
Porkin' Pig goes to Magaluf

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Abstract

This article discusses the symbolic role of pigs in the Mediterranean charter-tourist resort of Magaluf, Mallorca, based on periods of participant observation. The significance of pigs has been explored in relation to other cultures, notably Papua New Guinea, but work on the animal's importance in British culture is less well documented. Taking Baudrillard's concept of a system of objects, this article links the pig to other objects of material culture and demonstrates how the pig represents aspects of touristic identity and practice and can also be seen to speak for elements of British identity.

Keywords

Britishness, identity, Mallorca, pigs, tourists

Introduction

For nearly two weeks in January 1998, members of the international media, including British tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, carried a story about two pigs. On arrival at an abattoir in the English village of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, two of three Tamworth pigs brought for slaughter by their owner escaped as they were being unloaded from a van. The two pigs crossed a road, swam a river and then hid out in the village of Malmesbury for over a week. The attempts to capture the runaways were followed by press, helicopter and ground TV crews, and involved the local police and animal welfare organizations. The female, Butch, was captured first, followed soon after by the male, Sundance. During their time on the run, concern was expressed through the media that the pigs should be saved from the butcher's block; they had been so brave and so clever. The owner who had sent the pigs for slaughter was initially adamant that this should remain their fate, but later changed his mind. The 'Tamworth Two', as they became known, were bought for an undisclosed sum of money by the British tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mail* and sent to live in a luxury sty at an animal sanctuary in Kent (Figure 1). The third pig did not feature in the media coverage and was slaughtered.

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Figure 1. Butch and Sundance in their animal sanctuary, Kent. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.

The story does not end there. The tourist information office in the village of Malmesbury added the pigs to their list of tourist attractions. Setting up a ‘Trotter Trail’, a leaflet was produced that would enable visitors to trace the pigs’ escape route. The pigs had attracted admiration and become a focus of sentimentality. John Casey (1998), writing in *The Daily Mail*, set out to explain why this had happened. The basis of his argument rested on the idea that the desire for freedom has a universal appeal, but one that is of particular significance to the British. The Tamworth Two had shown initiative and cunning in their bid to escape death. In addition, they were another set of escapees in a long line stretching from Odysseus to Ronnie Biggs (an English criminal famous for his role in the 1963 ‘Great Train Robbery’; he escaped from prison in 1965 and spent 36 years in exile, having evaded capture). Casey goes on to conclude that, in their quest for freedom, the pigs were representations of ‘our national character’ and that this trait distinguishes ‘us’ from ‘our’ European neighbours.

Two months after the escape, a carving of one of the pigs was erected on the walls of Hereford Cathedral. A spokesperson for the cathedral explained that the pigs were 20th-century legends and that the carving would sit alongside depictions of more ancient luminaries already in the cathedral (Sengupta, 1998: 1). What Casey and the caretakers of Hereford Cathedral have done is to use the Tamworth Two as representations of intangible qualities: bravery, heroism, cunning and, for Casey by corollary, a national identity. The pigs were no longer just simply pigs. Finally, in 2003, the BBC screened a dramatization of the two pigs’ story entitled *The Legend of the Tamworth Two*, and the story was re-run with articles in the *Radio Times* (a magazine containing British TV programme listings) and a cover photo.

Based on an ethnography of British package tourists, involving a 9-month period (1998–1999) of participant and non-participant observation, followed by a shorter stay in 2009, this article picks up the trail by examining what happens when the pig takes a holiday. Set in the charter holiday resort of Magaluf on the Mediterranean island of Mallorca, I explore

the ubiquitous presence of pigs in the form of postcards, souvenirs, sex toys and food. I provide an interpretation of the symbolic significance of pigs in this context by examining their role in the British cultural landscape. I go on to suggest how pigs are representative of touristic practices in this holiday setting. I draw on a number of conversations with tourists conducted throughout my fieldwork to support my assertions. During these discussions, pigs were never the focus of attention. Rather, people were discussing their holiday motivations and experiences, sometimes prompted by me and at other times not.

I will begin by providing the ethnographic background to the study. I will then outline the theoretical context in which understandings of representations of pigs are situated. This section will also consider other work on pig symbolism. From here I will describe the manifestation of pigs in the resort. I will follow this by discussing the role of the pig in the home world. Finally, I will link the symbolic meaning of pigs to touristic practice and draw some conclusions.

Ethnographic context

Mallorca is situated off the east coast of the Iberian peninsula in the north-west Mediterranean. It is the largest of the Balearic Islands and tourism is the main source of income. Tourism began as an economic activity at the start of the 20th century and rapidly expanded in the 1950s and 1960s. By the middle of the 1970s, the islands were well established as mass tourism destinations, receiving 8 million annual visitors by 1995, 6 million of whom visited Mallorca (Bardolet, 1996). Statistics show a continued increase so that in 2005 the Balearics received in excess of 11 million tourists of whom over 8 million went to Mallorca.¹ Magaluf is one of seven coastal resorts in the municipality of Calvià, which is in the south-west of the island. The other resorts are: Illetes, Peguara, Portal Nous, Santa Ponça and Palmanova. The latter directly adjoins Magaluf and the boundary between the two is not always clear. There are also two inland historical towns, Calvià and Capdella.

