics, these acts are framed in the history of the concomitances between festival and revolt, and of parody as the preferred genre of popular politics (Babcock, 1978; Thomson, 1991).

The action of "Carril Guiri" in particular explains another of the specific codifications of street opposition against tourist massification that we find in the work of graffiti. Both the stereotypical mimicry of locals as tourists and the tourist-terrorist comparison seek, simultaneously, to feed and reduce the antagonism with otherness to accelerate "the subversive virtualities latent in ordinary human interaction" (Delgado, 2013: 69), ambivalence that rules out the tourismphobic hypothesis. Thus, the aesthetic formulas that codify the graffiti (for more emphasis, in English) share a global strategy (see Milano and Mansilla, 2018) of internationalising the tourist conflict by means of the tourist subjects themselves. In addition, these codes of interpellation from the old producers of the space (local residents) to the new ones (tourists) – the terrorist equation is the hyperbolisation – show how the touristisation of social movements is particularly pronounced among those organisations that contextualise their praxis in the class struggle and denounce the material inequalities based on labour exploitation and the accumulation of property generated by the capitalist process of tourist transformation of urban centres.

### III. *Terrorism as an expression of the class struggle*

To interpret the graffiti's meanings, we must first observe the derivations and transmutations of the original "you fascists are the terrorists" into its new tourist version. In a state context, the exchange of the fascist for the tourist allows us to read the connections between Francoism and the tourism of Mallorca that various sectors of the left denounce,

and particularly the pro-independence left, which conceives tourism as a strategy of the dictatorship at the service of the Spanishisation and colonisation of the island. A Franco legacy and a consideration of tourism as a colonising element that other organisations also share, although not so much in national terms but in an ecological terms (GOB), or from a critique of the capitalist process of accumulation (*Ciutat per a qui l'habita* [City for who inhabits it]). Secondly, tourism comes to occupy the value that Bush attributed to jihadism, a movement that in a context of growing Islamophobia reveals an anti-racist dimension that the groups close to the message of the graffiti profess. Thirdly, we can also sense a latency in cultural terms in the binomial that forms terrorism and the tourist, a character that part of the pro-independence left (and Mallorcanism in general) uses to symbolise the threat of homogenisation against the affirmations of local Mallorcan and/or national Catalan culture that they defend.

Next, this hermeneutic of who from the emergence of the discourse of terrorism to the tourist conflict must be integrated into the elements of the communicative context of the "tourist you are the terrorist" previously analysed (channelling and codification). As I have said before, the terrorist equation of the graffiti does not symbolise anti-tourist hatred or is an example of a supposed tourismphobia, but rather appeared as an instrumental symbol of criticism of mass tourism. While it is undeniable that it also responds to a resentment present between different sectors and social movements of the city towards tourists as a social category, the tourism-terrorism association does not in any case translate into an antagonistic rejection towards individuals susceptible to form part of it, but towards the political-economic guidelines that drive 'tourism by dispossession'. As the GOB Neus Prats activist points out in *Tot Inclòs...* (2018), "[n]obody is tourismphobic; people have a phobia of being homeless, they have a phobia of receiving pitiful wages [...]". For

this reason, it does not make sense to place the appearance of the discourse of terrorism in the intensification of urban conflict around tourism as an ethnic threat against the tourist, since it was rather a loudspeaker for the problems that threaten workplaces, the wages and rents of local workers.

In a similar way to the articulation of discomfort by neighbourhood organisations in other tourist-heavy places, the production of urban space that advocates the current tourist model and the local, state and global power relations that sustain it at the centre of Palma, is also understood by the city's opposition movements as a network of symbolic violence that results from secondary forms of exploitation such as the dispossession of housing and the privatisation of the street, current cornerstones of the accumulation of capital (Mansilla, 2019). At the end of the day, like so many other tourismphobic manifestations, the controversial graffiti "tourist you are the terrorist" was a cry intended to denounce how the expansion of the tourist frontier trapped housing and work in the geography of the tourist capital, sky-rocketed housing prices, replaced the productive structure of the neighbourhoods, made working conditions precarious and, no less important, commoditised spaces for neighbourhood socialisation.

Since it intended to be the symbolic loudspeaker of the material damage that tourism causes to the working class of Palma, we can read the discourse of terrorism in the graffiti as the expression of a class struggle that is staged and reconstituted in the heart of the 'theatre of hegemony' that revolves around the tourist issue described in the first point. A class struggle that is not a static polarisation, since the owner classes -converting the urban work of the dispossessed classes into tourist merchandise- and the dispossessed classes -who do not passively expect their work to be co-opted by the tourism process but continuously launch criticism and resistance – co-constitute and reconfigure the balance of power.

