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The value of Post-Industrial heritage: Exploring alternative preservation strategies in Poblenou.

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Poblenou Landscape ,Source: the author, 2016

To Hugo and Inés, who remind me every day of the meaning of true value in my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAVC: Association of Visual Artists of Catalonia

AHD: Authorised Heritage Discourse

ACHS: Association of Critical Heritage Studies

BC: *Barcelona en Comù* (in Catalan) [Barcelona in Common]

BN: Biblioteca Nacional (in Spanish) [Spanish National Library]

CBA: Council for British Archaeology

CNT: Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (in Spanish) [Anarchist Workers' Union]

DATAR*:* Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale (in French) [Delegation for the Management of the Territory and for the Regional Action]

EL: Everyday Life

EMUVE: European Mediterranean Urban Voids Ecology

ETSAB: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona (in Spanish) [School of Architecture of Barcelona]

ETSAG: Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Granada (in Spanish) [School of Architecture of Granada]

EV: Essential Values

FAI: Federación Anarquista Ibérica (in Spanish) [Iberian Anarchist Federation]

GATCPAC: Grupo de Arquitectos y Técnicos Catalanes para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea (in Spanish) [Group of Catalan Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture]

GCI: Getty Conservation Institute

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GSD: Graduate School of Design

HW: Heritage Workers

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

ICO: Instituto de Credito Oficial (in Spanish) [Official Credit Institute]

IV: Instrumental Value

MACBA: Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona

MUHBA: Museum of Urban History of Barcelona

NP: Nodal Point

OUV: Outstanding Universal Value

P/CE: People Conservation Expertise

PGM: Plan General Metropolitano (in Spanish) [Metropolitan Master Plan]

QV: Qualifiers of Value

TICCIH: The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage

TOP: Tallers Oberts del Poblenou (in Catalan) [Open Workshops of Poblenou]

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UB: Universitat de Barcelona (in Catalan) [University of Barcelona]

UPC: Universidad Politécnica de Cataluña (In Spanish) [Polytechnic University of Catalonia]

VOSA: Vila Olímpica, S.A.

WHC: World Heritage Convention

WHL: World Heritage List

WWI: World War I

WWII: World War II

SUMMARY

The increasing recognition of the social dimension of heritage in the late 1970s led to a more democratic and theoretically extended understanding of this concept and the range of values it encompasses. However, this shift resulted in a crisis in terms of the modes of conservation practices and policies, opening the gates for capital forces to manipulate urban legacies and the citizens' right to it.

This PhD aims to find principles for better addressing the issue of value in the context of post-industrial heritage preservation within the city. My arguments stem from the premise that all values are not fixed, nor intrinsic to the materiality of historic buildings and urban fabrics, but rather in constant flux. In this regard, this investigation considers three key, though intertwined, aspects of heritage identification and value. Firstly, it examines how values are constructed in a continuously unfolding present. Secondly, it looks at their social construction. Thirdly, it explores how heritage values are political and contested. It also embraces the idea that heritage accommodates a diversity of lived experiences that shape these values.

Building on debates in the field of critical heritage studies and employing mixed research methods, this investigation delves into the processes of valuing associated with the significance of post-industrial heritage. Furthermore, it seeks to understand their architectural and urban implications.

The research focuses on Poblenou, the most industrialised area of Spain during the 19th and 20th centuries, and a paradigmatic example of new ways of understanding the value of post-industrial heritage by different community groups. By focusing on valuing practices and their spatial implications, this thesis diverges from studies that primarily focus on mapping recognised forms of heritage by various stakeholders (see, for example, Avrami, 2019; Bandarin, 2016).

The conclusions of this investigation highlight issues related to tangibility, politics and social action, and cultural practices from a multi-scalar approach.

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This thesis depicts a journey, during which I have visited various places, gathered experiences, and met incredible people who have left a lasting impact on the reflections in this document.

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Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Federico, my partner in life. Without his constant support, none of this, and many other wonderful things, would have been possible.

Figure 0.0: Industry of Poblenou converted into a hotel.
Source: the author, 2016.

INTRODUCTION

'They decided to preserve the chimneys as symbols and precious relics of our industrial past, but when I walk around, I am unable to recognise any of them, and I feel completely disoriented—in the place where I have spent nearly 55 years working'

Macosa Factory ex-worker, 2016[1]

0.1. The emergence of Post-Industrial Heritage as a concept

Deindustrialisation commenced in Western countries during the latter half of the 20th century. In Europe, this process was initiated in the northern and central European countries during the 1970s, encompassing the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, and subsequently extended to southern nations like Spain, Greece, and Italy in the early 1980s. The changes to the structural economic model brought about by this process have caused profound damage upon urban landscapes and working-class communities, which was further exacerbated in the first decade of the 21st century by the 2006 global economic crisis. Consequently, there has been a notable increase in the number of abandoned places in post-industrial urban areas, which were previously regarded as peripheral districts. These 'voids'[2] encompass a substantial amount of architectural heritage, including disused industrial buildings and sites resulting from a lack of public investment. For instance, the allocated budget for heritage conservation from the Central Government budget in Spain experienced a significant decline of 67% between 2009 and 2016, as reported by the Ministry of Finance in Spain (2009, 2016).

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[1] Extract from a semi-structured interview to a Macosa factory ex-worker within the frame of the seminar '*Decidim Barcelona*' [We Decide Barcelona], held at Palo Alto Cultural Center in Poblenou, Barcelona. (Interviewed by Melina Guirnaldos. 10 March 2016, Barcelona)

[2] The use of the term 'void' in this research is based on Solà-Morales' description of a *terrain vague* (urban void): 'In these apparently forgotten places, the memory of the past seems to predominate over the present. Here only a few residual values survive, despite the total disaffection from the activity of the city. These strange places exist outside the city's effective circuits and productive structures […]' (Solà-Morales, 1995, p.120)

Post-industrial heritage often exists in a liminal space, at the intersection where the city's rapid development confronts areas deemed marginalized or obsolete. These neglected areas, referred to as 'Drosscapes' by Berger (2006), are the unintended consequences of capitalist urban expansion and are at risk of forming part of what Koolhaas (1995) calls 'generic cities.' These cities emerge from the remnants of the city's original character, which has gradually eroded over time. Koolhaas describes the ‘generic city’ as fractal, characterized by the repetitive use of simplistic and decontextualized architectural elements. This concept arises from a ‘tabula rasa’ approach: 'If there was nothing, now they are present; if there was something, it has been replaced' (Koolhaas, 1995a, p.1253). As a result, the past is often ignored or, at best, reshaped into a new spatial narrative that lacks a comprehensive understanding of historical context.

Numerous scholars, such as Ashworth et al. (2007), Simpson et al. (2011), and González Martínez (2016), have examined the idea that built heritage is often treated as a consumer product in a time of global exchange, resulting in the homogenization of cities. As Lowenthal (1996, p.7) suggests, since the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, coinciding with the rise of post-industrial economies and new forms of late-modern capitalism, global heritage authorities like UNESCO, alongside local organizations, have put more emphasis on the past and its significance to the present. This shift has led to a greater institutional recognition of various elements, such as sites, buildings, culinary traditions, and even some areas on the moon, as heritage that should be protected, and, concurrently, commercially exploited. Paradoxically, in their search for uniqueness, heritage cities have commodified their past, presenting them as curated tourist attractions, only to find themselves becoming indistinguishable from other heritage cities, both nationally and internationally (Figures 0.1, 0.2). Gaining a profound understanding of the role of heritage in the economy is crucial for understanding its value. According to Graham et al. (2000, pp.156-157), there are three main ways to characterize the relationship between heritage and the urban economy. Firstly, heritage itself is an economic activity, functioning as an industry that derives financial profit through the commodification of historical structures. Secondly, heritage places are considered venues for economic activities and are evaluated based on their ability to attract,

host, or discourage economic functions. Lastly, heritage plays a key role in creating and promoting the image of a place, primarily for economic purposes.

Figure 0.1. The red bus in Barcelona. Available at: https://barcelona.city-tour.com (Accessed: 17 December 2016)

Figure 0.1. The red bus in Cardiff. Available at: https://city-sightseeing.com (Accessed: 17 December 2016)

The pressure to promote a specific image of the city has had severe consequences. The growth of the heritage industry, primarily catering to tourists, often oversimplifies the essence of a place or, in more extreme cases, leads to its complete obliteration. Furthermore, the selective preservation of urban heritage elements that align with a marketable image poses a threat to the survival of those who do not meet this criterion, thus endangering local

communities and their everyday activities. As a response to the threats posed by real estate development and capital forces to historical areas, UNESCO introduced its 'Recommendations on the Historic Urban Landscape'[3] in 2011. This initiative aimed to raise awareness regarding the importance of incorporating the values attributed by residents to their urban heritage into urban planning and conservation practices. However, since these recommendations are merely advisory and there remains an ongoing lack of consensus on what defines 'historic' in various national and international contexts, their impact on urban policies, especially at the local level, has been minimal (Rodwell, 2018, pp.192, 193, 202).

Today, the inherent potential of post-industrial heritage for landscape regeneration and reactivation is increasingly recognized. However, the "Industrial Heritage in Europe" study conducted by the European Council in 2013 revealed that this type of heritage is at a higher risk compared to other forms of built heritage. Only 4.5% of sites and buildings on UNESCO's World Heritage List are associated with the industrial era, and those are primarily located in rural areas where the pressures of urban development are significantly lower (Dervoz, 2013, pp.1, 7, 12). Given this context, it is crucial to develop new perspectives on post-industrial heritage to ensure its preservation and counteract the trend towards homogenisation of the urban landscape, which has been prominent in Western countries for the past thirty years.

0.2. Why is post-industrial heritage at risk?

The debates on the value of heritage are both broad and nuanced. The same is true with post-industrial heritage, yet much of this type of heritage is at risk, as demonstrated in the previous section. A pivotal moment in the recognition and preservation of such heritage came in 1959, when the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) hosted the inaugural national conference on Industrial Archaeology. This event catalysed a movement towards the protection and acknowledgement of post-industrial heritage. Following this, in 1960, the United Kingdom's

[3] Within these recommendations, the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) is defined as '[…] the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting […]' (UNESCO, 2011)

Department of the Environment took a significant step by launching a program to identify and list key sites and buildings emblematic of the country's industrial past. However, it was determined that the responsibility for the conservation of industrial sites would not fall to the state but would be championed by the voluntary sector instead. Consequently, the late 1960s saw preservation efforts for post-industrial heritage predominantly driven by community groups and local organizations. (Cossons, 2011, pp.5, 6)

Nevertheless, over the last two decades, the field of post-industrial heritage conservation has undergone significant evolution, transitioning towards a more formalised framework underscored by the 'Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage'[4] and, more influentially, the 'Dublin Principles'[5]. Particularly, the latter has been instrumental in redefining the global strategy for safeguarding post-industrial heritage. Adopted in 2003 by The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), the 'Nizhny Tagil Charter' focuses on conserving the tangible aspects of industrial heritage. Meanwhile, the 'Dublin Principles', a result of the collaborative efforts between the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and TICCIH, propose a holistic approach that weaves in social, economic, and environmental perspectives. This framework aims to comprehensively address the conservation needs of post-industrial heritage. As articulated in the preamble of the 'Dublin Principles' (2011), the definition of industrial heritage is broad:

'[…] *sites, structures, complexes, areas, and landscapes as well as the related machinery, objects, or documents that provide evidence of past or ongoing industrial processes of production, the extraction of raw materials, their transformation into goods, and the related energy and transport infrastructures* […]*'.* (The Dublin Principles, 2011 p.3)

[4] The 'Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage' was adopted by the delegates at the triennial National Assembly of The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), convened in Moscow on 17 July 2003.

[5] 'The Dublin Principles' were formally endorsed at the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly on November 28, 2011.

The 'Dublin Principles' thoroughly explore the concept of industrial heritage, advocating for an in-depth exploration of its historical, technological, and socio-economic aspects, as well as the labour and expertise involved in various industrial processes.

They emphasise the strong connection between post-industrial heritage and its surrounding environments, buildings, documentary evidence, and human stories. The Principles also highlight the significant social value of this heritage and its vital role in the identities of workers and communities. Furthermore, by promoting innovative approaches to the use of post-industrial sites, the Principles underscore their potential to drive both the physical and functional regeneration of their settings. In this regard, the preamble of the document states:

'By extending the life-cycle of existing structures and their embodied energy, the conservation of built industrial heritage can aid in achieving sustainable development goals at the local, national, and international levels. This encompasses social, physical, and environmental development facets and warrants recognition accordingly'. (The Dublin Principles, 2011,p.5)

Since the introduction of the 'Nizhny Tagil Charter' and 'The Dublin Principles', post-industrial heritage has become a focal point of scholarly investigation from various perspectives. Despite this increased academic interest, there is still a significant knowledge gap regarding the relationship between the inheritance of industrial legacy, its societal perception, and the practices used in its preservation, particularly in urban areas. 'The Dublin Principles' emphasize a growing global and local interest in post-industrial heritage, but they also acknowledge the vulnerability of this heritage category, as well as a notable lack of awareness, documentation, recognition, and protection efforts. While some scholars criticise the inefficiency of heritage organisations and the public sector in managing this heritage (e.g., Cossons, 2011, 2012; Falconer, 2012), Orbasli (2008) examines the challenges from a conservation practice, identifying four interconnected factors that influence these dynamics. Firstly, the industrial legacy introduces a new dimension of scale. Zones of industrial activity typically encompass large and extended territories, marked by complex layouts that were extraordinary in their era and continue to be so. For example, according to the census of Barcelona City Council (2017), the industrial district of San Martí in Barcelona spans an area of 10.8 km^2. By comparison, the

district of El Ensanche, characterised by its 19th-century orthogonal urban grid designed by Ildefons Cerdà and emblematic of the city's most renowned image, only occupies 7.46 km². Similarly, Ciutat Vella -the historic city centre- and the largest urban core prior to the development of El Ensanche, extends over 4.37 km², which is less than half the size of San Martí district. The regeneration of such extensive areas poses a significant challenge, necessitating comprehensive urban design strategies and financial models to support them.

The second factor relates to the functional obsolescence of infrastructure systems such as rail tracks, cables, cranes, containers, and other integral elements of the site's previous industrial operations. According to Orbasli (2008, pp.29-30), the removal of these elements from the site has implications for heritage preservation, as it affects the area's identity and results in the loss of historical information. However, the scholar also notes that these elements often conflict with public safety interests and the necessary environmental conditions for the site. As a result, integrating them into the contemporary urban landscape poses challenges, and the allocated funds for their maintenance are often severely limited.

The third significant factor contributing to the vulnerability of post-industrial heritage is the conflict between the values held by political authorities and those guiding urban conservation efforts, particularly regarding the social aspects of this heritage. This conflict is further complicated by the fourth aspect identified by the scholar: the diverse perceptions of the value of post-industrial buildings and sites as heritage by ordinary people. According to Orbasli (2008, pp.29-30), industrial heritage represents the legacy of an era characterised by progress and innovation, as well as the history of labour, exploitation, and the emergence of capitalist culture. This heritage is often associated with ideas of decay, social deprivation, and other adverse conditions such as pollution, inadequate wastewater and sewerage systems, and a lack of urban public services. Additionally, the deindustrialization process led to abandoned structures, areas of deprivation, and increasingly impoverished communities. However, the cessation of industrial activities also fostered principles of solidarity and social movements advocating for local rights to preserve their industrial legacy.

Cossons et al. (2015, pp.204-205) explore the complex emotions associated with post-industrial heritage, asserting that for many individuals, the concept of an industrial legacy is abstract. The authors argue that this type of heritage holds a unique position in time, representing both a "recent past" and an indication of future urban transformations. They discuss how this form of heritage belongs to the past as much as it is relevant to the future. The American artist Robert Smithson, in his 1967 essay 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey,' coins a crucial term for describing this characteristic of industrial heritage: 'Ruins in Reverse'. This notion of the "recent past" is also vividly portrayed in *Renzo e Luciana*, the initial episode directed by Mario Monicelli of the Italian Neorealist film *Boccaccio '70*, written by Italo Calvino in 1962. This episode of the film captures Milan in a state of transition, with the vibrancy of industrial growth juxtaposed against the enduring hardships of the post-World War II era. In a memorable scene, Luciana reveals a panorama of sprawling residential blocks intermingling with industrial structures (Figure 0.3). Despite the changes brought about by deindustrialization and urban development, the urban landscape Luciana witnesses remains recognizable in the present day. These settings, shaped by rapid urbanization driven by the industrial economic paradigm in the latter half of the 20th century, have profoundly influenced the lives and daily experiences of many individuals in post-industrial cities across the Western world for the past two generations (Kelley and Williamson, 1984, p.429).