Magaluf was one of the first resorts to witness tourism development, with two hotels in place by 1930 (Selwyn, 1996). Such has been Calvià's success with tourism that in 1996 the municipality was the richest in Spain and one of the richest in Europe (Selwyn, 1996). The Spanish National Institute of Statistics reported that in July 2008 Calvià was the lead municipality for bed occupancy out of the whole of Spain.² As far as possible the council has pursued a policy that separates residential facilities from tourist facilities. Thus, Magaluf is a place to serve tourists' needs in terms of accommodation, places to eat, shops, entertainment facilities, and so on. The majority of visitors to Magaluf are 'British', although I use the term with caution. It is a contentious issue since, as Kumar (2003) notes, it often subsumes other ethnic descriptors in the UK (English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh). Kumar argues that the use of the term 'British' points to 'England's hegemony over the rest of the British Isles' (p. 1). I fully recognize the complexity of the term 'British', but as O'Reilly (2000: 167) commented during her study of expatriates in southern Spain: 'I use British to apply to those English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish people who are identified, either through their actions or words, as British nationals.' In addition, I use the term as a form of shorthand. When involved in the practice of observation during ethnography, there are no physical differences between, for example, a Welsh and a Scottish visitor. Bearing this in mind, I use the term 'British' to refer to these tourists because of the physical geographical entity from which they hail, rather than the political construct.

The preponderance of British visitors serves to make the destination 'British' in character. As well as the sheer number of tourists who hail from the UK, there are other reasons why I suggest that the resort is British. Firstly, the majority of the tourists arrive as part of an organized holiday led by one of the UK's leading tour operators, for example First Choice or Thomsons, which also employ British workers as their representatives in the resorts. Such is the dominance of British operators that whole hotels are given over entirely to their custom. Secondly, the dominant language of communication is English, in part attributable to the sheer number of native English speakers present, which includes an expatriate community, many of whom are involved in the tourism industry, as well as seasonal British workers and, of course, the tourists. The use of English is demonstrated by the menus in café-bars, the broadcasting of British TV programmes ranging from BBC news bulletins, *EastEnders*, *Only Fools and Horses*, sporting fixtures and various stand-up comedians, including Roy Chubby Brown and Billy Connolly. Thirdly, the food and drink available caters to British tastes, with the provision and sale of imported British milk, bread, meat, breakfast cereals and beers. Drinks can be purchased in imperial measures and, in some cases, it is possible to purchase goods and services in sterling. The significance of imperial measures is derived from the fact that their replacement in the UK with metric measures has been seen, by some, as further encroachment on the sovereignty of the UK by the European Union.³

The role of imperial measures and pounds sterling as signals of Britishness form a part of 'banal nationalism'. The term was developed by Billig (1995: 6) to examine 'the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced'. He opines that nationalism, or ideas of the nation, are reproduced on a daily basis in 'a banal and mundane way' as they are part of everyday, usually unremarked upon, practices that inform a sense of self and identity.

As well as being 'British', I would also categorize the tourists visiting the two resorts as mainly white, heterosexual and working class. Very few tourists holiday alone; thus, the population is composed of friendship and kinship groups, the former often being single sex. During the winter low season, the number of Club 18–30-style holidaymakers drops off in favour of an older clientele.

Magaluf has a distinctive character in its reputation as a 'party' destination due to its numerous café-bars and nightclubs that attract youthful tourists in the style of Club 18–30. Part of its attraction lies in the idea of immediate alimentary and sexual satisfaction. In terms of the latter, its reputation is such that, according to one Swedish female bar worker in a pub in Magaluf, it has earned the resort the nickname of 'Shagaluf'. This reputation has also found its way into the British tabloid press, most notably *The Sun* newspaper, which reported on the destination's notoriety as a place for casual sexual encounters in 2003.⁴ At the same time, Magaluf is known for the often rowdy behaviour of highly inebriated revellers to the extent that some tourists staying in the neighbouring resort of Palmanova refer to those in Magaluf as 'animals'. In addition, tourists may make a conscious decision to stay in Palmanova for the relative quiet, knowing that, if they wish for something more lively or noisy, they are within easy walking distance of what Magaluf has to offer. For example, the owner of one set of holiday flats in Palmanova explains that he tells young tourists: 'You can make noise in Magaluf, but you must be quiet when you get back to the flats', and one young couple explain their rationale for staying in Palmanova as: 'We can be quiet, but if we want to we can go to Magaluf.'

The main road in Magaluf, Punta Balena, is dominated by numerous shops that sell a wide range of goods from souvenirs and postcards to clothes and jewellery. Many of the shops are packed tightly together, and the numerous stands exhibiting wares outside give an impression of variety and choice. Mixed in with these shops are the café-bars, night-clubs, amusement arcades and food outlets, including several that can be described as ‘fast food’, for example KFC and Burger King.

In addition to the nightlife that Magaluf offers, there are other activities for tourists, including sunbathing, riding a moped, paragliding, riding an inflated banana, or, if staying in a hotel, games and activities led by hotel entertainers. There are numerous tours and excursions organized by tour operator representatives (reps), which are also available through local travel agencies. These include, for example, tours to the east of the island to visit the underground caves, excursions to markets based in Inca and Andraitx, and general island tours to admire the scenery. In addition, there are organized trips to night-time entertainment venues both inside and outside the resorts, and bar crawls around Magaluf marshalled by tour reps.