### Media criminalisation of the protest: vandalism, violence, terrorism

If, as I pointed out, both the "tourist you are the terrorist" of Pelleteria street, like the rest of the collected street protests, are part of a political discussion, it is because all these actions have obtained a response. In the present section, I have collected the reactions of the media and political defenders of tourism expansion in order to grasp the other side of the 'spatialised conversation' of which the terrorist discourse of the graffiti is a part. Only a look at the complete process of criminalising the criticism of tourism in the framework of the intensification of urban conflict allows us to grasp how the 'fictional reality' of terrorism was attached to it and spread throughout the popular movements involved in the protest.

The first events of the criticism of massification related to tourismphobia were the graffiti that proliferated in the centre of the city in the summer of 2016. Government and employers' reactions to these actions were not long in coming and basically took two directions. The first has to do with silence and is framed in the relational ecology that shapes the inscription of graffiti and the institutional practice of erasing them, which beyond the inscribed/erased message informs about social class antagonisms in relation to the use of space and private property (Stewart and Kortright, 2015). If the mural claims define the street as an appropriable universe on the behalf of the dispossessed classes, the City Council's action of erasing consists in restricting the semantic availability to the interests of the tourist owners and claiming control of the urban space - and in Carrer de la Pelleteria, which implies restoring the tourist landscape. The second has to do with sound and is part of the institutional media campaign to define these graffiti - especially the "tourist you are the terrorist" - as uncivil acts, vandalism or directly as attacks (against property, cultural heritage, etc.). It is worth saying that this intensification in the council's criticism against graffiti in the centre and its removal

cannot be explained without considering the campaign that ARCA (Association for the Revitalisation of Old Centres) launched against "vandal graffiti" in the summer of 2019, when there were more murals critical of massification and gentrification. The mayor applauded the initiative and launched a progressive shock plan against vandal graffiti. In this sense, it is pertinent to point out that ARCA and the Hotel Association of Palma collaborate on heritage tourist itineraries in the historic centre of the city.

It is necessary to think about the classification according to which ones are painted as attacks in relation to the 'rhetorics of authenticity' (Frigolé, 2014) which, promoted by UNESCO since the seventies, have highlighted the heritage value of many of the historical elements and groups that subsequently they have fuelled the tourist value of urban centres such as the city of Palma. There are walls where graffiti is graffiti, and others where it is an attack. In relation to the criminalisation of dissent, this classification is accompanied by a logic of anticipating violence that carries out a twin operation of subjection. First, an identification of the graffiti artist (and his ideology) as an uncivil subject or, rather, a vandal, beyond the civility condensed in public ordinances. For example, the mayor of Satanyí from the PP responded to some graffiti criticising the tourism that Arran signed in the municipality: "This type of uncivil behaviour does not correspond to a civilised society" (Ferriol, 2020). The previous year, graffiti had appeared on the beach of es Trenc, in Campos, mediatised as property attacks and brutal uncivil attacks (Genovard, 2019; Aguiló, 2019). Likewise, graffiti by the Tot Inclòs collective was described as "pure vandalism" (Diario de Mallorca, 2018). And secondly, a warning, as when after a graffiti of Arran against a rental car in the city, it was indicated that "[...] it is reasonable to expect that during the summer the youth organisation will commit more attacks of this type". In this sense, during the gatherings that took place in the port to protest against the arrival of

cruise ships, the editorial of Mallorca Diario (2018) said that "if you continue to promote this type of calls, it is difficult to know how far their organisers can reach". The media focus on incivility and threats - and not in the context of the claim - reduces the activist to a criminal. Thus, the attack establishes contiguity between criticism of the tourist model and violence against places, properties and people (e.g. tourists).

In any case, this warning is activated through the detection of tourismphobia, a term that is mainly used to define physical manifestations. A wide spectrum of newspapers, employers and political parties (VOX, PI, PP, Cs, PSIB-PSOE) resorted to tourismphobia to associate a whole series of rallies, parades and symbolic dramatisations with the violent use of force. Although Blanco-Romero et al. (2019: 3) have pointed out that "qualifying political mobilisation [...] as violent and labelling it as an adversary element, especially when it attacks the structures of the state and the established order, criminalisation is facilitated", beyond of the repressive function of tourismphobia, it is necessary to analyse the violence it invokes. As Weber already advanced, the state represents the violence attributed to those who have no legal protection to use it a) as something ghostly and b) as something archaic - primitive, brutal (Delgado, 1998). The first formula is obvious in relation to tourismphobia, since the heralded violence, like a ghost, was warned against but never revealed. We recall the words of the mayor of the city, José Hila (PSIB-PSOE), in 2017, when he identified an increase in tourismphobia and demanded "strong condemnation of attacks on tourists" (dBalears, 2017). Or when the following summer the Secretary of State Bel Oliver, accompanied by the Minister of Tourism and a group of the island's leading employers, declared that the cases of tourismphobia on the island were worrying (Payeras, 2018). In no case did they go to specific situations to justify the diagnoses.