Figure 0.3. *Renzo e Luciana* episode directed by M. Monicelli of the film Boccaccio '70 (1962). Available at: https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it (Accessed: 17 December 2016)

Building on their arguments, Cossons et al. (2015, pp. 204-205) also maintain that the disconnection between people and industrial sites as a form of heritage is due to the limited engagement of people with these places. Despite the connection between individuals and post-industrial sites, these scholars claim that people often have little knowledge about them, mainly because these sites have typically been controlled by private market forces. Furthermore, the individuals who previously worked at these sites may no longer be present, causing subsequent generations to quickly lose touch with their industrial roots. Lastly, the scholars also highlight that the industrial urban landscape has become associated with negative elements, such as industrial pollution, inadequate wastewater and sewerage networks, and a lack of urban public services. Moreover, the deindustrialisation processes further exacerbate this by leaving industrial structures abandoned and neglected, resulting in areas of deprivation and increasingly impoverished populations. Industrial heritage represents a legacy from a historical period that is simultaneously linked to progress and innovation, as well as reflecting the history of labour and exploitation and the origins of capitalist culture.

The vulnerability of post-industrial heritage has been a pressing concern for many scholars and institutions of heritage devoted to its preservation, as discussed in this section. However, a more optimistic account has emerged in recent years. This shift is largely attributed to a radical change in social attitudes towards the conservation of the built environment, spurred by the global economic crisis of 2006. This period of reflection has highlighted the intrinsic value of heritage in urban contexts, particularly within post-industrial urban areas. Its significance, therefore, is deeply intertwined with the social and territorial transformations that originated from various industrial revolutions, alongside considerations for its future development. As Oevermann and Mieg (2015, p.3) articulate, the essence of post-industrial heritage extends beyond the realms of identity and memory; it is actively shaped within urban settings and specific sites. This perspective underscores a growing recognition of post-industrial heritage as a critical component in the narrative of urban evolution, prompting a re-evaluation of its role and value in shaping the future of cities.

0.3. The social construction of post-industrial heritage value

The concept of 'Value' has been the foundation of assessing heritage and conservation practice for the past two decades. Values serve as guiding principles to determine the significance of a place, but they are subject to change over time based on socio-economic and cultural contexts. Echoing Simmel's early 20th-century insight (2004, p.77), while objects, thoughts, and events can be appreciated for their qualities and connections, 'value' itself is not an intrinsic attribute but a judgment imposed upon them. How we perceive and experience heritage, whether as a community or as individuals, is closely tied to how it is 'valued'. However, the relationship between values and heritage is complex. Heritage is subject to how values are identified, applied, and interpreted. Furthermore, as society undergoes transformations, new environmental, economic, and cultural aspects emerge, challenging the very meaning and purpose of their function in conservation. In response to this, many scholars (i.e Mason, 2002, 2007; Orbasli, 2008; Fredheim et al., 2016) have approached the subject of values from various perspectives in order to comprehend their nature and origins.

The post-industrial legacy has been noted to commemorate the everyday material culture and way of life of the lower classes (Martínez and Closa, 1999, p.326). Lefebvre (1991, p.148) argues that examining the landscapes of industrial ruination draws attention to the fact that the spatial is socially constructed and the social is also spatial. Industrial landscapes demonstrate a clear dialectic between the tangible - the industrial landscape itself - and the social and human interaction with that landscape - the uses it is put to, the emotional responses it evokes, and so on. In her book 'Industrial Ruination, Community and Place', Mah (2012, p.13) defines urban legacy as the long-term socio-economic and psychological implications for people and places. The urban legacy, she points out, is a palimpsest on which new layers are built upon the previous ones. This is a lived process represented in various forms - such as memories, social groups, and the urban landmarks perceived as heritage structures. In other words, they are valued as elements that validate a sense of place.

Since the advent of deindustrialization, communities and labour organisations have actively utilized heritage as a tool to reflect on the past, reassess the present, and envision alternative futures. Building upon the connection between post-industrial landscapes and Berger's

concept of 'Drosscape',[6] Berger (2006), these spaces have the potential to facilitate a broad range of transformative social activities. Despite their marginalisation within traditional capitalist systems, they can be appropriated by subgroups. Over the past two decades, alternative bottom-up approaches to post-industrial areas have challenged the heritage assessments conducted by experts and public institutions, as well as the urban transformation plans typically implemented by "institutionalised" private agencies. These emerging contexts have sparked new inquiries into the valuation of heritage and its impact on the spatial characteristics of the built environment. Hence, most of these studies have predominantly focused on identifying the values associated with heritage and mapping the locations of various heritage forms, from sociological or anthropological approaches (e.g., Avrami, 2019; Bandarin, 2016). However, this Doctoral Thesis research intends to examine how value is constructed in post-industrial heritage by people and the spatial consequences it has on the areas it occupies. The study specifically focuses on Poblenou in Barcelona, which was historically the most industrialized urban area of Spain during the 19th and 20th centuries.

0.4. Poblenou

Poblenou, which means 'new town' in Catalan, was once referred to as the 'Catalan Manchester' for its textile production similarities with the British city. It is located in the northern part of Barcelona, close to the Olympic Port (Figure 0.4). This strategic location has historically shaped the area as a productive industrial landscape and has greatly influenced its social and urban fabric, even up to the present day. The original rural character of Poblenou, which can still be observed in certain aspects of its urban fabric, began to undergo transformation during the First Industrial Revolution (1846-1861). At that time, the factories in the city centre required more space, prompting the expansion of the town. The urban development of Poblenou has closely mirrored the technical advancements in industrial production. Initially, the area was home to steam-powered textile and chemical industries, which were later replaced by the metal industry with the introduction of electric power (Nadal

[6] See page 14

and Tafunell, 1992, p.24). Since the mid-1970s, as the service sector in Barcelona has experienced significant growth and a substantial portion of industrial production has shifted to the outskirts of the city, many factories in Poblenou became vacant or repurposed as parking lots and storage warehouses.

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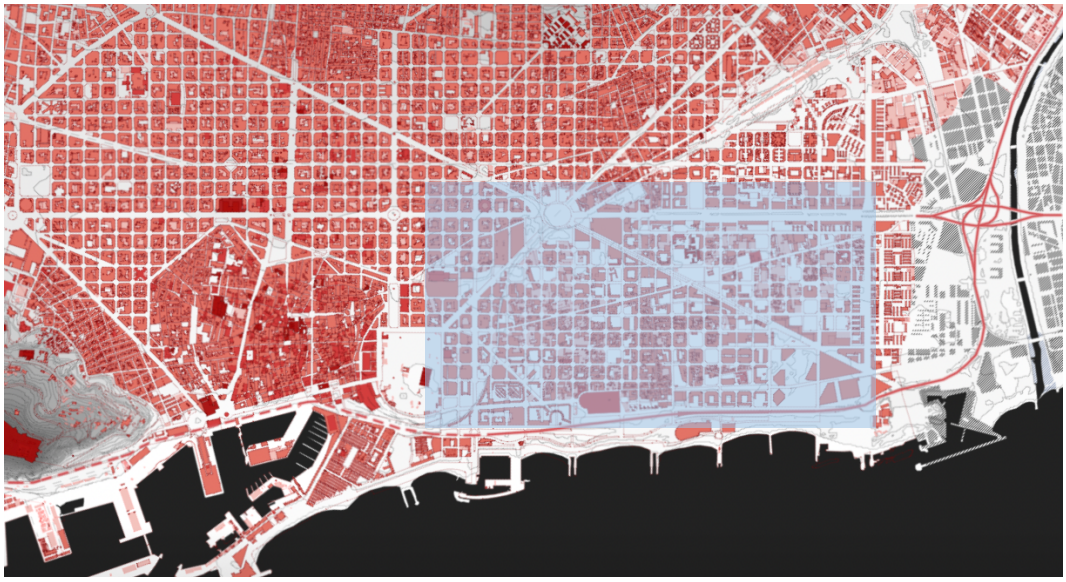


Figure 0.4. Poblenou district highlighted in blue (Source: the author, 2020)

The economic and social downturn of Poblenou began to change in the 1990s when 32% of the investments for the 1992 Olympic Games were directed towards the area, which was considered a peripheral part of Barcelona at the time. The implementation of the 'Barcelona Model' -which aimed to open the city to the sea- led to significant destruction of the industrial heritage of the area. This cleared space for the construction of new buildings and facilities necessary to host the event, leading to a process of land revaluation. In addition to the regeneration of the port and waterfront, this urban transformation attracted private real estate investment, altering the morphology and social fabric of the neighbourhood. In response, the local population advocated for more social housing and public services in the area, as well as the preservation of the industrial legacy. Since then, they have questioned the heritage-value system implemented in urban planning, including the one defined in the new '22@' Plan. This plan, in effect since 2000, aims to transform Poblenou into a 'modern' and 'sustainable' district focused on economic activity driven by new technologies. The plan proposes the reuse of the remaining industrial land and buildings for the development of this 'digital city'. However, it is

important to note that this transformation accounts for only 30% of the planned interventions by the 22@ initiative, with the remaining 70% dedicated to new luxury housing, office buildings, and hotels.

Today, the urban reality of Poblenou and its post-industrial heritage is multifaceted. Despite social inequality, the area has implemented a model that prevents substantial segregation during its transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy (Sarasa et al., 2018, p.48). The range of values associated with different interpretations of the urban industrial legacy, coupled with the political tensions surrounding its management, have shaped the Poblenou landscape over the past 50 years. Alongside successful conservation practices, there are also generic designs, neglected or abandoned spaces, and a series of decontextualised industrial remains (Figure 0.5). These elements obscure the contentious politics that surround housing and tertiary sector services, posing a significant threat to the continuity of the area's industrial urban legacy. In this context, and within the framework of the global post-crisis economy in 2006, local associations and social platforms have advocated for the preservation of their industrial heritage, opposing the urban densification proposed by authorities and private developers, especially prior to the burst of the real estate bubble in 2008.

Figure 0.5. Poblenou's actual urban reality (Source: the author, 2016)

0.5. Research questions and aims of this research

This research aims to uncover principles that more effectively address the valuation and preservation of post-industrial heritage within urban settings. The designation 'post-industrial' used in this study draws inspiration from Rose (1991, p.2), who posits that the term 'post' suggests an evolution of industrialism rather than its cessation, highlighting the ongoing societal adaptations rooted in industrial society. My argument operates on the understanding that values are inherently intangible and mutable. Accordingly, this investigation focuses on three principal dimensions of heritage values: firstly, they are formulated in the present; secondly, they emerge through social construction; and thirdly, they are inherently political and subject to debate. Moreover, this thesis acknowledges that heritage is a repository of diverse lived experiences, which significantly inform and shape these values.

The theoretical research framework of this Doctoral Thesis focuses on the understanding of heritage as a process rather than an object. Heritage arises from the interaction between people and remnants of the past. This intellectual foundation is built upon the examination of academic work from the past two decades, specifically on the concept of value in assessing and preserving heritage. By drawing from discussions in critical heritage studies, this investigation delves deeply into the processes of assigning value to post-industrial heritage and explores its urban implications. Critical heritage studies aim to develop new, more inclusive models for decision-making processes regarding heritage, emphasising dialogue and democracy. They propose an expanded analysis of heritage that acknowledges its active role within societies. Therefore, the main areas of focus in this research revolve around the ontological understanding of heritage and the need to comprehensively consider the interactions between people, objects, and the environment. Adopting an inductive approach where each section of the investigation informs the next and raises new questions, the study is structured around four principal objectives, as follows:

1. The first objective of this research is to clarify the concept of 'Value' within the context of heritage, both in theory and practice. This research examines the postmodern transition in heritage discourse initiated by the Burra Charter, with a focus on heritage significance in the late 1970s. The investigation then engages with subsequent discussions on how heritage and

its values are perceived as products of social construction, addressing issues of tangibility, use, and relational dynamics.

2. The second goal is to map the development of values associated with the post-industrial built legacy over time, as well as the social-spatial practices that contribute to their formation. This involves examining the progression of critical discourses on the values linked to this type of heritage, especially those that have emerged in the past 20 years. Drawing inspiration from the insights of Ashworth et al. (2007, 2013) and other scholars such as Harrison (2010) who have emphasized the political nature of heritage and its social construction through representation and practice, this part of the research aims to uncover the evolution of values and the factors that influence this evolution.

3. The third objective is to comprehend the essence of the connection between value and post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, spanning from the onset of the deindustrialisation process to the post-2006 global economic crisis. What precisely are these values? Where do they reside? How are they interrelated? This research intends to shed light on the heritage values that have been developed over the past five decades and aims to unearth those values associated with the industrial history of Poblenou, which have been obscured by recent urban conservation planning and practices.

4. The fourth aim of this research is to investigate the conservation and urban implications of the socio-spatial dynamics that have shaped the understanding of post-industrial heritage among locals and place-based communities in Poblenou over time. This exploration also considers the connections between these socio-spatial processes and other prevalent ideas of value in urban development and the transformation of the post-industrial landscape in the area.

As a summary, the following diagram (Figure 0.6) provides a visual representation that maps out the research structure and its progression. It features a series of interconnected circles that gradually increase in size, symbolizing the investigation's depth and expansion as it builds on prior research. Each primary research objective is represented by coloured circles that grow progressively, reflecting the developmental nature of the investigation influenced by preceding

work. Specific topics of focus are highlighted in red, distinguishing them as areas of detailed exploration. Meanwhile, the scope of each research phase is delineated in blue, outlining the broader thematic or contextual boundaries within which the specific topics are situated.

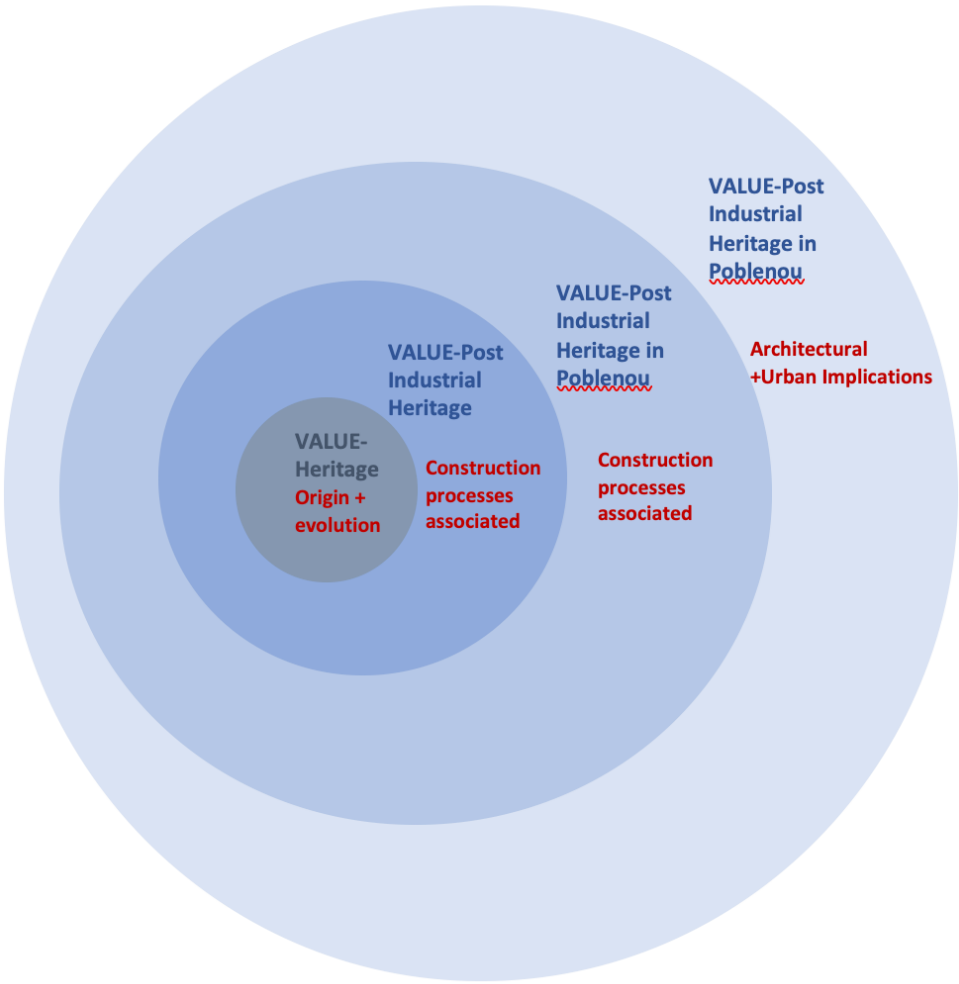


Figure 0.6. Structure of the investigation (Source: the author, 2016)

0.6.Structure of the thesis

This Doctoral Thesis research is designed to address its objectives, with a developed methodology to achieve them. The thesis is divided into two main parts: Part 1 provides the background and research context, consisting of Chapters 1 and 2, which outline the construction of the theoretical framework and the methodology employed.