Theoretical context

The theoretical lineage of this article is rooted in the work of Durkheim. Noting that ‘in order to express our own ideas to ourselves, it is necessary ... that we fix them upon material things which symbolise them’ (Durkheim, 1976[1915]: 228), objects come to mediate between the inner world of the individual and the outer world that he or she inhabits; as this internal world cannot be readily seen, it must be externalized (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Objects do not exist in isolation but acquire meaning in their relation to other objects and the attributes that people attach to them. As Baudrillard (1996) notes, in solitude an object has no depth of meaning; it is through attributing objects with value that they go beyond their functional form. Therefore, he argues, it is necessary to ask questions about what needs and structures are interwoven with, and may even contradict, the functional aspects of an object. Echoing Geertz’s (1973) assertion that a culture may be understood in terms of its structural signification, Baudrillard (1996) suggests that an object forms part of a coherent system of relationships between objects.

Theorizing questions of materiality, Miller (2005) argues that there is a need to consider the question of the material form of things as well as philosophical approaches to the relationship between the social agent as subject and object. In so doing, he claims that the process of objectification is important and he defines the role of such processes as how agency is given to people and things. Warning against the pitfalls of reification, Miller emphasizes the local specificities of consumption over the ‘given thing’, in short, he shows how processes of objectification create the subject in question in the first instance. Given these observations, whilst I am concerned primarily with the appearance of pigs as material objects in the form of souvenirs in the two holiday resorts and what they symbolize in the Durkheimian sense, I am also concerned with how these ideas are processed and become manifest in the embodiment and performances of touristic practice. I also contend, again drawing on Miller, that the presence of these pig objects forms part of the context of touristic practice in Magaluf and, as such, the objects in part ‘determine what takes place’ (p. 5).

The symbolic relationships of animals to understandings of the social world are well rooted in social anthropology. For example, in writing about the pangolin in Lele society,

Douglas (1975) notes that eating the animal is taboo for parents of multiple births because both animal and human are seen to occupy the same anomalous position within a classificatory schema. Another example exists in Tambiah's (1969) analysis of a Thai village in which the categorization of animals into 'edible' and 'taboo' served to reflect marriage rules as well as those related to the wider organization of the social world into village insiders and outsiders. Evans-Pritchard's (1940: 18–19) comments on the significance of cattle in Nuer society – 'I used sometimes to despair that I never discussed anything with the young men but livestock and girls, and even the subject of girls led inevitably to that of cattle' – are along the same lines. Archetti (1997) provides yet another example of the symbolic role of an animal. In his consideration of the guinea pig in Ecuador, he explores the relationship between what is eaten, from whence it is derived and its preparation as a meal. Archetti describes the way in which the keeping, circulating and cooking of guinea pigs, while not separate from material needs, articulates social relations in respect of status, occasion, service and reward.

All these instances emphasize the expression of ideas through objects and, by corollary, the meanings attributed to them; it is the primary purpose of this article to explore the symbolic meanings that pigs hold in the context of British holiday culture. However, it is also necessary to remember that the ideas derive from wider socio-cultural practices and power relations and so the symbolic meaning of the pig in Magaluf expressed in the material form of the souvenir and postcard relates to the immateriality of dreams and sensations that are given agency in the actions and dispositions of the tourists.

In terms of exploring souvenirs as objects that are symbolic of wider social relations and concerns, Hanefors and Selwyn (2000) examine the 'many voices' of another animal figure, that of the Swedish Dalecarlian horse. They note that it 'is an object which, in its taking on of multiple identities and meanings, serves the people of Sweden as a point of reference around which the issues of the day may be discussed' (p. 1). They further note that, through its many different appearances, the Dalecarlian horse is symbolic of either strength or weakness and that this in part reflects Swedish sentiments relating to Sweden's place and influence in an increasingly globalized world. In his thinking and theorizing about animals, Leach (1964: 51) makes a specific reference to pigs; he noted their ambiguous nature, claiming that until recently they were 'much more nearly a member of the household than any other edible animals' and that they, in fact, occupied an in-between space between house and garden/field, as they were kept just outside the kitchen door, or at least nearer to the house than other animals raised for slaughter.

Its ambiguous nature as being in-between house and field and its multi-vocal symbolic meaning also give the pig a liminal status that again accords well with understandings of what it means to be on holiday. In his seminal paper, 'Tourism: the sacred journey', Graburn (1989) developed the idea of the vacation as a rite of passage in line with work begun by Van Gennep (2004[1960]) and further developed by Turner (1969). Graburn argued for the liminal state of the tourist in the sense that, as in a sacred ceremony or ritual, the touristic experience is set apart from and seen as transcendent from everyday reality. He argues that, during this period of separation from the quotidian world, individuals are not fixed in socially structured positions but can enjoy moments of liminality, in which *communitas* is experienced. For Graburn (1989: 27), tourists emerge from the end of their holiday as different people; their transformation begins with

the act of going away when they 'are dying symbolically'; on return, they are new people who have 'gone through re-creation and, if [they] do not feel renewed, the whole point of tourism has been missed.'

For some time, explorations into the role of pigs in social and cultural life have attracted attention from social anthropology. For example, there are myths from South America as well as New Guinea about the relationship between pigs and people, claiming that the latter are derived from the former (e.g. Bulmer, 1967; Healey, 1985; Lévi-Strauss, 1964), and the importance of pig symbolism in Vanuatu has been explored by Rio (2007) and Miles (1997).