Also the second formula, since an important part of public opinion described the protests in the midst of aggressive interactions and



Action on the tourist bus in the Bellver Castle car park. While the activists unfurl the banner, the drivers converse quietly. (2018) ARRAN PALMA

through more warlike than non-political language. Apart from the image of the vandal attack, actions such as the display of a banner ("Tourism kills Mallorca") in the arrivals area of the airport or on a tourist bus at Bellver Castle ("Stop the massification of tourists") have earned the nicknames of aggression and assault by the ABC and El Mundo, newspaper in which the regional president of the PP said that the protests "attack the basic economy of the Balearic Islands" (Sáenz, 2018). Although more subtly, Mayor Hila (2017) also resorted to the media's archaicism of violence by saying that these 'attacks' did not respond so much to political reasoning as to perceptions, all the while associating the context of discomfort with psychological reactions that marry the morphology of the word *tourism-phobia*.

Although we have seen how the label has spread to various groups in the city (Ciutat per qui l'habita, GOB, Tot Inclòs, CUP Palma, etc.), the main target of tourismphobia has been the leftist youth independent

movement, and specifically Arran. It is not surprising, therefore, that the organisation was also the link chosen when introducing the terrorist equation to the tourist conflict. Specifically, this happened in August 2017, when the propaganda video went viral<sup>17</sup> of the Arran action at the old pier mentioned above. Although the police took note, the action had no media repercussions until the clip went viral. If initially the state media gave limited coverage, the international press would narrate the event in the same piece as another action that Arran Barcelona carried out those days against a tourist bus in which a traveller stated that he had suffered distress because he feared being a victim of a jihadist attack (Burke and Sobot, 2017). In the words of Martínez-Maíllo (PP) about the *kale borroka* in Mallorca as a backdrop, the following year, shortly before the judicial investigation into the events of Arran in Palma began, the case was directly mixed with terror: "[t]he activists against 'mass tourism' who stormed a high-end pier in Mallorca and made tourists fear a terrorist

17

[https://twitter.com/arran\\_jovent/status/892320900200222720?lang=ca](https://twitter.com/arran_jovent/status/892320900200222720?lang=ca)



Several groups gathered in the arrivals area of the airport to point out the harmful effects of mass tourism. (2018)

ARRAN PALMA

attack will be prosecuted" (Sobot, 2018). In addition, the statements of the owner of a restaurant, who affirmed that "the customers ran away believing they were terrorists" (Ballesteros, 2018) also came to light.

The viralisation of the case coincided with the parliamentary consolidation of neo-fascism around VOX, which took advantage of the events to 'institutionalise' its usual definition of the left youth independence movement as low-intensity terrorists. The party asked the government to outlaw Arran due to the action of the pier and other acts against rental cars that dealt with *kale borroka* (Última Hora, 2018), in addition to demanding from the politicians: "they must position themselves against terrorism" (Libertad Digital, 2019). In addition to this criminalising scheme, the impacts of Arran's supposed tourismphobia were associated with the panic caused by jihadist attacks in other tourist cities. The *kale borroka*-jihad cocktail established a criminalising framework that, initially directed against ARRAN, soon contaminated the

entire movement of opposition to the massification through the term tourismphobia with which it had previously been mediated, attributing it a xenophobic and terrorising nature. A strategy that was not only practised by VOX, since the president of the Balearic PP, when assessing the main threats to the future of tourism, treated tourismphobia and international terrorism as two sides of the same coin (DBalears, 2017). A combination that repeats the outlines of the criminalising quotation that introduces the article and that delineates the limits of possible politics right at the border where the discourses that contravene the hegemony of the myth of the island of calm begin.