The investigation addresses its initial objective in Chapter 1 by presenting the evolution of heritage values at both the conceptual and operational levels. This analysis showcases the shift from the original material-focused understanding of heritage to its reconceptualization as a social process. The exploration encompasses topics such as tangibility, use, and dialogical concerns, while also delving into critical perspectives on the use of the concept of 'Value' within heritage studies.

Part 1 concludes with Chapter 2, which provides a detailed analysis of the research approaches adopted in this study. This chapter delves deeper into the methods and analytical strategies employed and outlines the limitations faced during the investigation. Furthermore, it highlights the significant contributions that this thesis brings to research methodologies in the field of critical heritage studies.

The second part of this thesis delves into the valuation of post-industrial heritage. Chapter 3 tackles the second objective, enriching the research framework by investigating the intersection of post-industrial heritage with the value debates outlined in Chapter 1, its influence on these discussions, and its contributions to them. This chapter examines the valuation processes of post-industrial heritage across time, covering aesthetic, historical, and socio-cultural aspects, and their impact on preservation efforts. Additionally, it addresses recent critical debates surrounding the valuation of post-industrial heritage and its significance in the architectural and urban heritage transformations witnessed over the past twenty years.

Part 2 of this thesis delves into Aims 3 and 4, presenting an in-depth analysis and the findings from the Poblenou case study. Drawing inspiration from Lowenthal's interpretation of the 'Nodal Point' concept (2015, pp.20, 147) as a critical juncture in collective memory and heritage, where significant historical, cultural, or social values converge, and employing a

historical narrative approach, the discussion unfolds across three chapters. Chapter 4 sets the stage by charting the historical and urban evolution of Poblenou, from its industrial roots in the late 19th century to the beginning of deindustrialization. Chapter 5 transitions to examining the shifts in industrial heritage against the backdrop of socio-political and economic upheavals, notably the 1992 Olympic Games and the lead-up to the 2008 global economic crisis, highlighting the changing perceptions and significances of industrial heritage at the local level. Chapter 6 scrutinizes four socio-spatial practices that surfaced following the collapse of Barcelona's real estate market, a turn of events that paused the 22@ urban regeneration Plan developed by the city council. These practices have been instrumental in cultivating new values, thereby reshaping the identity of post-industrial heritage and the urban fabric of Poblenou.

Finally, Chapter 7 delves into the implications and conclusions of this thesis, highlighting its key contributions to the field of heritage studies and conservation practices. It also sheds light on how this investigation adds to the academic discourse on the use of value-based approaches to safeguard the built heritage, emphasising the importance of preserving industrial legacies in a manner that addresses the current needs of society. The chapter also outlines potential areas for future research, particularly concerning the social construction of post-industrial heritage value in urban environments and its impact on urban regeneration efforts. Additionally, it discusses the role of the thesis in fostering a stronger connection between local communities and municipal authorities, with the aim of reassessing the significance of post-industrial heritage within the framework of the 22@ urban regeneration Plan.

Figure 1.0: 19th C. Industrial chimney in Poblenou, trapped between recent buildings. (Source: the author, 2016)

CHAPTER 1. VALUES AND HERITAGE

'[…] *but, good people who, in the depths of your libraries, seem to have seen nothing, cite, at least, one ancient monument deserving of interest, a building valuable to art, curious for its memories, that my administration has destroyed, or has not cleared or arranged with the loveliest perspective'*

(Georges-Eugene Haussmann, 1890).

A theory of value in heritage assessment and preservation

1.1. Introduction

The Oxford English Dictionary characterizes 'heritage' as 'property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance', or as 'valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions passed down from previous generations.' The 20th century witnessed an evolution of the concept of heritage from being primarily linked to the intergenerational transfer of personal wealth within families to embracing a broader notion of public patrimony. This shift was significantly marked by the enactment of the Ancient Monuments Act in Great Britain in 1882, the inaugural legislative attempt to protect Britain's archaeological and architectural heritage at a national level. Concurrently, the conceptualisation of heritage as a public asset was emphasized during the French Revolution and was further reinforced with the foundation of the National Trust in 1895. The Trust was established with the core mission of preserving the heritage and open spaces of England, Wales, and Northern Ireland for public benefit and enjoyment, thus setting a precedent for heritage conservation practices worldwide (Harvey, 2001, pp.320-321). Despite these advancements, numerous scholars maintain that heritage is a multifaceted concept that defies simple definition, suggesting that any effort to precisely trace its origins is bound to be speculative (Graham et al., 2000; Harvey, 2001; Larkham, 1995; Schouten, 1995; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Yet, there is a consensus that heritage fundamentally possesses a public dimension. Moreover, they also agree that heritage is a present-focused phenomenon, consistently relevant throughout history and always constructed within the context of current society. Harvey (2001, p.320) notes that in every historical period, communities have drawn on retrospective memories to define the spirit of their times.

The use of vernacular building techniques and the reappropriation of sacred spaces by different religious groups are just a few instances demonstrating heritage's constant presence in all societies and historical moments. Nevertheless, as a public concept, heritage has often been delineated and controlled by elites, who have sought to preserve it and, occasionally, have imposed memories that diverge from the broader collective identity.

The way heritage is interpreted and by whom sends specific messages about the value of heritage places and the past they represent. Lowenthal (2005, pp.12-13, 128) stresses this idea, suggesting that heritage is not simply an understanding of the past, but a product designed to establish the identity and enhance the well-being of a chosen group. Laurajane Smith (2006, pp.11, 29-34) provides further clarification by identifying a Western 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations. Supported by international institutions such as UNESCO, this has created a standardised, globalised way of understanding the value of heritage and conservation practices. In many cases, however, it also has compromised the connection between local communities and their legacy. Ashworth et al. (2007, pp.36-37) describe the spaces resulting from these practices as 'dissonant spaces of heritage'. These practices neglect the public aspect of heritage, challenging its meaning and sense of place for the local community.

Heritage is also regarded from a political perspective. Several scholars (Appadurai, 2008; Harrison, 2013) have delineated three distinct phases in the European-American context over the past 150 years. The initial phase emerged during the 19th century and was influenced by the Enlightenment concept of the 'Public Sphere'. According to Habermas (1989, p.49), this refers to the realm in which individuals engage in political decision-making. However, Harrison (2013, pp.47,81), noting the existence of 'multiple publics' and diverse spheres of interest, questions the notion of the 'public' during this period and its genuine impact on everyday life. Values associated with the historical and cultural heritage of European Christianity, and subsequently, concerns related to natural landscapes, were attributed to the concept of heritage as a representation of national identity. However, as heritage gained

recognition as an inviolable political symbol, it became disconnected from daily life and its ongoing transformations.

The second phase is characterized by an increased level of state intervention and bureaucratic oversight of heritage during the first half of the 20th century. In order to control political, economic, and social processes, states often simplified associated aspects (Harrison, 2013, p.48). The period following World War II witnessed the emergence of the 'World Heritage' concept, which is tied to the idea of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV). Lastly, the third phase, which spans the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, is defined by the commodification of heritage and the prioritisation of capital values for preservation. Heritage is '*simultaneously sold in many segmented marketplaces*' (Graham et al., 2000, p.6). However, as Lowenthal (2005, pp.14-15) notes, this period is also when heritage shifts from being an elite concern to a social demand, leading people to view the past as a distinct realm with its own set of alternative values.

In the last thirty years, there has been a significant evolution in our understanding of heritage. We have moved away from previous Western definitions and now embrace diverse viewpoints that empower 'ordinary people' to connect with their heritage (Samuel, 1994, p.160). At the heart of these evolving discussions is the concept of 'Value', employed by both local and international organizations as a crucial metric for assessing, managing, and studying cultural heritage. This chapter explores the evolution of the value concept, examining both its theoretical foundations and practical applications. It particularly highlights the shift towards considering value as a social and cultural construct. The following sections will delve into the themes of tangibility, utility, interaction, and the political dimensions of value. Through this examination, my aim is to establish a theoretical foundation and identify the key questions that will guide the further development of this research.

1.2. Theories of Value in relation to Heritage

In the context of heritage preservation, the concept of 'Value' refers to the positive or negative characteristics, meanings, and qualities that specific individuals or groups perceive and assign to objects or sites (de la Torre and Mason, 2002, p.4). These values also have

political implications as they shape the practices that impact the built environment and, consequently, social life. They are not fixed and can change from one culture or time period to another. Lowenthal (2005) examined this variability by analysing the understanding of the past in four different historical Western contexts: the Renaissance, Early-Modern England and France, the Victorian era in Britain, and Post-Revolutionary America. Each period displayed distinct and radical approaches to dealing with the past.

In the Renaissance, humanist values emphasized a philosophical and aesthetic approach to heritage. In contrast, the late 18th century was characterized by a spirit of scientific inquiry. The past was valued based on its temporal dimension, as something that had occurred and would not be repeated. In Victorian Britain, the dichotomy between valuing tradition and valuing innovation shaped both the past and the future. Lastly, at the end of the 19th century in North America, the valuation of heritage reflected an ambivalence stemming from a dual understanding: heritage as an oppressive reminder of the colonial past, and heritage as a dogma that offered protection by representing the principles established by the nation's founders. Through this analysis, Lowenthal (2015, pp.20, 147) identifies pivotal moments of reinvention, 'Nodal Points' influenced by the values dictated by the political and socio-economic context, and sometimes involving a rupture with previously assigned values to the past.

Today, the values associated with the concept of heritage serve as guiding principles that determine the significance of cultural heritage resources in the decision-making process. However, the understanding and application of value in the heritage field have changed over time. Initially, value was seen as an inherent characteristic of material heritage, capable of being objectively evaluated. However, it is now increasingly seen as a subjective judgment placed on objects, influenced by the goals and intentions of different stakeholders within a broader social context (Lafrenz and Samuels, 2008; Clark, 2005; van den Dries et al., 2012). The first section of this chapter delves into the integration and transformation of the concept of 'Value' within the heritage field over time, tracing its historical development.

1.2.1. The origin of the concept of 'Value' in heritage preservation

In his seminal 1903 essay 'The Modern Cult of Monuments – Its Character and Its Origin', the Art Historian Aloïs Riegl introduced a framework for understanding heritage, which laid the foundation for Austria's system of monument protection. In this pivotal work, Riegl devised a methodology for categorizing the perceptible and recognised characteristics of a historical site, which he referred to as 'values' (Wert), borrowing a term commonly used in economics. While some scholars, like Díaz-Andreu (2016, p.2), argue that Riegl initially used the term without economic connotations, focusing instead on aesthetic and historical aspects, others from the field of economics have drawn connections between Riegl's concept of value and the principles of the Austrian school of economics, which emphasised the varied utility of goods. Svoboda (2011, p.430) highlights this link by pointing to the work of economic theorist Böhm-Bawerk (1886) and his theory of value, demonstrating the intersection of economic thought and heritage valuation in Riegl's contributions:

'If the object, again, is a durable good, and thus susceptible of repeated acts of use […] *it is natural that an entire sum – in certain circumstances, a very great sum – of concrete want may be included in the layer of wants that depends on it. On the possession or non-possession of a piano, for instance, depend hundreds of musical enjoyments; on the possession of a cask of wine hundreds of pleasures of the palate; and the importance of those pleasures naturally must be summed up in valuing these goods'* (Böhm-Bawerk, 1886, p.56)

Under this influence, Riegl proposed two categories of values that determine the significance of a place as a monument: the values of remembrance and contemporariness. The first category, values of remembrance (*Erinnerungswerte*), pertains to commemoration, history, and age. The second category, contemporary values (*Gegenwartswerte*), relates to utility and artistic aspects. Riegl further divides this latter category into two subgroups, newness, and relative artistic value, which are influenced by changes in taste according to the cultural moment. Riegl acknowledges that these values are partially socially-constructed, but his classifications place a strong emphasis on tangible features, a perspective that is heavily influenced by Ruskin's prioritization of age value over other factors. Furthermore, Riegl's

conceptualization of monuments as documents from the past that inform the future is contextualized within the late 19th-century Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy's nation-building efforts. His conservation methodology, emphasising the material authenticity of monuments and critiquing stylistic restorations for potentially distorting history, reflects the political climate of his era (Harrer, 2017, p.32). In Riegl's own words:

'The more it remains uncorrupted and reveals its original state of creation; distortions and partial disintegrations are disturbing, unwelcome ingredients for historical value' (Riegl, 1903, p.75).

Riegl's value classification system remained largely unaltered until 1972 when the World Heritage Convention (WHC) introduced the concept of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV). This marked a pivotal evolution in the definition and categorization of heritage values. In paragraph 49 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, OUV is described as the '*Cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole*' (UNESCO and WHC, 2019). The introduction of OUV represented a broader perspective on cultural and natural heritage, emphasising its extraordinary global importance.

To address the rapid cultural and social changes resulting from post-war economic developments in the Western world, as well as the negative impact on heritage preservation, UNESCO, with the support of expert organizations like ICOMOS, established the 'World Heritage List' (WHL). This list comprises cultural and natural sites of universal importance. The international significance of a potential heritage site is determined by the recognition of its OUV and meeting at least one of the 10 criteria established through a Western European discourse, which are based on material tradition. As of the latest review in 2021, these 10 criteria are:

1. *To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius.*
2. *To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.*
3. *To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared.*
4. *to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.*
5. *To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.*
6. *To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.* (The WHL committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).
7. *To contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance.*
8. *To be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features.*
9. *To be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals.*
10. *To contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.*

(UNESCO, 2021, pp.77-78)

Despite the efforts undertaken by UNESCO over the past decade to enhance the understanding of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the principle of universality remains highly contested. This is primarily due to the growing recognition of local values in countries whose cultures are predominantly non-monumental. These debates stem from a multicultural and postcolonial critique that perceives the values, concepts, and paradigms derived from Western thought as inadequate for comprehending non-Western ways of life (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.6). Moreover, heritage is often seen as predominantly representing the interests of Western countries, which has further fuelled this critique. This, coupled with the introduction of the concept of 'Cultural Significance' in the 1979 Burra Charter (Tarrafa and Pereira, 2012, p.2), has prompted a shift in focus from tangible values to intangible aspects. Consequently, heritage values have expanded to encompass the cultural, social, economic, spiritual, sentimental, and symbolic dimensions.

The new value system classifies heritage values on a scale that prioritizes one value at a time, resulting in a relativist approach that has caused controversies in the definition of the term.

In a masterclass lecture at the Edinburgh College of Art in 2006, Professor Jukka Jokilehto illustrated this by stating: '*If all values are equal, then there is no real value anymore*' (cited in Glendinning, 2013, p.417). Consequently, there has been a significant rise in academic studies concentrating on methodological strategies for evaluating heritage values (Mason, 2002, p.5), and vigorous debates have arisen concerning the nature of these values and whether they are intrinsic or extrinsic. The following sections of this chapter further explore these discussions, specifically concentrating on debates within the field of critical heritage studies. This exploration examines the consequences of these diverse perspectives for the conservation and interpretation of heritage, shedding light on how differing understandings of value impact heritage practices.