Miles (1997) notes that the pig has long held a deep-rooted symbolic importance for the people of the Vanuatu archipelago. Indeed, 'pig ownership conveyed status, wealth, and informal power. In a subsistence, cashless society, pigs were the sole medium by which social significance was measured' (p. 156). Miles acknowledges that increased contact with non-indigenous cultures impacted on the importance of traditional symbols, and the significance of pigs was reduced. However, in examining political relations in the islands, he found that pigs still held enough significance 'to the point of facilitating national reconciliation' (p. 156). Thus, whilst a symbol may recede in dominance or its functional aspect may be replaced by other forms of exchange, it is not entirely forgotten. He states that 'cultural valuation of an animal, in this case the pig, can evolve as a society undergoes socio-economic development' and that the symbol of the pig has an 'ancient and profound place in the cultural psyche of the Vanuatu people' (p. 156).

With specific reference to pigs and British culture, James (1993: 29) observes that 'the pig occupies a peculiar and perhaps unique position in cultural attitudes towards animals classed as edible. It allows us to satisfy physiological needs for food, but also to conceptualize particular sets of social relations in British culture.' James concentrates on the historical role of the 'house' or 'cottage' pig in rural communities. She explores the relationship between food and its social context. With regard to the rearing and slaughter of the cottage or house pig, she observes the animal's symbolic significance across Europe in terms of gendered divisions of labour, the dichotomy between nature and culture, and the relationship between kinship and wider social groups. Her work demonstrates that animals, in this case pigs, have had a long established role in the European imagination as representations of individual characteristics as well as social relations.

Although there has been a demise in the UK in the keeping of cottage pigs and the rituals surrounding their slaughter, to return to Miles's (1997) point, the symbolic significance of an animal may evolve over time and still remain in the psyche of peoples of a particular culture, even if the presence of the source of the symbol has diminished overall. Thus, although pigs in British society no longer occupy the importance they once held when the cottage pig was common, I will argue that they still occupy a profound place in the cultural psyche of the British, making them a potent symbol for understandings of self-identity and, in the context of the holiday, aspects of touristic behaviour. This article develops an understanding of the symbolic significance of pigs in a world that is more mobile than that described in James's (1993) work and examines what happens when the pig goes on holiday. The next section will explore the manifestation of pigs in Magaluf.

A plethora of pigs

This section considers the various ways in which pigs are manifest in Magaluf. For example, there is a plastic wind-up toy called *Porkin' Piggies* (Figure 2), a depiction of two copulating pigs. Other representations of pigs show the animals in the position of tourists sunbathing, sitting in deckchairs, or striking a pose. Mallorca often features as a caption (Figure 3).



Figure 2. Porkin' Piggies wind-up toy. © Photograph Les Roberts.



Figure 3. Pig magnets and ornaments, Mallorca. © Photograph Les Roberts.

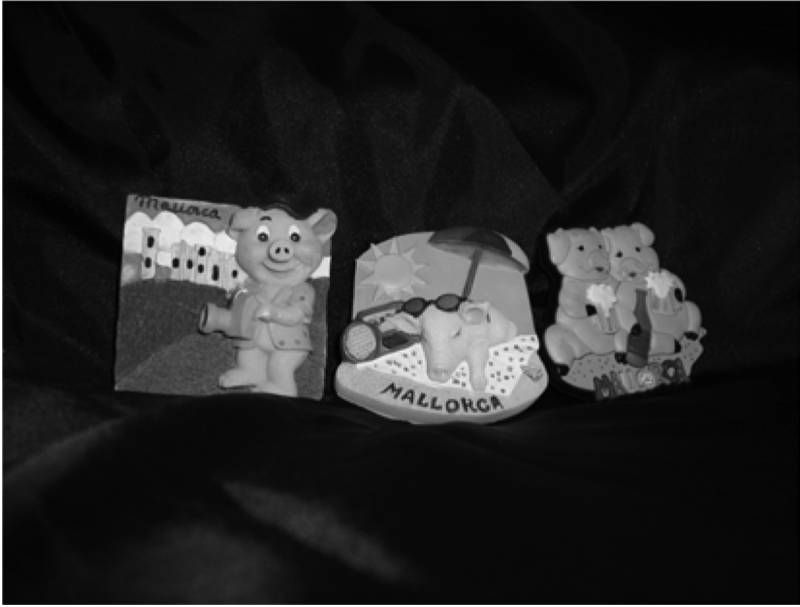


Figure 4. Pig magnets, 2009. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.

In addition to souvenirs in the form of fridge magnets, ornaments and sex toys there are numerous postcards that also feature pigs. For example, beneath the caption ‘I ♥ Mallorca’ three cartoon pigs lie on beach furniture sunning themselves. Another card shows a human couple enjoying a meal with wine. They are wearing pig masks. In another cartoon depiction of a pig, the animal is shown inside a thought bubble with the following wording underneath: ‘I can’t forget friends, not even during my holidays.’ Related to the caption of ‘You have to be a little piggy in this world ...!!’ (also rendered in German and Spanish) is a pig sleeping on its back, front legs (in place of arms) folded and with a contented smile on its face. In one postcard entitled ‘Lovingly Yours’, a pair of breasts have been altered to the faces of two pigs. The connection of pigs to the female breast, also another potent symbol in the landscape of Magaluf (Andrews, 2009a), will become apparent in the following discussion. The connection between the object of the pig and the object of the breast demonstrates that objects do not exist in isolation. Indeed, one object can carry more than one signification; similarly, one signification can be carried in more than one object. Other postcards feature pictures of real pigs with no captions. All the objects and images discussed so far were found during my earlier field visits. When I returned in 2009, I discovered some new fridge magnets (Figure 4), a new postcard image, eateries directly involving pigs (Figures 5 and 6) and, in one bar, a poster displaying a pig asleep in a hammock.