### Conclusions

So far I have interrogated the 'terrorist narratives' that emerged in 2017 in the context of the recent acceleration of the urban conflict surrounding the Mallorcan tourist model. On the one hand, as a counter-power strategy, messages such as the graffiti have denounced various forms of capitalist exploitation

related to the tourism of the island and must be understood as an expression of the class struggle. In addition, if we remember how the state has historically instrumentalised the discourse surrounding terrorism on the island and its relationship with the pro-independence left, the emergence of graffiti on Carrer de la Pelleteria in 2016 also exemplifies, as it often does, in order to be heard, the forms and languages of protest must adopt the forms and languages of domination (Roseberry, 1994:363), although, as I have shown, through the act of appropriation the meanings are changed. On the other hand, with regard to the powers that advocate the status quo of the tourism model, various political parties and mass media have used 'terrorist semantics' to generate an 'enabling fiction' media aimed at delegitimising the criticism, limit the terms of the political debate and support tourist expansion. This recourse to terror informs historical discursive recurrences of the exercise of power on the island, such as the archaicism of protesters<sup>18</sup> and the use of the pro-independence left as an entry vector for the discourse of terrorism as a strategy to criminalise this political environment, and also as a formula for contaminating other organisations - in the case reviewed here the neighbourhood organisations, ecologists and workers who led the protest movement against the current tourist model.

Having said that, with the article I have also tried to explore deeper levels of the island's social tourism process. While taking advantage of the metaphor of Milano (2018) on the 'touristification of social movements', I have reflected on the 'touristification' of the island's 'theatre of hegemony' as a historical reality that the expansion of a framework of tourism by dispossession has emphasised and that the second part of the graffiti ("tourist you are...") symbolises perfectly. A recent example, in this case in the seat of power, can be found in the boomerang effect of tourismophobia (Blanco-Romero et al., 2019), which has forced politicians and tourism employers to renounce this construct and embrace slogans like 'We Love Tourism',

since the formula will generate insecurity in the market and among tourists and will turn against them. A rebound that, in the field of counterpower, I have exposed in the article through the activists associated with terrorism with which they metaphorically challenged tourists to denounce daily exploitation. Power has turned the tide and, on 13 June 2022, twelve young people from Arran – wrongly identified through police files – will go to trial with a request for 29 years in prison for throwing confetti and lighting flares on the old wharf of Palma, accused by the state of doing what the state attributes to those it categorises as violent and as terrorists, public disorder (state disorder).

The two cases, and everything I have explained throughout the article, explain the dependence of tourism on the feedbacks and antagonisms that shape the framework of power in Mallorca today. Attending to this theatre of hegemony and attending to this theatre from hegemony allows us to connect the role of tourist exchange in the dialogic construction of the reality that Picard perceives in 'tourist cultures' and at the same time to overcome its static and reified approach to the conflicting relations between the structuring of power and the processes of cultural change in tourism contexts, since, after all, hegemony speaks of this very thing; that is, of the practice and the will to continuously reconstitute historical possibilities (Smith, 2007). It is not a question of integrating the study of social tourism in the framework of the class conflicts that are staged in the 'theatre of hegemony' in order to catalogue any action of the oppressed as an emancipatory practice, but to observe the extent to which counterpowers are able to transform 'the establishment of unstable equilibria' that Gramsci placed at the heart of class societies (Gledhill, 2000).

Finally, and returning to Palma, the passage of time has shown that neither the graffiti "tourist you are the terrorist" nor the other protests have threatened the stability of the domination based on exploitation and capitalist

## 18

Media strategy already palpable in 1977 during the campaign to occupy the island of sa Dragonera by libertarian groups and the environmental movement.

accumulation by the local owning classes, the global tourism industry and state institutions. All in all, the article shows how the 'touristification' of the various social movements opposed to the current economic model has forced the political and economic powers to negotiate hegemony through concessions – such as the institutional assumption of part of the discourse of degrowth, such as regulation – but also of coercions, such as tourismphobia or the association with terrorism. On this occasion – and without wishing that

E. P. Thompson would turn in his grave – the popular counter-theatre of plebeian culture has gone beyond reminding the moral duties of those it commands and has forced patrician culture to remodel the theatre of power, while opening cracks that have called into question the goodness of the "paternalism" with which the tourist industry is deployed on the island. No matter where you go, now it turns out that when the Mallorcan people go to the theatre they are no longer satisfied with the function of the island of calm... ■

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# Ethnological

research

232

**Global i local: patrimoni i producció de la localitat**  
Estudi de cas de la tradició artesanal de Catalunya

244

**Dimarts Sant a El Cerro del Águila (Sevilla)**  
Procés de construcció d'una imatge d'identificació intralocal

255

**Les arrels urbanes de l'agroecologia**  
Sobirania alimentària i nous imaginaris culturals: La Garbiana de Tarroja de Segarra, un cas exemplar

268

**«Que no et domini el fang»**  
Material i treball entre els canterers de Miravet

279

**Renovar la tradició**  
Una nova manera de presentar les exposicions de pessebres