1.3. Approaches to value in critical heritage debates

1.3.1. Questions of tangibility and the discursive turn

In 1979, the Burra Charter, developed by the Australian Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), marked a significant shift in heritage assessment

criteria. It moved away from the previously dominant focus on 'Authenticity' based on aesthetic or historical values and introduced the concept of 'Cultural Significance'. This concept encompasses the transmission of 'aesthetic, historical, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present, or future generations' (The Burra Charter, 2013, p.2).
The emphasis on 'cultural significance' recognises the potential social value of heritage and provides guidance for the use and preservation of a place and its material aspects. Additionally, the Charter acknowledges cultural diversity and admits that the importance of each cultural monument is influenced by its specific cultural and political context (Mackay, 2004, p.35-36). Equally, it highlights that local values have international relevance from a cultural perspective.

Monuments transcend the mere physicality of being tangible 'objects' composed of specific materials. As noted by Petzet (2003, pp.1-2), certain heritage buildings and sites require ongoing maintenance due to their transient material states. Moreover, the former head of ICOMOS highlights that replicas of no longer extant monuments can still evoke memories and forge connections to the past. Consequently, the Burra Charter acknowledges the importance of intangible aspects of heritage, placing them on equal footing with tangible dimensions in the context of conservation efforts. Following the Charter's adoption, there has emerged a universal consensus advocating that the interpretation and definition of heritage by international entities like UNESCO and ICOMOS should comprehensively incorporate tangible and intangible values, as well as environmental factors. (Ahmad, 2006, p.292)

Over the past 20 years, numerous authors have drawn attention to the concept of intangibility and its impact on our cities at cultural, economic, and social levels (e.g., Ashworth et al., 2007; Harrison, 2010; Hammami, 2012). During the 2003 UNESCO 'Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', Dawson Munjeri, the delegate from Zimbabwe, stated that cultural heritage should derive its value from the values that people assign to it, rather than the other way around. Munjeri's assertion highlights the understanding that the tangible can only be comprehended and interpreted through the intangible (cited in Munjeri, 2004). Building on this idea, Laurajane Smith in her book *Uses of Heritage* begins with the premise that all heritage is intangible (Smith, 2006, p.3). According to Smith, the meaning and values

attached to heritage are the result of a discursive practice in which people communicate about the past, their memories, and the connections they have to specific sites. She emphasises that it is through these interactions and narratives that heritage is given meaning and significance, suggesting that heritage, at its core, is an intangible entity shaped by collective social engagement and interpretation. This approach challenges traditional perspectives that view heritage primarily as physical artefacts or sites, proposing instead that the true value and essence of heritage lie in the shared experiences and significances that these tangible elements evoke within a community. Hence, from a post-structuralist perspective, Smith (2006, pp.3, 17, 28) argues that heritage is not simply an object or event, but rather a cultural and social process that involves the negotiation of cultural values, narratives, and memories. Through this discourse, the past is engaged with, and new connections with the present are forged.

While the concept of heritage as a 'process' rather than a 'product' was previously discussed by other scholars, such as Samuel (1994, cited in Harrison, 2010, pp.241,260), who emphasised the potential of heritage in creating more democratic societies, Smith acknowledges the social construction of heritage value beyond the physical object or site itself (2006, p.15). This alternative understanding of value has led to new perspectives on heritage conservation. However, this understanding has evolved and undergone revision and scrutiny in response to practical challenges. In the past decade, there have been criticisms regarding its interpretation of materiality in the social construction of heritage, which we will further explore in the following sectios.

1.3.2. Questions of use

Since Smith (2016) proposed that the origin of heritage and its associated values is based on discursive practices, other scholars have sought practical approaches to viewing heritage as a dynamic process. These approaches focus on examining the role of materiality in constructing the significance of heritage. Although these inquiries are diverse, they are heavily influenced by Marxist interpretations of value, which highlight ‘Labour’ (a social action) as the creator of value. Many studies also draw inspiration from Lefebvre's socio-spatial theories, particularly

his concept of social space emerging from a dialectical relationship among spatial practices, representational spaces, and spaces of representation. Spatial practices refer to the material and socially produced perceived space, which can be empirically observed. 'Representational Space' encompasses the lived space of everyday life, while 'Spaces of Representation' are designed spaces expressed through geometry, diagrams, and maps (Lefebvre, 1991, p.39). However, Lefebvre (1991, p.34) suggests that the critical act of infusing social space with meaning and value lies in lived experience, the dialogical interaction between individuals and their environments. These lived experiences demonstrate active human engagement with a place, although interpretations of the nature of this engagement may vary.

One perspective on this matter is discussed by Byrne (2008), who presents a viewpoint that considers the value of heritage as a spatial construct, which arises from a diverse range of practices. This approach underscores the notion that heritage is not a static concept but is actively formed and transformed through the spatial practices and everyday interactions of individuals in particular settings. Byrne (2008, pp.148-149) elaborates that these practices range from the tangible efforts of physical maintenance and conservation of sites, including public protests against certain preservation methods, to the intangible dimensions of storytelling, commemoration, and both personal and community engagement with heritage spaces, as well as other activities that deepen connections to a site.

This comprehensive view asserts that heritage is a product of social construction. It suggests that the value of heritage does not lie in any single practice, but rather in its collective use and the dynamic changes it undergoes. Byrne (2008, p.152) uses the concept of 'Cultural Landscape' to illustrate this point, explaining that its significance is derived from the countless human actions that have left their mark on the territory over time. Thus, according to Byrne's analysis, the value of heritage emerges as a vibrant and continually evolving phenomenon, intricately connected to the social and spatial dynamics of human interaction. Similarly, other researchers (e.g., Mosler, 2019; Rodwell, 2018) have provided empirical evidence of how locals value historical fabrics. They emphasize the functionality of these fabrics and the everyday relationships they foster between inhabitants and various resources, such as cultural, material, and environmental aspects of their historical value.

To highlight the implications that people and practitioners have in signifying places, Byrne (2007, p.170) introduces the term 'Heritage Workers', replacing the concept of 'Inheritors' traditionally assigned to local communities. These workers have the mission of transferring something to future generations. Additionally, the scholar argues that present-day 'local communities' are an artificial phenomenon that must be constructed (Byrne, 2008 p.170) Drawing on Appadurai's assertion that communities consider 'locality' something ephemeral unless there is hard and regular work to produce and maintain its materiality (Appadurai, 1996, p.181), Byrne notes that a local community living in a landscape with physical historical traces does not guarantee an identity association between those traces and the community. The attachment instead comes about through certain activities. In this regard, he concludes that identity questions do not guarantee that historical places could be perceived as a form of heritage. According to the scholar, this relates to their place-making by people, in other words, the process of socio-cultural spatial dynamics that result in a particular material formation (2008, p.170-171). Moreover, Byrne (2008, p.171) stresses that these dynamics can be punctual events or continuous quotidian activities that link people's everyday lives with their surrounding environments.

Byrne's interpretation of heritage is captured in the accompanying diagram (Figure 1.1). This visual aid demonstrates how the interventions of 'Heritage Workers' (HW), represented by a grey arrow, target a specific material manifestation, shown as a blue circle. It is this precise interaction that gives rise to the values, marked with a red "V", that imbue an object or site with heritage status. The diagram suggests that while material manifestations provide the foundational support for heritage creation, and are thus essential, the relationship between actions and materiality does not inherently imply a dialogical exchange.

Another perspective that echoes the idea that the essence of social space's meaning and value is rooted in lived experiences comes from Mosler (2019). Her research, which examines the urban landscape, posits that place-making is a dynamic process through which the significance of heritage sites evolves. Mosler articulates place-making as centered around 'place, historical fabric, heritage, and the people who share the everyday routine within a

specific area.' Drawing inspiration from Heidegger's (1962) concept of *Dasein* [being],[7] Mosler introduces the notion of 'Everyday Heritage' to describe a community and location-driven approach to urban heritage (2019, p.780). Accordingly, Mosler argues that the true value and integrity of heritage lie in its capacity to unveil, bolster, or adapt to the daily practices ingrained in the urban environment. Place-making, in turn, influences the historical landscape and its constituent elements, infusing them with new meanings and purposes. Through what Mosler (2019, p.785) terms the 'goings-on' within a place, a deep interconnection between the tangible and intangible dimensions of daily life is established. This synergy enhances the spatial, social, and historical connectedness of the urban landscape, enriching it with added meaning and value while fostering a sense of belonging and identity among its inhabitants.

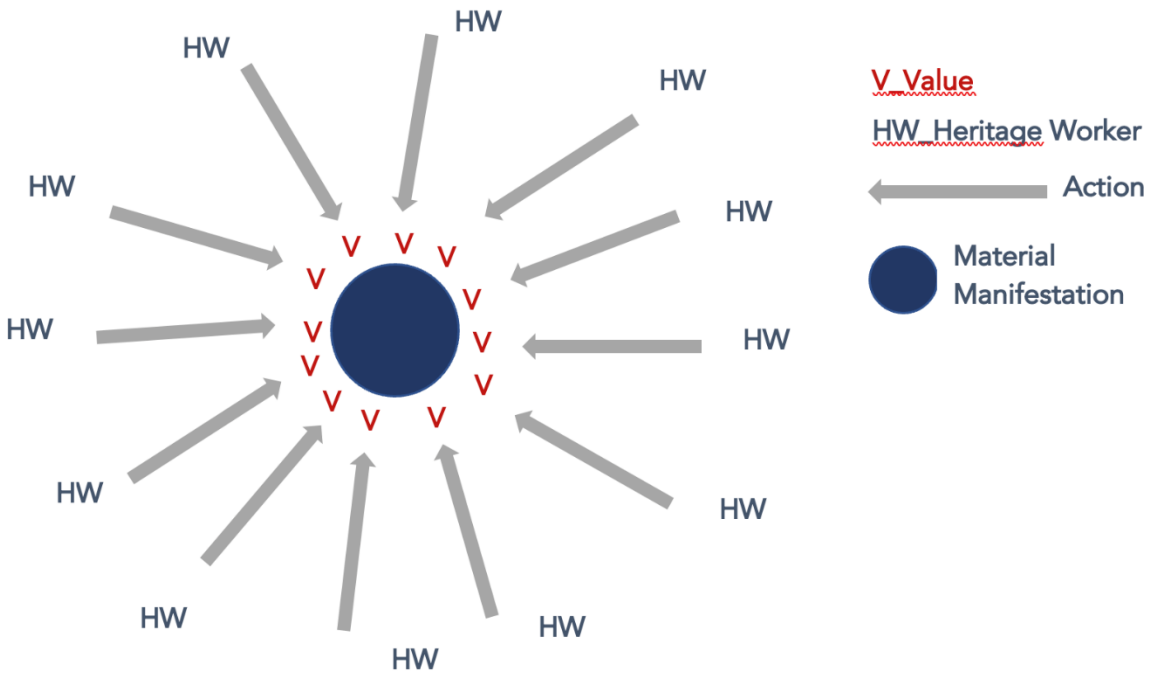


Figure 1.1: Graphical interpretation of Byrne's arguments (Source: the author, 2022)

[7] '[...] *In a discussion of the etymology of the German verb 'bauen', or 'to build', Heidegger tells us that its older version was used to mean both 'to build' and 'to dwell'. Moreover, the ideas of building and dwelling are closely related to the ideas of caring for and cultivating, as well as constructing. This etymology also shows that dwelling was not in its origins an activity that one undertakes, like working or travelling, but referred to existence: 'the manner in which we humans are on earth'. These associations have been dampened by modern usage* […]*'.* (Mosler, 2019, p.780)

The diagram that follows in Figure 1.2 illustrates Mosler's interpretation of heritage construction. It showcases the dynamic relationship between 'Everyday life' ('EL' in the diagram) activities and the physical aspects of heritage. These everyday activities are symbolized by grey arrows, showcasing their interaction with the physical manifestations, depicted as a blue circle. This depiction underscores the notion that while the physicality of heritage provides a foundation, it also instigates further everyday life activities. Value (highlighted in red) can stem from either the influence of everyday activities on the physical heritage, or from the physical aspects influencing daily life, without necessarily being the result of a direct dialogue between the two. This nuanced perspective sheds light on the intricate and evolving process of heritage construction, emphasizing how both the tangible and intangible elements of heritage play crucial roles in determining its value and meaning.

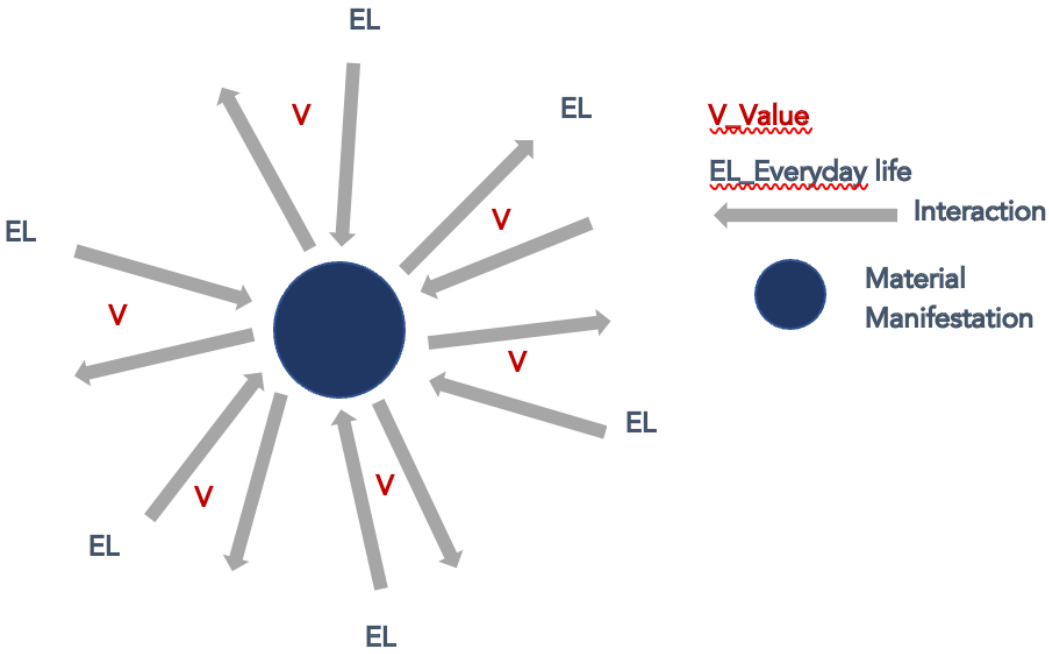


Figure 1.2: Graphical interpretation of Mosler's arguments (Source: the author, 2022)

Byrne and Mosler converge on the significance of engaging with the physical aspects of heritage. In their discussions on heritage as a social-spatial concept, the 'Use Value' concept emerges as a pivotal element in the social approach to understanding places. The 'Use Value' also involves recognising the continuity of daily life in the temporal dimension and the

ongoing communal usage of a place. Its understanding, however, differs from the traditional conservation-led approaches, where it is contextualised over a longer period of time.

Furthermore, within these two approaches to heritage, 'Use Value' is seen as a way to engage culturally and spatially with a place, aiming to secure dual qualitative benefits: enhancing the experience for the user and affirming the site's heritage significance. Conversely, traditional conservation-led approaches conceive 'Use Value' as tied to the tangible outputs derived from the heritage's material properties, which are marketable. In this context, heritage is regarded as a form of 'cultural capital,' a term Throsby uses to describe an asset that '*embodies, stores, or generates cultural value, in addition to any economic value it may possess*' (Throsby, 1999, p.167). Here, 'Use Value' measures the extent and quality to which a heritage site can accommodate specific uses, effectively distancing the 'user' from their potential contribution as an active 'heritage producer'.