The pig makes a further appearance as the main constituent in the most popular meal eaten by the tourists – the fry-up (also known as English/British breakfast) – which forms another element of a network of objects. When walking around Magaluf, it is very difficult not to notice the abundant availability of this dish, which I define as consisting



Figure 5. Restaurant sign, Magaluf. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.



Figure 6. Signage on the Hog House Restaurant. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.



Figure 7. Café signage advertising ‘cooking like mum’s’. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.

principally of bacon, sausage, egg and variations of mushrooms, tomatoes, baked beans and fried bread (or even all these ingredients), with a drink of tea or coffee and sometimes served with toast on the side (on occasions accompanied by marmalade). Black pudding (a sausage made with blood) is also considered to be an ingredient but I saw no evidence of this on the menus encountered in Mallorca. The dish is often advertised with an image of a Union Jack, and in premises that are advertised as British-owned and/or with ‘cooking like mum’s’ (see Figures 7 and 8). In addition, advertisements will often proclaim the use of British bacon, sausages, milk and bread, as opposed to Spanish produce.

In the hotels, English breakfast is available in the dining room where all the ingredients are presented in large containers and people are left to serve themselves, creating their own version of breakfast. It is no longer available once the dining room has closed for the morning. In the café-bars, breakfast is cooked to order from the menu and brought to the table. Some café-bars will only serve breakfast until midday and thereafter not at all or at extra cost. Others will serve it all day as long as the kitchen is open. It is usually quite cheap, starting from about £2.70 (2009 prices). It is not the only ‘British’ food; other examples are roast beef and Yorkshire pudding, fish and chips, and strawberries and cream. However, as well as being the most popular, it is the most abundant of ‘British’ foods available.

Geertz (1973: 128) points out that symbols only have meaning within the context in which they exist: ‘the power of the symbol, analysed or not, clearly rests on its comprehensiveness.’ As such, it is necessary to understand how people define and come to terms with their lived experience, and what values and beliefs are attached to the symbols that express this experience. In order to give an interpretation of the symbolic role of pigs in Magaluf, it is necessary to understand the meanings that tourists bring with them.



Figure 8. Advert for breakfast depicting the Union Jack. © Photograph Hazel Andrews.

Placing the pig

If we accept that pigs have symbolic significance, in order to understand what place they have in the tourist resort of Magaluf, we must first understand what place they have in the language of the home world. This is because, as Urbain (1989) notes, the images of a tourist destination appeal to the imagination of the tourist rather than speaking directly of or for the other. In addition, although tourism has been described as a search for difference (Urry, 2002), otherness and authenticity (MacCannell, 1976), as Cohen (1985) points out, recreational tourism (which among his classification of tourists is the most apt category for those visiting Magaluf) ‘permits a playful outlet to modern man’s longing for Reality, without endowing the object of his longing with ontological substance and thus threatening the modern, secular world view’ (p. 300). In other words, tourists’ experiences facilitate an expression of self and desire normally held in check (Andrews, 2009b).

The *Chambers English Dictionary* defines pigs as ‘any mammal of the family suidae, omnivorous ungulates with thick, bristly skin’, and we probably associate their presence with farms. In terms of their being an object carrying symbolic significance, associations of greed, gluttony and laziness readily come to mind. To refer to someone as ‘pig-ignorant’ is to emphasize their ignorance, particularly of social niceties (Beale, 1984). Products derived from pigs have been used as a term of abuse. Shakespeare’s character Falstaff (*Henry IV, Part 1*) refers to an enemy as a ‘bacon-fed knave’, meaning that the person is fat and greasy. As a term of abuse, ‘pig’ stills holds currency in its colloquial use for the British police and, according to James (1993), the general public. Indeed, James makes the point that:

porcine metaphors and references abound in the English language. Many of these are derogatory – to make a pig’s ear of something, to buy a pig in a poke, to pig oneself, to eat like a pig, to be

pig sick or pig headed, to be like pigs in shit and to pig it, that is to be slovenly ... and the term swine is far from an endearment. 'If pigs could fly', we say, then all would be well for you 'can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear'. The phrase a 'nice bit of crackling' is used by men in the North as a chauvinistic description of a sexually attractive woman. (p. 46)

How produce from a pig is cooked is also important, particularly in the context of the tourist resorts and the related availability of the fry-up. The process of boiling has been described by Lévi-Strauss (1997) as 'plebeian' because it requires mediation and does not allow the waste of the meat's juices, which he associates with roasting. In a similar way, frying also requires mediation as it needs oil and a pan to cook the food. The description of boiling as 'plebeian' if applied to frying, which Priestland (1972) describes as being at the bottom of the social ladder, places fried food within the realms of the 'working classes' and therefore acts as a method of class distinction. However, the history of the breakfast shows that its contents have gone from being seen as 'working class' fare to forming some of the content of the diet of the rich (Drummond and Wilbraham, 1958). At one time, fresh meat was considered a luxury, and the availability of pig produce to the poor was related to the fact that 'each cottage kept a pig' (p. 281), even though, in the 1800s, pig keeping was also a marker of social standing (Malcolmson and Mastoris, 1998). In the absence of pig meat, a meal would often start with boiled fruit or a pudding that would help to partially satisfy the appetite and make the lack of meat less noticeable. Once pig meat was available, there was no need to supplement the diet in this way (Drummond and Wilbraham, 1958). Pigs were therefore symbolic of good times associated with plenty and great satisfaction in that their produce could be enjoyed without supplementing the meal with anything else.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the keeping of a cottage pig had largely declined as a result of urbanization and changes in working habits (Malcolmson and Mastoris, 1998). It is not relevant, therefore, to suggest that the consumption of pork while on holiday can be linked to the pig feast days of the killing of the cottage pig, although the idea of feasting itself cannot be ignored. Rather, it is to suggest that the significance of pig eating, perhaps for different reasons, has not diminished and that pigs still occupy a deeply symbolic role in the British home world. The symbolic role of pigs is complex and contradictory, occupying both a 'positive' and 'negative' position (James, 1993). I now turn to the positive associations.