This central perception of 'Use Value' in traditional conservation-led approaches is complemented by the concept of 'Non-Use Value.' This notion does not serve as the antithesis of heritage production but is instead related to the consumption or interaction with heritage. Borrowed from economics, 'Non-Use Value,' as outlined by Mason (2002, p.12), refer to the values that are not marketable and stem from the public-good attributes of heritage, manifesting in three distinct forms:

1. Existence value: Individuals value a heritage item for its mere existence, even though they themselves may not experience it or 'consume its services' directly.
2. Option value: The option value of heritage refers to someone's wish to preserve the possibility (the option) that he or she might consume the heritage's services at some future time.
3. Bequest value: Bequest value stems from the wish to bequeath a heritage asset to future generations.

The concepts of 'Use Value' and 'Non-Use Value' have significantly influenced contemporary heritage studies, notably in research conducted by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) between 1997 and 2005. This project sought to bridge economic and cultural approaches to valuing heritage. Although situated within the late 20th-century debates on the concept of heritage, the focus of these studies was primarily methodological, exploring the systems of value assignment rather than critically examining heritage itself. However, subsequent GCI publications have shown a growing emphasis on heritage as influenced by people and societal factors. Topics such as the community's role in repurposing built heritage to meet societal needs, the community-driven place-making processes that imbue spaces with accumulated meaning over time, and sustainable approaches that question the traditional view of heritage as merely a cultural resource—proposing instead that it should be considered a material one—have highlighted the limitations of existing valuation systems and the political implications they carry.

The diagram below shows how traditional approaches, including the initial perspectives of the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), address the valuation of heritage (Figure 1.3). It illustrates how value is assigned to the physical aspects of heritage. This includes values such as 'Use Value' and 'Non-Use Value,' though it's important to note that they do not stem from the heritage construction process itself. The actions, depicted by grey arrows, represent these external assignments, with values being imposed upon them.

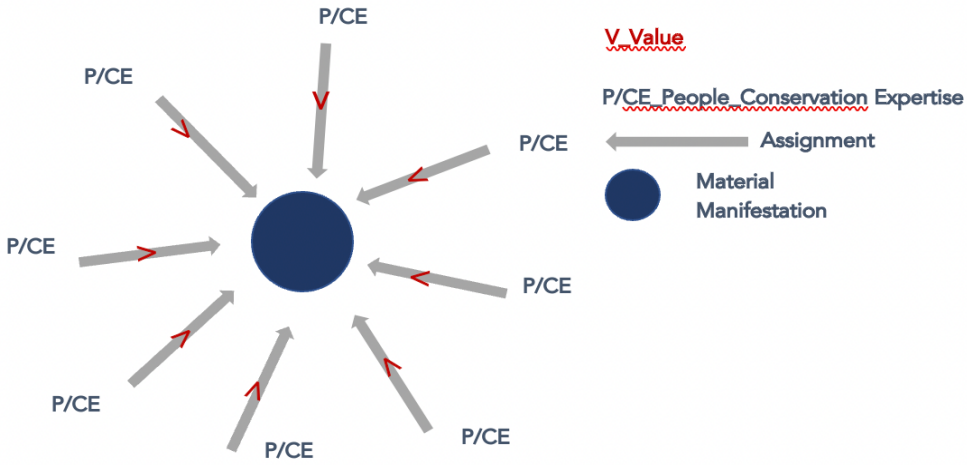


Figure 1.3: Graphical interpretation of GCI's arguments (Source: the author, 2022)

Focusing on the interplay between materiality and human interaction, some scholars have advocated for a deeper appreciation of the 'living experience of a place'. They suggest a move away from viewing heritage solely in terms of its use and towards a broader understanding of its role in everyday life and community identity. The subsequent section will delve into the pivotal debates surrounding this subject, shedding light on the diverse perspectives and discussions that have enriched the understanding of heritage's significance in the last decade.

1.3.3. Questions of relationality

In the realm of critical heritage studies, there has been a significant shift towards re-evaluating the role of heritage's materiality. This shift moves away from a narrow focus on its utilitarian value and towards a richer appreciation of its significance in shaping everyday life and community identity. This change coincides with a broader discussion about the importance of material aspects in the field of heritage. Despite the intangible nature of heritage values, there is an ongoing debate about the role of physical manifestations. In the last decade, there has been a surge in calls for a more nuanced consideration of this material dimension, especially in how it intersects with contemporary social challenges like environmental sustainability. Some scholars (e.g., Avrami et al., 2002; Pereira et al., 2007; Harrison, 2010, 2013; Fredheim et al., 2019) have advocated for this holistic perspective. They argue that conservation practices and theoretical frameworks need to be rethought to better align with the enduring and emergent needs of heritage and society. This comprehensive approach suggests that understanding heritage in the context of community identity and daily life requires further acknowledgement of the dynamic interplay between its material and intangible aspects.

Harrison's (2013) dialogical approach to heritage stands out as a particularly significant contribution to these debates about refining heritage practices to better address the ongoing and changing needs of heritage and society. Drawing from Actor-Network[8] and Assemblage

[8] The 'Actor-Network Theory' by Bruno Latour (1987, cited in Bencherki 2017, p.1) stresses how everything in the social and natural worlds happens in endlessly mutable networks of relationships.

theories[9], along with various social scientific methodologies that recognise social and worldly elements as part of continually evolving networks of relationships, Harrison advocates for a 'dialogical' perspective on heritage. According to this approach, heritage is understood to arise 'from the relationship between a range of human and non-human actors and their environments' (Harrison, 2013, p.204). This perspective underscores the dynamic and interconnected nature of heritage, emphasising the importance of various interactions in its formation and evolution.

Harrison (2013, pp.205, 217) posits that the dialogical framework provides a venue for resolving conflicts inherent in the politics of heritage, while simultaneously addressing environmental and social concerns. These facets are not seen as distinct arenas but are interwoven in complex ways. Continuing this reasoning, Harrison (2013, p.226) suggests that the dialogical approach transcends traditional dichotomies (such as tangible vs. intangible, and natural vs. cultural) that have historically segmented the heritage field. Drawing inspiration from Callon et al. (2011, cited in Harrison, 2012, p.223), who advocate for collaborative spaces where experts, non-experts, ordinary citizens, and politicians converge to dissolve the bureaucratic divide between laypeople and professionals, Harrison (2012, p.223) puts forward the notion of 'Hybrid Forums'. These forums are envisaged as arenas where diverse socio-cultural, political, and economic issues, as well as considerations of scale, are addressed simultaneously. Within this model, the importance of practices and relationships in facilitating dialogical exchanges is underscored. Omitting any participants, including the material dimension, diminishes the perceived value of heritage. Harrison conceptualizes heritage as a construct that takes shape through the interactions between individuals and objects. He argues that valuing heritage extends beyond simply attributing

[9] The 'Assemblage theory' by Deleuze and Guattari (1980, cited in Nail, 2017 p.22) proposes that human actions result from complex socio-material interconnections.

worth to objects; rather, value emerges intrinsically from these interactions, as illustrated in the diagram below (Figure 1.4).

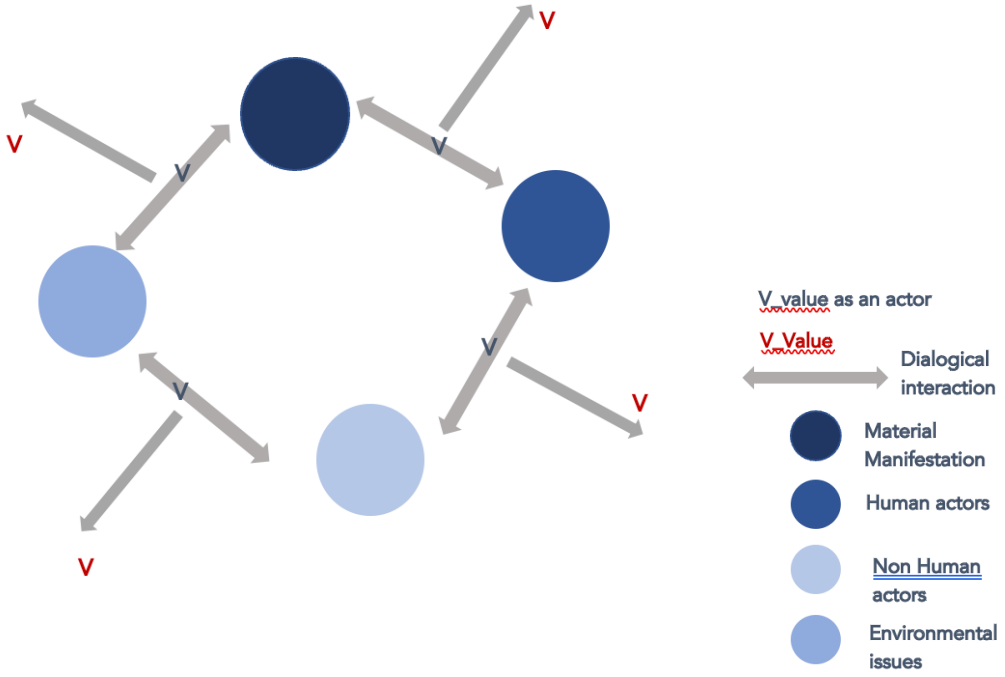


Figure 1.4: Graphical interpretation of Harrison's arguments (Source: the author, 2022)

In this diagram, materiality is represented as a dark blue circle integrated into a network with other participants in the heritage creation process. These participants consist of human actors, non-human actors, and environmental factors, each depicted by circles in varying shades of blue. The elements are positioned within a non-hierarchical model and engage in a dialogical process that leads to the development of heritage and its values. These values are indicated by the letter 'V' in red. However, it is important to note that these dialogues are influenced by specific contexts, political frameworks, and sensitivities. This suggests that certain values (represented by 'V' in blue) already exist within these interactions. The diagram highlights how Harrison distinguishes between these initial values and what he refers to as heritage values. He considers the former to be embedded within the dialogical processes. Therefore, these processes, illustrated by the grey double-sided arrows that highlight the

equal involvement of every participant in the dialogue and the creation of heritage, can encompass social and economic values, along with other contextual and perceptual factors.

The dialogical model introduced by Harrison (2012) has galvanized further research within the heritage studies domain, focusing on its practical implications and mechanisms. Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, p.466) particularly emphasise the importance of a deeper comprehension of how values are articulated within these dialogical frameworks.

To that aim, they outline a research methodology that is structured around three critical assessment phases, framed by key inquiries: the identification of the heritage subject, the rationale behind its perceived value, and the measurement of its significance.

Addressing the initial inquiry aids in clarifying the objectives of the dialogical processes. However, Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, p.471) recognise challenges associated with the subsequent question, noting its alignment with conventional valuation methods that consider values as extrinsic attributes assigned to heritage artefacts, leading to an incomplete spectrum of values. To address this challenge, they recommend an early assessment of significance within conservation practices. Inspired by Stephenson's model of cultural value (2008, cited in Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, p.472), they suggest organising significant features into 'forms' (reflecting the tangible and spatial manifestations of heritage), 'relationships' (denoting the dynamics between individuals and places), and 'practices' (covering the range of traditions and activities). The approach then progresses to defining the aspects of value across four categories: associative, sensory, evidentiary, and functional, thereby elucidating the vital links across and within the identified significant attributes.

The methodology culminates in an analytical stage that uses 'qualifiers of value' to refine the importance of these value aspects. Although the scholars (2016, p.457) mention some qualifiers such as 'authenticity' and 'rarity,' they caution against assuming these as intrinsic sources of heritage value, highlighting that the significance of qualifiers is not inherent.

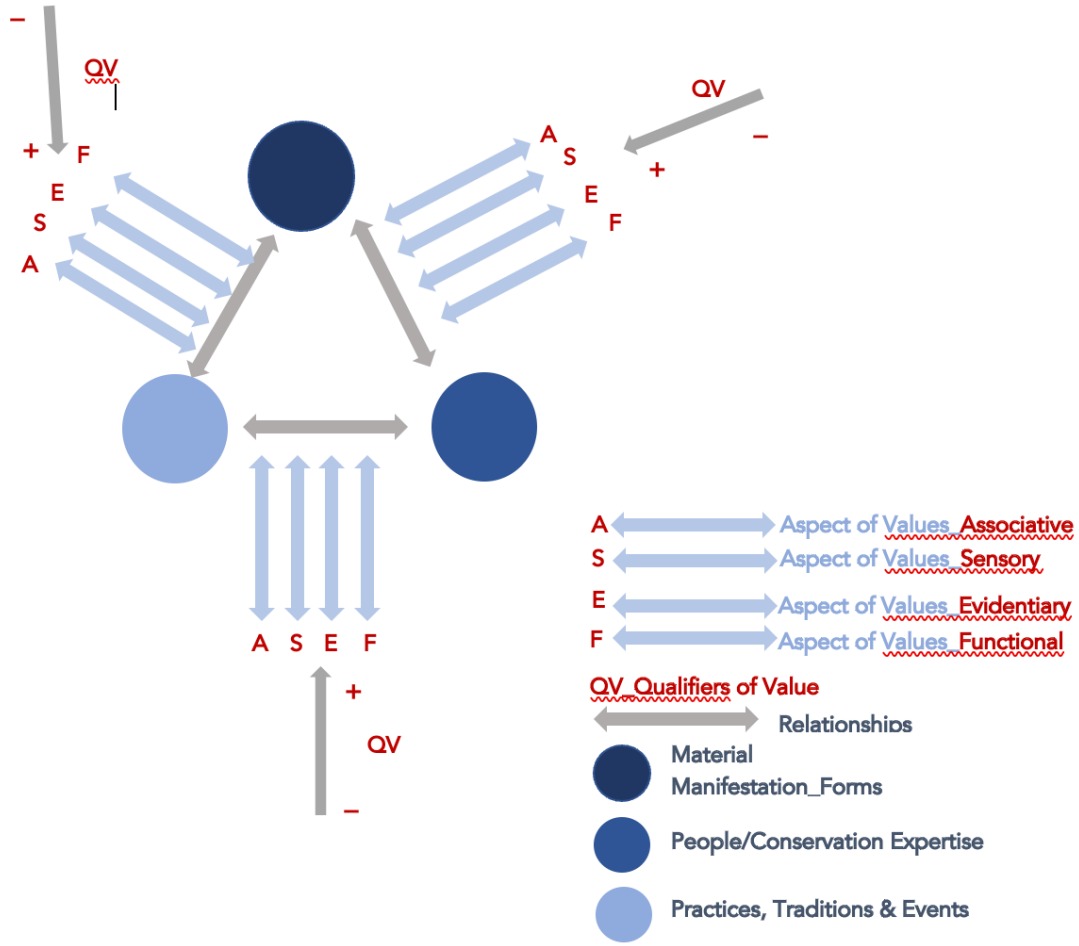


Figure 1.5: Graphical interpretation of Fredheim and Khalaf's arguments (Source: the author, 2022)

The above diagram highlights the methodological approach proposed by Fredheim and Khalaf, illustrating their perception of value as a nuanced process that demands an in-depth analysis for comprehensive understanding and identification (Figure 1.5). It also reflects a departure from viewing value as a singular, unchanging concept by detailing its various aspects—Associative (A), Sensory (S), Evidentiary (E), Functional (F)—and applying distinct qualifiers to each. While the scholars adopt a dialogical practice in line with Harrison's approach as the foundation for constructing values, the diagram explicitly indicates an opportunity for further exploration into who is engaged in this thorough examination of values and the broader implications of their involvement. Consequently, the political dimensions associated with the processes of valuing heritage remain an area needing more

clarity, suggesting that the dialogical approach, although comprehensive, opens questions about the participatory and decision-making processes in heritage valuation.

Expanding on the discussion regarding materiality, expertise in conservation, and the role of communities, Avrami and Mason (2019, p.22) identify two levels of value: ‘Essential’ and ‘Instrumental’. They assert that materiality should not be viewed as an end result, but rather as the primary focus of preservation actions. As a result, they propose the 'essential’ level of value, which is based on the belief that cultural heritage and the ability to understand the past through its material remnants play a fundamental role in fostering strong communities, supporting the physical and spiritual well-being of individuals, and promoting mutual understanding and peace. From this perspective, safeguarding and promoting cultural heritage is seen as a legitimate objective in and of itself, owing to its contributions to society. Conversely, the 'instrumental value' of heritage is linked to its potential for addressing contemporary and future challenges and supporting global sustainability goals.

Avrami and Mason (2019, p.22-23) classify 'essential values' as those that form the foundation of traditional conservation efforts, encompassing historical, artistic, aesthetic, and scientific qualities and narratives. On the other hand, 'instrumental values' are determined by communities based on the utility, economic, political, and environmental significance of these places. The authors argue that while these value categories are complementary and can coexist, they have distinct impacts: the former directly informs conservation methodologies, while the latter is more relevant to the long-term sustainability of conservation efforts.

To bridge the gap between heritage protection and wider socio-economic and environmental goals, including aspects of planning and management, the authors advocate for a harmonization of the two value categorizations. However, their proposed model encounters a limitation by conflating conservation methodologies exclusively with 'essential values', inadvertently sidelining broader community engagement in defining what constitutes heritage. This issue is visually represented in the diagram below, which depicts two distinct circles illustrating the engagement with ‘Essential’ and ‘Instrumental’ values respectively (Figure 1.6).

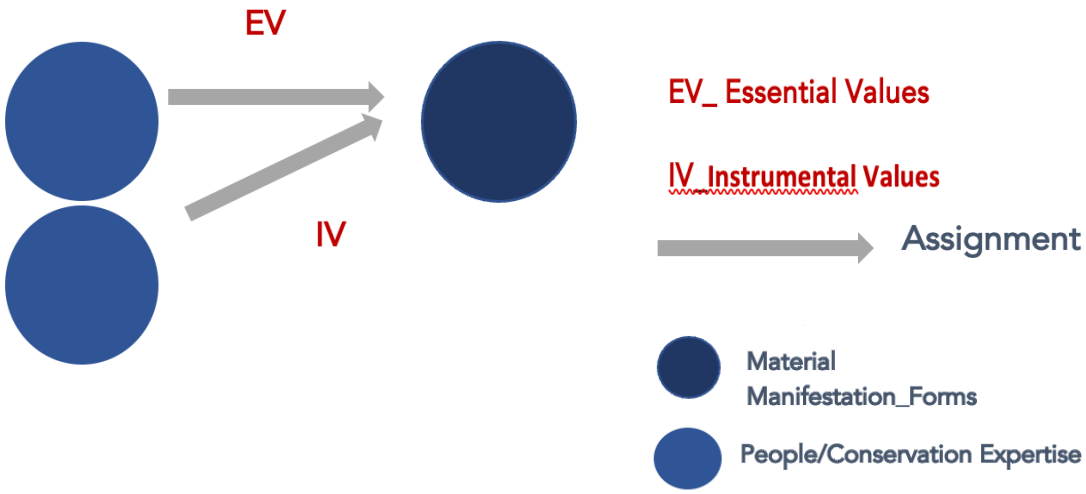


Figure 1.6: Graphical interpretation of Avrami and Mason's arguments (Source: the author,2022)

Additionally, while acknowledging the significance of both value types, the diagram reveals that this approach tends towards traditional methodologies where values are attributed to material aspects. Despite a clearer role for societal input and an attempt to establish an egalitarian hierarchy within the two value levels — akin to the approach seen in the Fredheim and Khalaf model (2016) — there remain practical gaps. These include adequately addressing political factors within the evaluation process and finding effective ways to synchronise the essential and instrumental levels of value.

1.4. Critical visions of the concept of 'Value' in heritage

Over the last decade, several scholars have argued for a departure from the traditional value-based framework used in heritage theory and practice. Instead, they propose methodologies that are more aligned with the everyday lives of communities, reflecting their identities, beliefs, and social practices. These academics criticize the current value-based approach for simplifying heritage significance into specific value categories. They also express concerns about the intricate conceptual nuances and political implications associated with the term 'Value.' The critiques surrounding the use of 'value' in heritage assessment can be summarized into two main concerns:

1. The first concern raises an issue regarding bias in interpretation, arguing that consistently upholding the values attributed by various stakeholder groups is not feasible. This bias can lead to a situation where the perceived importance of heritage is influenced more by political and expertise decisions rather than the values attached to it. This critique emphasises that the process inherently favours the stakeholders conducting the assessment, introducing subjectivity and potential bias in determining what is considered valuable heritage.

Building on this, Fouseki et al. (2019) explore the diverse interpretations of heritage values across various disciplines within heritage studies, examining both practical applications and theoretical considerations. Their research uncovers that perceptions of heritage values can greatly differ based on the specific disciplinary approach. For example, archaeologists often emphasize the historical and material aspects of heritage sites, whereas sociologists might prioritize the sites' social and communal significance. In contrast, environmental scientists view heritage values through the lens of ecological sustainability, while economists focus on heritage's potential for tourism and economic growth.

The variation in comprehension of heritage values among different disciplines highlights the complexity of these values and emphasizes the urgent need for a more integrated approach to heritage conservation. The analysis of Fouseki et al. (2019) underscores the importance of promoting collaborative dialogue among the various fields within heritage studies. Their objective is to reconcile these diverse perspectives, which is crucial for achieving a comprehensive understanding and efficient preservation of heritage values. This effort to integrate perspectives aims to overcome the challenges posed by the ambiguity of the term 'Value,' which can lead to misunderstandings and mismanagement, ultimately hindering the success of collaborative heritage projects.

To address these issues, the scholars suggest moving beyond the singular term 'Value' and adopting a more nuanced approach that considers *what*, *why*, *how*, *by whom*, and *for whom* heritage is valued (Fouseki et al., 2019, p.41) This proposed shift towards a language that focuses on the heritage construction process aims to facilitate clearer communication and

more effective collaboration among stakeholders, thereby enhancing the management and preservation of heritage.

2. The second critique concerns the value-based system's applicability to intangible aspects of heritage. It observes that the concept of 'Value' has traditionally been applied to the preservation of physical structures and artefacts. This viewpoint suggests a gap in the framework's ability to adequately address and safeguard the intangible expressions of heritage that are equally significant to cultural identity and continuity.

In response to this challenge, several scholars have advocated for innovative approaches in heritage assessment that emphasise the interconnection between the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. For instance, drawing on Heidegger's notion of value[10] as a means to reconcile knowledge with the material world, Walter (2014) proposes a new system grounded in 'narratives'. This model suggests that cultural phenomena and prospective heritage entities can be phenomenologically 'read' as texts. In this regard, the scholar posits that narratives transcend mere event chronology; they embed the character and essence of heritage, actively engaging communities and inspiring them to continue the narrative's trajectory. (Walter, 2014, p.645)

In his discourse, Walter (2014, p.646) stresses that narratives are fundamentally communal, proposing they provide a democratic basis for heritage assessment. Such narratives do more than chronicle events in order; they embed the core of heritage within their fabric, encouraging community engagement and continuation of the heritage story. Walter points out that these narratives interweave past, present, and future, effectively closing the gap between time periods. This approach showcases heritage as a continuum—a legacy from the

[10] '[…] These relationships are bound up with one another as a primordial whole; they are what they are as this signifying in which *Dasein* (human being) gives itself beforehand its being-in-the-world as something to be understood. The relational whole of this signifying we call 'significance'. This is what makes up the structure of the world – the structure of that wherein *Dasein* as such already is […] (Heidegger,1962 cited in Walter, 2014, p.639)

past that is cherished in the present and preserved for future generations. Through this perspective, narratives serve as a dynamic medium that enriches the understanding and appreciation of heritage, highlighting its ongoing relevance and importance.

The emphasis on the concept of heritage that endures and evolves over time is also key for Poulios (2010) in his 'living heritage' approach to heritage conservation procedures. He defines a 'living heritage site' as one that maintains its original function and continually reflects this through its spatial definition and arrangement, in response to changing circumstances at local, national, and international levels (Poulios, 2010, p.175). This approach focuses on the everyday practices (the intangible) that are woven with material manifestations (the tangible) and highlights 'continuity' as a cornerstone characteristic of these sites. Continuity is evident in three intertwined aspects: firstly, in the persistence of the site's function, ensuring its ongoing relevance and utility. Secondly, in the adaptive maintenance and use of the space which evolves to address contemporary demands while preserving its historical essence. Lastly, continuity is embodied in the consistent engagement and presence of the local community, which Poulios considers fundamental to the site's existence.

1.4 Conclusions

To address the research aims and answer the research questions presented in the introduction to this thesis, it is crucial to utilize both theoretical and empirical methods. This chapter has primarily focused on developing a theoretical framework that draws from the body of literature surrounding the emergence of heritage and the significance it holds within this process. Beginning with a review of the definition of heritage, it has been argued that heritage is a phenomenon that is centred in the present, as suggested by numerous scholars (e.g. Graham et al., 2000; Harvey, 2001; Larkham, 1995; Schouten, 1995; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Through a historical examination of the concept of heritage value, tracing its origins back to the 19th century with the introduction of a value system rooted in a material-focused approach by Alois Riegl (1903), this investigation has shed light on how this approach continues to shape

conservation practices. This is discussed by Smith (2006) in her identification of a Western 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD) that favours top-down expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, sidelining other voices. Through my investigation, I have highlighted the evolving complexities surrounding heritage conservation, particularly after the 1979 Burra Charter's focus on recognizing intangible heritage elements. The analysis presented here sheds light on how this shift towards a more inclusive understanding of heritage has facilitated a democratization in heritage assessment processes but has also required a re-evaluation of the concept of value and its origins. By exploring the evolution of debates surrounding the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of heritage values, I have revealed the consensus that all values are inherently intangible, shaped by social constructs influenced by cultural, economic, and social circumstances, as suggested by Mason, citing Georg Simmel (de la Torre and Mason, 2002, p.4). However, the role of material expressions in heritage remains ambiguous. By combining theoretical discussions within the field of critical heritage studies that revolve around the construction processes of heritage value, I have elucidated three main approaches to this issue. The first approach emphasizes heritage as inherently intangible, with materiality serving merely as a vehicle for intangible processes (Munjeri, 2004; Smith, 2006). However, this perspective leaves unanswered questions about the practical conservation of materiality within our built environment. The second approach shifts the focus to heritage being constructed through the use and practice involved in its creation (Byrne, 2008). Furthermore, it suggests that the value and integrity of heritage lie in its ability to reveal and support everyday uses, as suggested by Mosler (2019). The challenge here lies in understanding the motivations behind these actions to better grasp the nuances of the resulting value. Finally, the third perspective, advocated by Professor Harrison (2013), positions the construction of heritage and its values as emerging from dialogical processes, with materiality as one of the participants. This approach envisions spaces of dialogue as platforms where socio-cultural, political, and economic factors, as well as considerations of scale, converge and interact. Within this framework, the significance of practices and relationships in fostering these dialogical interactions is emphasized, highlighting the dynamic and participatory nature of heritage construction. However, challenges remain in elucidating the values that arise

from these practices and how to incorporate them into the design of practical conservation strategies.

While scholars like Fredheim and Khalaf (2016) have suggested methodologies to make the dialogical approach practicable, there remain unresolved issues, especially concerning the dynamics of power within this framework. Their proposed methodologies still entail intricate interpretive processes, leading to inquiries regarding who possesses the interpretative authority. Through the analysis conducted in this chapter, I have also discovered noteworthy arguments proposing the abandonment of the value-based approach in favour of focusing on the everyday lives of communities and questioning the political dimensions of heritage valuation. However, my investigation has demonstrated the inherent connection between the concept of value and the appreciation of something as heritage (Fredheim and Kalhaf, 2016), making it a crucial aspect to consider.

Since its inception, post-industrial heritage has presented significant conceptual challenges in academic and conservation practice. Building upon the theoretical framework established in this chapter, my objective is to gain a deeper understanding of how value is created and evolves over time by examining this specific form of heritage and the socio-spatial practices connected to its construction. Furthermore, I seek to contribute to the debates surrounding its preservation. The following chapter will introduce the methodology employed in this investigation to accomplish these objectives.

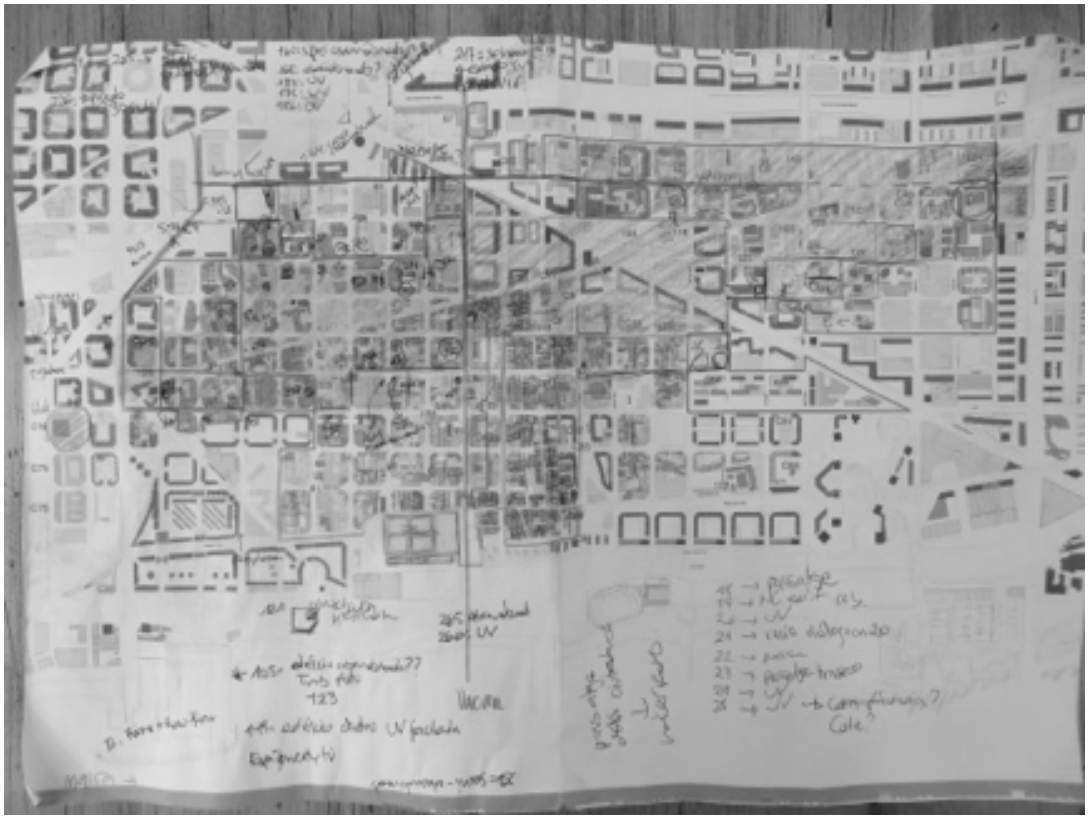


Figure 2.0: Fieldwork explorative map (Source: the author, 2016)

CHAPTER 2. HOW TO STUDY VALUE IN POST-INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES UNDERGOING REGENERATION

2.1. Introduction. Background to this research

This thesis, anchored in the field of Critical Heritage Studies, aims to explore the social construction of Post-Industrial Heritage Values and examine the influence of this process on the preservation of such heritage, as well as its impact on the urban fabric where it is situated. My engagement with the interdisciplinary critical heritage field began after completing a post-professional Master in Science (MSc) Degree in Architectural Restoration and Urban Aesthetics at Roma Tre University (Italy), Directed by the internationally recognised Professor Paolo Marconi. This collaborative program included partnerships with Columbia University (USA) and the École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture Paris-Belleville (France). Professor Marconi's Academic and Professional approaches are aligned with the philosophy of Gustavo Giovannoni, a prominent figure in heritage preservation.

Giovannoni's seminal work, the first *Carta del Restauro* [Restauration Charter] published in 1931,[11] established the foundational principles encapsulated in the Venice Charter of 1964. This Charter, developed 33 years later and endorsed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), remains the foremost official document providing an international framework for the restoration and conservation of historical monuments (Lamprakos, 2014). This said, not all of Giovannoni's arguments and interpretations made their way into the Charter. Crucially, his emphasis on the need for a comprehensive approach to heritage, and for recognising 'minor' architecture that forms an integral part of 'lived'[12] heritage, was sidelined by giving prevalence in this Charter to the conservation of monuments and major historical sites.