The positive pig (or the pig as hero/ine)

As noted, there are numerous maxims and sayings in the English language related to pigs. Some of them have negative associations; others, which include, for example 'bringing home the bacon' or 'saving one's bacon', are more positive. Likewise there are numerous fairy tales, nursery rhymes and other works of fiction that involve pigs – the Three Little Pigs; Pinky and Perky; This Little Piggy Goes to Market; Porky Pig; Little Pig Robinson (Potter, 1987); and Wilbur the Pig in EB White's (1969[1952]) children's story, *Charlotte's Web*.

In Anglo-Saxon times, the pig was the chief article for sale and therefore one of the main items or animals of investment. The idea of the pig as investment has remained in the more contemporary form of the piggy bank. Advertisements connected to banking

often feature a pig. A British high-street bank, the National Westminster Bank (now NatWest), has twice run a campaign for children's savings accounts featuring the offer of anthropomorphized ceramic piggy banks as collectors' items. The most recent initiative invited the prospective saver to 'Meet Cousin Wesley'. A 1999 billboard advertisement by another British high street bank, Barclays, depicted a pink piggy bank with the caption 'Savings to suit you', and a feature in *The Sunday Times* (21 March 1999) carried a cartoon representation of a large pig with a narrative that began 'Bring home the bacon'. The use of pigs in this vein does not stop there. In 2007, NatWest ran another advertising campaign for savings accounts, which featured two piggy banks, one in gold and the other pink, both smiling happily. Then, in May 2009, Barclays Bank had a TV and cinema campaign also aimed at savers, showing a woman chasing small porcelain pigs around her garden indicating the difficulty of knowing what to do with one's savings. The concluding advice is that she should use a Barclays product.

Along with Cousin Wesley, one of the most positive pig characters in the past 20 years or so is that of Babe in the films *Babe* (1995, dir. Chris Noonan) and *Babe: Pig in the City* (1998, dir. George Miller). The former is based on Dick King-Smith's (1983) book *The Sheep-Pig*. The latter is the sequel to the first film. In both cases, Babe is presented as an innocent who pulls through to win the day. On both occasions, he acts much like a saviour – saving face, saving lives and saving a farm. In one of the scenes from *Babe: Pig in the City*, Babe is depicted as a Christ-like figure when he feeds a multitude of animals from one jar of jellybeans. The idea of the heroic pig links back to the true story of the Tamworth Two, one of which has eventually been commemorated in its sculpture on Hereford Cathedral. The deification gives the pig a religious status and this connotation is further evident in relation to the fry-up. In February 2002, the meat company Walls advertised its sausages and bacon on huge billboards around London, one advert showing some cooked sausages and bacon carrying the wording: 'Sunday Morning Worship'. Here, the connection to some kind of special feast day and honouring of a particular food is obvious. It further demonstrates (although clearly it is a promotional drive by Walls) that pig meat occupies a special place in the symbolic world of some British people – those who are non-pork or non-meat eaters are excluded. However, it acts as a binding mechanism for those who are included in that it feeds into the imagination of a shared experience in much the same way as Anderson (1991) describes nationalist sentiment based on an 'imagined community'. In this respect, the symbolic significance of the pig relates back to ideas explored by Casey (1998) in *The Daily Mail* and is linked to notions of national identity.

We might also consider the character of Homer Simpson from the cartoon *The Simpsons* (created by Matt Groening). Homer is depicted as stupid, lazy and greedy, in short, a fairly dysfunctional person (although in his defence he is happily married, a homeowner, raises three children and holds down a job). Homer is often dreaming of pork chops, which appear to be his favourite food. The significance of Homer's love of the consumption of pork chops relates to Barthes' (1993: 62) assertion that 'whoever partakes of it [in this case: steak] assimilates a bull-like strength.' By corollary, whoever partakes of pork (bacon, sausages, chops, etc.) assimilates pig-like qualities. In addition, in the full-length feature movie *The Simpsons* (2007, dir. David Silverman) the difficulties encountered by Homer's home town of Springfield, and the Simpson family, in particular, stem from Homer's anthropomorphism and rescue of a pig destined for slaughter.

The pig takes on the guise of Harry Potter (becoming Harry Trotter) and later adopts the role of hero as Spider Pig (a reflection of the Marvel Comic hero Spider Man). Such an anthropomorphization is not an unfamiliar theme. For example, Orwell (1945: 104) chose pigs as protagonists in *Animal Farm*:

Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike... The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.

Porkin' Pig goes to Magaluf

Given that the consumption of pigs is important in Magaluf, either in the form of the literal ingestion of them as food products, or their metaphorical consumption in terms of their representation in the form of the objects described previously, I begin with the fry-up. The importance of this dish to British holiday-makers has been noted by Williams (1997). The ability to find a fry-up was an important factor in the choice of holiday destination for some tourists. For example, Dave, a tourist from Dundee, explains:

I like somewhere commercial. I've been to Tenerife and Torremolinos ... they are all the same, really. When you come to Spain you know what you are getting. I like to come to a place where I know I'll be able to get a fried breakfast.

Here, Dave is demonstrating that his liking of a place is linked to the food that he can eat there and that this will contribute to his experience of place. He likes to be able to consume and engage with a commercial milieu, commenting that he would not like to go to India because it is too underdeveloped, but that he had been to Los Angeles and Las Vegas and had particularly liked the latter.

However, it is not just the act of being able to purchase and consume this particular breakfast, but the origin and thus taste of its ingredients are also important, in particular the way in which they invite reflection on the relationship between self and other. An understanding of the self as self, and as distinct from the other, requires comprehension of where that difference lies. In the case of the fry-up, it occurs in the contents of the dish, when the ingredients are not British, and in the way in which it is cooked. One woman tells me: 'the food in the hotel is very good.' She comments on the variety available and says that if people are dissatisfied, 'I don't think you could be pleased, but the only thing is they [the Spanish hotel staff] don't know how to cook bacon [and] sometimes they have ham instead, which is not the same.' Douglas, who is staying in a different hotel, grumbles that the breakfast is not very good, 'the toast is lacking in texture, and the bacon and sausages are not like the English versions. The sausages are like the ones in hot dogs.' He also complains that the eggs are not very nice because they have been sitting in the trays for too long. The desire for produce from home is in contrast to the rejection of the food of the other. Another example comes from a hotel that provided themed food nights and would offer Mallorcan sausage – *sobrassada* – as a starter. 'Traditional' Mallorcan pigs from which the 'traditional' *sobrassada* are made are black and not pink as in tourism imagery. One of the hotel managers commented that 'the British tourists just look at the sausage and walk straight past it.' Kuper (1997: x) comments: 'Cooking and eating

can be a way of travelling to foreign countries.’ This suggests that consumption practices are a way of experiencing the other, of tasting and ingesting the essence of other places and peoples. However, in Magaluf, whilst the travel is to another country, the food (and drink) consumed are a way of remaining at home and of keeping the other at bay.

The presence of familiar food provides a feeling of security and safety in a world that is often painted, by the tour operator reps, as unfamiliar and dangerous. Tourists are advised, for example, that the local water is to be avoided and that local transport is risky. The idea of comfort has been alluded to in connection with the fry-up. After a heavy night’s drinking, if it is possible to stomach food, a full breakfast can be very satisfying. There is an urban myth that the contents of the meal are a good hangover cure, probably due to the fat content soothing the lining of the stomach. In addition, bacon is said to be a good source of iron. The idea of soothing one’s innards is also related to comfort. In relation to the body, a fat body with folds of flesh to nestle into is more comforting than a thin, hard, bony one. Thus, to be fat or to indulge in fattening foods becomes a marker of the holiday by easing the stresses of the home world that tourists speak of taking a break from. The calming elements of the holiday become literally embodied.

The holiday is often discussed in terms of re-energizing or re-charging the batteries, as in the words of one male tourist, ‘it sets me up for the year.’ Here is the idea of storage of some form of self-investment that enables the person to encounter the cold winter months and survive. This links closely to the ideas of pigs as a form of investment. The idea that future survival is stored in the nourishing and care of the cottage pig whose ultimate food products see the keeper (and family) through the winter is also echoed in the close connection between pigs and banking. The piggy bank is used to save money and build up reserves in order to counter the potential negative effects of some future hardship or in order to achieve a specific purchasing goal. The piggy bank, the cottage pig and the holiday all have associations of reaping a future benefit.

Links to concepts of future benefits and the avoidance of hardship speak of the need or desire for comfort. The presence of the pig as a source of comfort is depicted in the postcard that shows two female breasts as the faces/heads of pigs. Here the pig forms part of a network of objects that have meaning and in which the breast is of huge significance. Like pigs, female breasts are ubiquitous in Magaluf. Again, they appear on postcards, as souvenir objects, on cooking aprons and in the flesh, both on the beach and as part of night-time entertainment in a mantra-like call of ‘get your tits out for the boys’ (Andrews, 2009a). The breast, again like the pig, is a polysemic symbol linked to ideas of nourishment, consumption, the mother, comfort, nation, freedom, and so on. In addition, in the context of Magaluf, it is an object for male titillation and consumption and contributes to the definition of the space of the resort as a place defined by a ‘normative’ gendered framework premised on heterosexual relationships (Andrews, 2009a). Of particular significance is the role of the breast in the idea of suckling the nation. The breast is directly linked to consumption and nourishment; as a provider of milk (itself another potent symbol) it speaks of social relationships and kinship ties. For example, Khatib-Chahidi (1992) notes that, under Islamic law, people are related by blood, marriage and milk.

That the breast, and by association milk, appears so much in Magaluf is indicative of the holiday as being about relationships, both in the creation of new encounters and opportunities to build upon existing familial and friendship connections. In addition, it is also

suggestive of a unifying force among tourists in the form of a shared national identity, and the breast is a reminder of the values of home: love, intimacy and nurturing. Milk given as a child's first food infantilizes the tourists; as such, they are the children of the nation. The breasts depicted in the postcards, including the one that shows breasts as pigs, are almost always available and ready for sucking. Thus, the breast and its milk signal the immediate satisfaction of needs, desires and wants that exist at a most basic level.