These arguments came to influence my thinking as a student in the context of my MSc Course at Roma Tre University, and profoundly influenced my professional architectural career and

[11] The first conservation guidelines adopted by the Italian Consiglio Superiore delle Belle Arti in December 1931 (Jokilehto, 1998)

[12] Giovannoni distinguishes between 'lived' heritage and 'dead' heritage. The former is related to the concept of the historic city as a living fabric, while the latter pertains to the notion of a 'monument'.

its associated theoretical and methodological approaches. In the early 1980s, inspired by Giovannoni's ideas, a group of Italian scholars, led by Professor Paolo Marconi, redirected their preservation research interests toward popular architecture within the historic city centre of Rome. Their findings culminated in the publication of the Manuale del Recupero del Centro Storico di Roma (1993),[13] a compendium documenting vernacular architectures and richly illustrated with detailed construction drawings. Conceived as a political manifesto, the *Manuale* constituted a reflection on the value and image of ordinary people's architecture across time, and its format and emphasis have since been replicated in various Italian cities, such as the *Manuale del Recupero del Centro Storico di Palermo* (1997), and the *Manuale del Centro Storico Città di Castello* (2004). The *Manuale del Recupero del Centro Storico di Roma* was an important reference for me and my colleagues while studying for a year in Rome, instilling a sense of the important interconnections between concepts of heritage and ordinary people's ongoing associations with building, linking historic architecture and daily life activities.

However, upon concluding my MSc master's studies in Rome, I discovered that conservation practice approaches rarely integrated this social perspective. Upon my re-entry into professional life, I was offered a position as an internal and full-time heritage consultant in the Regional Government of Andalucía, Spain. Andalucía region is distinguished from to any other area in the country by having the highest number of officially recognized monuments and heritage sites - including seven UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In addition to preparing reports on preservation design strategies and works, my responsibilities extended to conducting meetings with public cultural institutions, conservation experts, and occasional private stakeholders. These meetings concerned the potential inclusion of new buildings and locations in the official regional heritage catalogue, as well as in other national and international preservation documents.

[13] In English: 'The Handbook for the Conservation of the Historic City Centre of Rome'

One of the primary objectives of the discussions conducted within these settings was to determine the significance of the heritage sites by identifying their values. My role as an architect consultant was instrumental in informing the panel members of the Regional Government's Heritage Committee about the tangible aspects of the buildings and sites, particularly their integrity and preservation in terms of their structural and material components. Additionally, these discussions encompassed considerations of historical, aesthetic, and economic values. Regrettably, despite the emphasis on socio-economic development, the emotional connections, and personal interactions that individuals have with the built-heritage legacy, which are integral to their everyday landscapes, these were not always taken into account in the final decisions of the Committee.

Another objective of these meetings was to examine potential future scenarios for the use of monuments and obsolete heritage sites. Two commonly suggested solutions involved transformation into museums or repurposing as facilities for cultural activities. The central issue of the discussion revolved around the restoration of their physical attributes, with an emphasis on this aspect over others. However, there was a limited exploration of the interconnections between the value of use, physical manifestations, and local people. Not surprisingly perhaps, during the economic downturn in 2008, numerous publicly-funded museums and cultural centres had to close off, resulting from financial challenges at the local and regional levels, with an important social impact.

Several years later, I began collaborating with the European research project Euro-Mediterranean Urban Voids Ecology (EMUVE), led by the architect and academic Dr Federico Wulff, funded by the European Commission-EU, and hosted by Cardiff University. EMUVE aimed to explore innovative design-based methodologies for revitalizing degraded urban landscapes resulting from the economic crisis, with a specific focus on the role of heritage in these transformation processes. This research, which included case studies in Rome and Barcelona, provided the groundwork for my deeper involvement in the Poblenou neighbourhood of Barcelona. My decision to embark on a PhD, which I began in 2014 was driven by a strong interest in exploring the area's post-industrial built legacy and its preservation.

While working in collaboration with the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou, I began searching for new conservation approaches that aligned with the social needs brought to the forefront by the global crisis of 2008 in the area. This endeavour significantly increased my fascination with understanding how ordinary people, not just heritage experts, perceive and value heritage, as well as the origins and evolution of this significance. As an architect and urban designer, my primary focus was to comprehend these phenomena from a spatial perspective, leading me to investigate their implications for built heritage, particularly at an urban scale. The goal of my thesis became precisely to explore these ways of valuing heritage.

2.2. Research Rationale

The problem which this research grapples with is one of human interpretation, experience, and perception, not just one of physical context, continuity and means to material conservation. To address my research questions, I recognised early on the need for a mixed methods approach that could serve to explore and unpack relationships between the social and material, the historical and contemporary and between different sorts of qualitative and quantitative data about locations and architecture. As John Cresswell's (1999, p.455) writes, the value of mixed methods research is precisely that it can help to 'understand complex phenomena qualitatively as well as to explain the phenomena through numbers, charts […] basic statistical analyses' and other such varied data. The method, not surprisingly, is frequently used in architectural research, particularly in case studies, as highlighted by Groat and Wang (2013). As Greene explains (2006), it is effective in disciplines that combine creative practice with practical application, underscoring its importance in situations where innovative and applied research converge. And, as Byrne and Nugent (2004, p.64) suggest, it is valuable in heritage studies which continually involves tasks of linking 'documentary historical sources with [the dimensional concreteness of] physical locations.'

Integrating research strategies, as suggested by these scholars, has the potential to optimize the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of any one way of seeing, knowing and interpreting. However, achieving this requires a sophisticated understanding of different methods by the researcher. In this regard, my doctoral training, along with my professional background as an architect, my experience of working in this multidisciplinary arena, and my

expertise as a heritage consultant familiar with historical procedures, combined with my professional experience in participatory design processes, have enabled me to effectively implement the diverse methods employed throughout the investigation process. These methods, which include both data collection and a range of analytical methods, are described in the sections that follow, beginning with discussion of the significance of case study research and research on values.

2.2.1. Case study research

In light of the initial premise of this thesis, which posits that all values are unfixed and socially constructed within specific cultural and economic contexts, my study focuses on a singular case study, aiming to show how this process happens and what this understanding can yield more broadly for interpreting and theorising heritage.

The core principle of the case study research strategy is to investigate a specific setting or phenomenon within its authentic real-world context, as emphasized by Groat and Wang (2013). However, as Yin (2011) points out, this requires more than simply observing the phenomenon *in situ*. Instead, the case study investigation involves conducting a comprehensive analysis of a specific case, considering it within the intricate network of complex dynamics that are inherent to and inseparable from the case itself. The approach affords me a more comprehensive understanding of the intricacies involved in the evolution of these values. A key point is to examine the valuation of post-industrial heritage by ordinary people and how this is reflected in the usage and preservation of historical buildings and infrastructures. Poblenou was selected as a 'paradigmatic case study,' as defined by Flyvbjerg (2011). Such case studies are chosen for their ability to 'highlight the general characteristics of the societies in question'. Poblenou is considered 'paradigmatic' not because it represents a statistically average or common example, but because of its intricate details and contextual depth. This area from Barcelona serves as an excellent example of the emergence of diverse socio-spatial practices linked to the preservation of post-industrial heritage from the beginning of Spain's democratic period in the late 1970s to the present day. Its urban transformation complexities over time allow for a thorough exploration and understanding of broader issues such as the role of heritage within the city, what can be considered heritage

and how value in historic environments is understood. Furthermore, as Flyvbjerg suggests, if a unique phenomenon occurs in one location under certain conditions, it is possible for the same phenomenon to occur in other locations with similar conditions (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.76). As a result, the insights gained from Poblenou may be relevant to other regions that share similar favourable conditions for comparable processes. Therefore, the approach I adopted for my investigation was inductive. This decision is supported by the argument, influenced by existing literature, that a more empirical understanding of heritage valuation processes and their impact on conservation practices is necessary (e.g., Avrami et al., 2000, 2019). This viewpoint suggests that the extensive theoretical discussions on 'heritage values' and their construction, which have mainly focused on social, political, and economic aspects and have been tested through a deductive approach, should be complemented by case study research.

Several scholars, including Yin (2011), Berg (2009), Groat and Wang (2013), and Priya et.al (2021), have highlighted the significant flexibility inherent in the case study research strategy. Flyvbjerg (2011) emphasizes that this methodological approach is crucial for a researcher's 'own learning processes in developing the skills needed to conduct high-quality research' (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p.303) as it demands rigorous discipline in framing research questions, choosing relevant cases, and maintaining a focused pursuit of their objectives to ensure the research is coherent and valid (Yin, 2011). Drawing on Yin's (2011) theoretical groundwork for case study research, Groat and Wang (2013) identifies five common characteristics of this approach:

(1) a focus on analysing cases within their real-life contexts

(2) the capacity to uncover causal links

(3) the importance of theory development during the research design phase

(4) reliance on multiple sources of evidence that merge through triangulation

(5) the ability to generalize findings to broader theories

Poblenou aligns well with these characteristics, particularly demonstrating the profound impact of contextual analysis and theory development on understanding urban transformations. While the first and last characteristics are justified by the previous

explanation of why Poblenou is a paradigmatic case, it is particularly pertinent to reflect on Barcelona's announcement as the host city for the 1992 Olympic Games when addressing characteristic (2). This event catalysed significant urban changes in Poblenou, driven by neoliberal and fragmentary planning, which resulted in the extensive demolition of post-industrial buildings and infrastructures to make way for new constructions. This led to land revaluation that attracted private real estate investment. However, this demolition also spurred local opposition and spatial practices against aggressive urban policies, revealing complex connections between people, post-industrial heritage, and both formal and informal uses of these spaces. By spatial practices, I refer to the way in which people interact with, use, and perceive the physical space around them.

Furthermore, the financial crisis of 2008 intensified these causal dynamics, stalling Poblenou's development and leading to a reassessment of industrial buildings as essential heritage, thus transforming the area into a laboratory for reimagining urban development. The study in Poblenou required building a theoretical framework focused on investigating the notion of 'Value' and its implications, from both a theoretical and practical standpoint, in identifying something as heritage, as elaborated in Chapter 1. This included examining the link between people and material manifestations alongside other stakeholders, including non-human actors, and constructing this framework within the context of Post-Industrial heritage, mapping its evolution over time as collated in Chapter 3.

This process is in accordance with Groat and Wang's (2013) third characteristic, which emphasises the importance of developing theory during the research design phase. Moreover, it aligns with Groat and Wang's fourth characteristic, which highlights the incorporation of a variety of evidence and perspectives to gain a deep understanding of the topic being studied. In order to fully comprehend the complexity of the area according to the research objectives, as mentioned earlier, a mixed methods approach was employed. Furthermore, it involved the use of primary and secondary sources of evidence, as well as a comprehensive array of analytical tools, which I will discuss in further sections of the present chapter.

2.2.2. Understanding the Social Construction of Post-Industrial Heritage Values in Poblenou

Understanding the construction of post-industrial heritage values and its tangible impacts on the built environment over time in Poblenou has involved engagement with a large and growing literature on heritage values as well as the development of the mixed methods approach described below. Building on Harrison's (2013) dialogical approach to heritage (see Chapter 1), the heritage values emerge from spatial practices that integrate both human and non-human elements, including discursive elements and materiality, within a non-hierarchical network. My goal was to understand how these practices manifested in the area. Drawing on Foucault's insights regarding the multiplicity of pasts and the importance of recognizing the complex nature of social realities—shaped by various narratives, power structures, and knowledge systems (Palmer, 1997)—this study sought to explore the diverse realities of Poblenou by focusing on smaller segments characterized by a set of relationships revolving around post-industrial heritage. Therefore, instead of presenting a monolithic version of the social construction of its value, the study aimed to depict a constellation of events that reveal its origins, development, and implications. To navigate the complexities of studying past dynamics and the continuous process of transformation, a trans-disciplinary blend of research methods, including historical, social, and visual techniques, was employed. While the theoretical framework informed the investigation and data analysis methods, it did not restrict the research. On the contrary, its relational nature allowed for an adaptable research process, constantly facilitating the exploration of new interactions.

In accordance with Bauer and Gaskell's (2000) differentiation between the construction of a research corpus and analytical techniques, the following sections of this chapter are categorized into two primary parts. The initial part provides a comprehensive account of the mixed methods employed to acquire a pertinent and cohesive data collection from primary and secondary sources, in line with the four primary research objectives of this thesis. Consequently, the focus was directed towards gathering data that would shed light on the social practices and contexts related to the assessment of post-industrial heritage in the selected case study across time. The second part discusses the analytical strategies applied to

this data in order to draw meaningful conclusions about the theoretical and practical aspects of post-industrial heritage values in the area and its role within preservation strategies and the urban evolution of Poblenou. In the analysis of the varied materials gathered from the case study's fieldwork, such as semi-structured interview transcripts, urban plans and policies, newspaper articles, statements, historical documents, images, and videos, I have engaged with a comprehensive array of literature on analysis methods used in historical research, as well as in architectural and social science empirical investigation. Specifically, I concentrated on historical analysis, employing a realist approach to examine historical textbooks, urban policies, maps, and academic papers as sources of descriptive information. I also focused on discourse analysis, following the framework proposed by Oevermann and Mieg (2013) for examining the undergoing transformation of industrial heritage sites. This framework adapts Foucault's theory, using it as a tool not only to analyse the temporal evolution of specific discourses but also to explore discourses synchronically.

2.3. Constructing a Research Corpus

The research materials assembled as part of this study were categorized into three types: Theoretical Knowledge, Historical Knowledge, and Empirical Knowledge. The first category involved employing methods to establish a theoretical foundation for the case study research. The second category encompassed compiling data surrounding the historical context of Poblenou, considering it as the outcome of various processes that have shaped its unique urban form over time. This data encompassed economic, cultural, and social dimensions of the areas, as well as data helping to explain evolving practices, spaces and discourses related to post-industrialisation. Lastly, the third category of materials depicted the social processes of valuing post-industrial heritage and its physical manifestation in the present day.

The first two categories of evidence primarily relied on secondary sources obtained through extensive library and archival research, as well as primary sources such as exhibitions, photographs, videos, and texts produced by different stakeholders linked to the social practices and spaces analysed in this thesis. On the other hand, the third category required a more varied approach beyond these sources to understand Poblenou’s history, its transformation, its social use and its complex meanings and values. This involved conducting

semi-structured interviews with individuals involved in the preservation of post-industrial heritage and urban transformation processes in Poblenou, as well as engaging in participant observation to gain deeper insights into these processes.

Triangulating the collected data was crucial as it not only fostered a deeper understanding of the dynamics of valuing heritage in Poblenou but also it yielded more substantial evidence. The approach drew from Cochrane's (1998) recommendations regarding the systematic generation of strong evidence. Cochrane's framework advocates for a meticulous and structured approach to evidence gathering, emphasizing the need for high-quality data to support reliable and impactful conclusions. It is also inspired by Berg's (2009) emphasis on the importance of utilising diverse sources and types of evidence related to the same event or place. This multiplicity of viewpoints and evidence types is particularly key when studying complex social phenomena such as the valuation of heritage, where subjective experiences, historical contexts, and societal dynamics intertwine.

2.3.1. Theoretical Knowledge: Library Research, Visual methods (Photography, Paintings, Films)

In undertaking this part of the research, I was informed by scholars such as Groat and Wang (2013) and Yin (2003) who emphasize the importance of establishing a theoretical foundation during the research design phase before undertaking a case study investigation. This approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the issues to be examined and the methods to be employed. Therefore, the initial stages of this research, prior to commencing the case study exploration, involved exploring the discourses surrounding the concept of value in heritage, with a particular focus on post-industrial heritage. These efforts aligned with the first and second objectives of this Doctoral Thesis outlined in the Introduction Chapter and further discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. To achieve this, I conducted library research, both digitally and in person, primarily at Cardiff University and the British Library. The search criteria were informed by the research objectives, which aimed to investigate the meaning of value and its theoretical and practical implications, as well as to trace the evolution of how post-industrial built legacy has been valued over time and the social

processes involved. Additionally, this search was guided by the framework of literature provided by the field of Critical Heritage Studies, to which this thesis belongs.