The notion of consumption and what it signals in relation to pigs and holidays also finds currency in the associations of gluttony. Certainly, those tourists who participate in the bar crawls led by tour reps are encouraged to drink to excess, with drinking games, punishments (that involve drinking more) for not following rules, and descriptions such as 'Welcome to the bar crawl from hell. Our aim is to make you as shit-faced as possible. This is the bar crawl from hell.' The notion of greed and over-indulgence is not just restricted to drinking or Club 18–30-style holidaymakers. Linda, a middle-aged tourist from Aberdeen, commented about the food in her hotel: 'It's very good ... you have to stop yourself or you become a bit of a pig.' Roger, from the Midlands, also middle-aged, describing a trip that included tasting locally produced food and drink commented: 'I made a bit of a pig of meself.'

However, this idea of greed and gluttony is not entirely 'negative'. In many respects, the tourists are 'bringing home the bacon', the reward for having saved all year for their holiday, during which time they can wallow in self-indulgence and laze around. Therefore, the idea of not having to work, in terms of paid employment, or in many cases at household chores – as one woman explained: 'I haven't missed doing the dishes and cooking' – is a feature of being on holiday. Lounging around in the sun rather than being involved in domestic work can be associated with pig-like attributes as many of the objects depicted in this article demonstrate.

The idea of being transformed links back again to the notion of the cooked pig. The butchering and cooking of pigs are the processes through which they are transformed into food products. During the vacation rite of passage, many of the tourists undergo a form of cooking in the act of sunbathing, in which they allow themselves to be cooked in the sun. Many, with little regard for health issues (in a discussion with two male tourists one commented, 'it doesn't do you any harm'; and in another conversation, another female tourist advised, 'you do feel healthier', to which her husband responded, 'yes, you do look healthier'), lie all day and everyday in the sun – an activity that does not go without comment by other tourists. The association with being cooked is present in the language used – 'to frizzle', 'fry', 'bake' – and is also found in connected symbols, for example, the postcard of a sunbathing male that shows a fried egg on his back. He is the bacon or sausage in the fry-up. In addition, I am informed by one member of the expatriate community that he uses ordinary cooking oil when he sunbathes as he believes that this will maximize his acquisition of a tan. That sunbathing can be understood in terms of cooking is also related to a health campaign by the Health Education Authority, which in the late 1990s sought to draw attention to the harmful effects of sunbathing by means of a campaign using images that showed people in sunbathing mode but situated within the cooking of a meal. For example, one image was of a red-bodied man and woman in a frying pan next to sausage, egg and bacon, under the caption 'frying tonight'.

The title of this section, like that of the article as a whole, is taken from a plastic wind-up toy called *Porkin' Piggies*, referred to previously, showing the pigs having sexual intercourse. As already noted, Magaluf has a nickname – *Shagaluf* – based on the resort's reputation as a party destination, in which part of the *raison d'être* is to indulge in sexual relations that are fleeting and casual. Depicting this activity between pigs brings into focus the dissociation from culture of the activities of some of the tourists who are referred to by their peers as animals. Pigs indulge themselves with free licence, fulfilling their sexual needs at will. They are not bound by the rituals of intimate societal relationships (e.g. courtship, engagement, marriage) that are related to knowing and longevity – regardless of how successful or not these may be.

Conclusion

This article has traced the symbolic significance of a group of objects featuring pigs in the charter-tourist resort of Magaluf. It discusses why the pig is present in such abundance in the resort and links it through a network of symbols to other representations – meals, breasts, flags – to explore what is being said about the touristic experience and aspects of identity.

The ambivalent nature of the pig also parallels a mind–body dualism and therefore the culture–nature schism by which that dualism is often expressed. As Soper (1995: 90–91) notes:

A good part of our attitudes to animals is at the service of a policing exercise that preserves the 'human' from the 'natural' by identifying it with the mental and spiritualistic. That which is distinctly human is defined by exclusion of the carnal (more 'bestial') dimension, this being conceived as a 'lower' aspect or region.

Thus the pig and its produce are connected with the idea that the body in the context of tourism discussed here is central to the tourist experience. The pig, identified as 'natural', highlights the 'bestial' elements identified by some tourists as associated with some of the behaviour of their fellow holidaymakers. The 'lower' aspect of human behaviour that Soper identifies (p. 92) also links the eating of pigs to carnival behaviour in which the establishment is challenged. In carnival, baseness becomes prominent and much of this baseness is concerned with the body and bodily produce. As Bakhtin (1984: 19) suggests, 'the essential principle of grotesque realism is degradation, that is the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract.' It is therefore apposite that the inside becomes the outside and that the sausage appears regularly on the tourists' plate. The pig ornament souvenirs, postcards and connected objects symbolize ideas relating to touristic practice. It is through this practice that the process of the pig's symbolic role is re-made and the dynamic between the material and immaterial is made manifest.

Notes

1. <http://www.mallorcaweb.co/news/2006/01tourism-balearic-islands-2005>, accessed October 2008.
2. <http://www.euroweeklynews.com/news/10888.html>, accessed October 2008.
3. <http://www.metricmartyrs.co.uk/>, accessed November 2010.
4. <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/features/life/article162963.ece>, accessed November 2010.

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