To further develop a strong theoretical foundation regarding the value of post-industrial heritage over time, I visited the National Gallery in London. During this visit, I examined Turner's renowned paintings '*Rain, Steam, and Speed - The Great Western Railway*' and '*The Fighting Temeraire*', displayed in Room 34. These works are extensively discussed in literature dedicated to the study of the Industrial Sublime (e.g., Dominiczak, 2012; Carter, 1997; Gage, 1972), as I had discovered during my library research. The visit allowed me to deepen my understanding of the interpretations I had encountered in the literature, as well as take notes on additional aspects I discovered, such as the placement of industrial elements within the paintings' compositional hierarchy and the level of detail in their execution. It made me conscious of the equal importance of visual and written materials for theoretical understanding.

Moreover, this phase included visits to two photographic exhibitions: Gabriele Basilico, *Entropy and Urban Space* exhibition at ICO Foundation Museum in Madrid,[14] and Bernd and Hilla Becher, *Industrial Visions*, at the National Museum of Cardiff.[15] The first exhibition offered valuable insights into the presence of post-industrial heritage in transforming urban landscapes worldwide over the past decade, including Poblenou and other post-industrial areas in Barcelona. The second showcased the photographic work of these German photographers but also featured an extensive collection of original fieldwork documents, including interviews with local workers and maps. This exhibition provided rich information on the interconnected relationships between social and contextual dimensions and the tangible aspects of this form of heritage during the latter half of the 20th century, which I documented through notes and sketches.

[14] Visited on 2 June 2017.
[15] Visited on 8 and 9 January 2020.

Finally, to enhance my understanding of the relationship between the value of post-industrial heritage and its unique temporal condition, viewed as both a 'past-present' entity and a precursor to the future, I gathered information from various texts during library sessions. Insights gained from these sessions led me to incorporate the analysis of two films into my research methodology. To explore the 'past-present' aspect, I focused on the Italian Neo-Realist film *Boccaccio '70*, specifically on the *Renzo e Luciana* episode, directed by Mario Monicelli in 1962. For insights into its role as a precursor to the future, I also examined the film *Manhattan*, directed by Sheeler and Strand in 1921. Both films are freely available online.

2.3.2. Historical Knowledge: Archival research, review of formal urban plans used and proposed for Poblenou

The importance of understanding Poblenou within its historical context became apparent since the beginning of the investigation. The goal was to understand the area's past and present urban development by examining historical documents and secondary data. Hence, the exploration focused on:

a) the different industrial models that have been implemented and their impact on the urban fabric from the area's industrial origin to the beginning of its deindustrialization process in the 1970s;

b) the socio-economic and political contexts associated with these models, as well as the factors driving the transition from one model to another;

c) the uses and preservation practices of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou following the deindustrialization, both by official entities and the local community;

d) the socio-economic and political contexts linked to these uses and preservation strategies.

Chapter 4 discusses data related to a) and b), while Chapters 5 and 6 present information on c) and d).

Although a few historical sources were accessed in person, the majority of documents and secondary data were accessed online or requested through official channels. This enhanced the convenience and efficiency of the research process. The archival research was conducted in two stages, supplemented by the use of online resources and library research at the School

of Architecture of Barcelona (ETSAB), Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC). The initial phase of the archival investigation took place from January to April 2016, involving visits to the Poblenou neighbourhood association archive, *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*, and the Museum of Urban History of Barcelona (MUHBA)/Oliva Artés archive. To further explore the social, economic, and political contexts of Poblenou's industrial era in relation to both Barcelona and Spain, a week was dedicated to research at the *Biblioteca Nacional* (BN) in Madrid in May 2016. This institution, which is responsible for collecting, preserving, and disseminating the country's documentary heritage, was in the process of centralizing documents related to industrial and post-industrial heritage at a national level for the first time. The discovery of this initiative highlighted the growing national interest in the post-industrial past, as well as the vulnerability that this type of heritage has faced since the deindustrialization process.

The second round of archival research was carried out in December 2018 over a two-week period, with a particular emphasis on uncovering histories associated with socio-spatial practices related to both formal and informal preservation strategies and claims of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou. This phase involved revisiting the local archives of the *Arxiu Históric del Poblenou* and MUHBA/Oliva Artés, as well as exploring the private archive of Salvador Clarós. Salvador, who served as the president of the Poblenou neighbourhood association for 20 years, played a central role in providing invaluable information for this Thesis and also offered support as a facilitator during fieldwork encounters.

In addition to gathering relevant papers and books on the topics outlined at the beginning of this section, both rounds of archival research yielded a compilation of historical maps and photographs of the site and its immediate surroundings. Among these documents, the interactive historical chart of Barcelona (150 BC–2010 AD), developed by the MUHBA, and the interactive heritage historical chart of Poblenou and the Littoral (1725–2015), which were being finalised at the time of the investigation, were instrumental in gaining a better understanding of the spatial implications of the valuation processes I examined. A preliminary version of these charts was provided by its authors the architects Pablo Martinez and Mar Santamaría founders of the practice ‘300.000 Km/s’, and by Dr Oriol Ortech, a tutor at the

School of Architecture of Barcelona (ETSAB). Likewise, the pictures collected, provided a springboard for further exploration into the history behind them, as well as the structures and uses they depicted, which was further complemented by on-site explorations.

The research also resulted into a collection of articles published in prominent national newspapers such as *EL PAÍS* and *LA VANGUARDIA*, as well as in local publications like *Quatre Cantons*, *Icaria*, and *El Poblenou*, which are distributed monthly by the neighbourhood association. Lastly, the gathered documents included a series of administrative reports, urban and conservation policies, and legislative documents related to post-industrial heritage. These materials, accessible online, shed light on the political and contentious aspects of this type of heritage.

2.3.3. Empirical Knowledge: Participant Observation, Interviewing, Visual Research

A. Participant Observation and Interviewing

If the previous methods focused mainly on constructing the theoretical framework and placing Poblenou in its historical context, including its urban fabric evolution, the following set of methods aimed to collect data to gain a deeper understanding of how various stakeholders currently perceive the role of post-industrial heritage and its reflection in the landscape of Poblenou today. To achieve this, I adopted an ethnographic approach, immersing myself in the everyday realities of the neighbourhood and the daily lives of its residents in relation to post-industrial heritage through three distinct fieldwork sessions. During these fieldworks, I attended various events and focus groups, engaged in informal conversations, and conducted semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders to collect data. In addition, I used visual methods, such as photography and mapping, to complement the data related to the evolution of urban fabric and the spatial impact of selected social practices associated with post-industrial heritage. During the events I participated in, I assumed the role of a non-hierarchical researcher/practitioner (Keshavarz and Mazè, 2013). My focus was on understanding the underlying effects, limitations, and subjectivities surrounding post-industrial heritage and its management in the area.

Additionally, I also intended to identify the spatial practices associated with its preservation. I planned to explore these practices more deeply through archival research and by conducting semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, complemented by visual research, as will be further discussed.

A significant challenge was differentiating my previous role as a practitioner closely associated with the neighbourhood association from my new position as a field researcher. In this capacity, I aimed to strike a careful balance between expressing my personal views cautiously and being open and clear about my actions and intentions, without imposing any specific course of action (Foucault, 1991, p. 84). Despite my efforts, I acknowledge that achieving this balance was not always possible, which emphasises the importance of using informal conversations and semi-structured interviews to supplement the data collected through documents, rather than relying solely on them as the primary method for my Doctoral Thesis research.

To uncover the subjectivities that encompass the personal and collective desires and aspirations of the neighbours regarding the urban future of Poblenou, the main focus of interviews and individual and collective discussions has been on personal narratives and stories. Revealing the psychological and emotional relationship between the neighbours and post-industrial heritage and Poblenou has been the primary objective of the interviews. At the same time, I tried to clarify the values they associate with it and their visions for the future urban development of the area.

Fieldwork 1 (January to April 2016): Many scholars, such as Denscombe (2010), Lees (2003), and Lichterman (2002), emphasize the value of observing participants within their natural environment in order to gain comprehensive insights into the intricacies and interconnectedness of the social context under investigation. In light of this, in January 2016, I made the decision to move to Poblenou for a four-month period in order to conduct on-site research on the evolving visions and uses for post-industrial heritage over the past two decades. To gain a deeper understanding of this, I undertook various activities, including observing everyday uses of former industrial spaces from a multi-scalar perspective and

engaging in conversations with local residents. Moreover, I actively participated in public workshops organized by the '*Decidim Barcelona*' (We Decide Barcelona) Program of Barcelona City Council, which aimed to enhance public involvement in improving the urban, environmental, and social conditions of the city. The workshops held in Poblenou specifically focused on the first strategic line, 'A diverse Barcelona which improves the quality of life' and fostered critical reflection on the historical memory and present identity of the area. Additionally, I attended presentations such as the seminar organized by the 22@ Association of Entrepreneurs, which showcased urban design proposals incorporating ecological architectural strategies for post-industrial heritage. The participants included representatives from the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou and public institutions such as the Urban Ecology Agency of Barcelona, depending on Barcelona City Council.

Throughout my engagement in Poblenou, I participated in weekly meetings held by the *Taula Eix Pere VI*. This social platform is committed to identifying alternative strategies for preserving post-industrial heritage, emphasizing its social values.[16] This context provided me with the opportunity to engage with a diverse group of individuals, including former factory workers, academics, conservation practitioners, social activists, artists, and representatives from public institutions. Among those with whom I had meaningful interactions, the contact with Josep Maria Montaner was particularly interesting. Josep Maria Montaner is the Councillor of Sant Martì District, where Poblenou neighbourhood is located, and is also a Professor of Urbanism at the ETSAB. He had previously conducted extensive academic research on the aggressive urban transformation policies implemented in Poblenou since the introduction of the 'Barcelona Model' in the 1980s. These encounters were pivotal in comprehending the dominant narratives surrounding the preservation of post-industrial heritage in the area and in initiating a preliminary mapping of the spatial practices associated with them. Furthermore, these exchanges were instrumental in refining the historical framework of these practices. When I commenced my fieldwork, the *Taula Eix Pere IV* was in

[16] *Taula Eix Pere IV* is also included in my research as an example of socio-spatial practice. This is further discussed in Chapter 6.

the final stages of a public survey aimed at gathering opinions on the urban transformation of Poblenou's main industrial corridor, the Eix Pere IV, from which the platform derived its name, as well as in the preservation and adaptive reuse strategies of its remaining industrial structures. The survey was disseminated through local stores, social media platforms, and online resources, and its final report was included in this study. However, my analysis primarily concentrated on the document itself, rather than the survey as a method of data collection.

Fieldwork 2 (April 2017) and Fieldwork 3 (December 2018): In response to an inductive-deductive approach, I chose to revisit Poblenou to further explore the socio-spatial dynamics surrounding new interpretations of post-industrial heritage over the past 20 years. After analysing data collected from the first fieldwork and specific texts, I created an initial mapping of socio-spatial practices, encompassing both recognised and contested practices by public institutions. The selection criteria had two components: firstly, the practices needed to demonstrate a multi-scale approach to post-industrial heritage, and secondly, they must have already had an impact on the urban environment in the area. By "impact," I am referring to influences that could be identified in plans or texts, verbally mentioned by stakeholders involved in these practices, or observed during various field walks conducted in my initial research.

To gain a deeper comprehension of these practices, I conducted semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders and engaged in informal conversations with users of the new spaces resulting from some of these alternative preservation strategies for the post-industrial built legacy in the area. Although I intended to conduct these conversations within these repurposed places, this was not always feasible due to spaces being illegally occupied or because the interviewee was located elsewhere. An intriguing case was Jose Luis Gómez-Ordonez, co-author of the very influential '*Contraplán*' (Counterplan) in the early 1970s, which is recognised as the first social initiative in the form of urban planning to counteract the initial speculative transformation attempts in Poblenou (discussed in Chapter 5). Surprisingly, he was based in Granada, my hometown, and he had been my Professor of Urbanism during my architectural studies at the School of Architecture of Granada (ETSAG),

University of Granada. The information gathered from my encounter with him was pivotal in dismissing notions regarding the '*Contraplán*' and its bottom-up approach, widely published in academic texts.

These two fieldworks not only yielded valuable insights from interviews and conversations but also resulted in a significant collection of handouts and local publications. Additionally, during my explorations, I actively engaged in photography and sketching, often accompanied by Salvador Clarós and/or Dr Federico Wulff from Cardiff University. Their expertise in social values and the regeneration of degraded built contexts proved instrumental in guiding discussions on my findings and advancing my research in the area as we walked through post-industrial sites relevant to my Doctoral Thesis.

B. Visual Research

Considering the research focus on inherently material 'things' as well as the ways of seeing and experience that (re)construct them in terms of value, various techniques such as photography, mapping, and sketching were employed to depict Poblenou in all its complexity. These methods proved essential in capturing and locating intricate details that cannot be fully expressed through text or speech alone (Walker, 1993). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that images represent a particular interpretation of the world and are presented in a specific manner for viewers. The visual component not only serves as a critical analytical tool but also acts as a research strategy in itself, as images can undergo discourse analysis, as described by Rose (2007) and Ali (2017). This approach recognises that specific images of a place convey diverse discourses of power and political subjectivities as I will further discuss in the analytical section. Nevertheless, it is important to note that I strategically selected images that align with my research questions, theoretical framework, and case study context (Pink, 2013). In other words, as the researcher, I determined which subjects to photograph and when (Holm, 2014; Pink, 2013), thus inevitably limiting the data gathered. To address these limitations, pictures were always taken in conjunction with data obtained from other sources, including texts, interviews, and informal conversations. Furthermore, images were primarily used to complement and visualise information derived from textual sources. In specific instances, such as the mapping of socio-spatial practices in the area, images were analysed to identify

new networks associated with alternative uses of post-industrial heritage and to assess urban impacts. These mappings were developed based on my own observations of the fieldwork area, as well as the use of Google Maps and local publications, such as the social maps of Poblenou developed by the *Taula Eix Pere IV*, among others, together with academic texts.

2.4. Analytical approaches

This brings me onto the analysis of research materials that enabled me to craft the Thesis, detailed as follows:

2.4.1. Approach to Reviewing Historical Data

According to Gidley (2018), documentary or historical research cannot be considered a standalone method. Instead, it involves the use of a specific type of data that can be researched using various methods. The scholar also argues that while the significance of evidence is undeniable, the researcher's perspective plays a crucial role in historical research as well. In this regard, Gidley identifies two broad approaches to collate historical material: the realist approach and the social constructionist approach.

In the realist approach, historical documents are taken at face value and used to reconstruct the past. On the other hand, the social constructionist approach views documents as subjects rather than resources. Here, documents are seen as realities in themselves, rather than a means of accessing some other reality. The focus is not on the accuracy of the descriptions given in the documents, but rather on their social organisation. In other words, how do different discourses (and the different identities that emerge from them) shape the documents?

In practice, I found that the distinction between the two approaches is more blurred. Therefore, the analysis undertaken in this thesis is based on a more intuitive approach that combines elements of both approaches. While historical textbooks, maps, and academic papers related to the evolution of the urban history of Poblenou were analysed as sources of descriptive information using a realist approach (taking dates, figures, etc. at face value), other documents such as texts written by the main actors involved in spatial practices around

post-industrial heritage in the area, official publications, urban policies, newspapers, and local periodicals moved closer to the social constructionist approach. Furthermore, the stylistic conventions and language employed in the documents collected during my research endeavours were diverse. While journalists in national newspapers and scholars appeared to favour the use of more impartial and understated styles, the texts produced by individuals engaged in matters of preservation and urban politics, both at the neighbourhood and city levels, contained more political arguments and expressed clear positions regarding post-industrial heritage and its role in the development of Poblenou.

Consequently, I soon realised the relevance of the discourses and language in my investigation and, following Berg's arguments (2009) on the need to establish an analytical theoretical framework that directs inquiry into history's unfolding, particularly examining the interplay between individuals, events, phenomena, and the contexts that forge history, I decided to carefully examine these data drawing on discourse analysis methods based around Foucault's studies of knowledge formation and 'discursive practices' in social life.

2.4.2. Discursive Analysis as a rational framework

Foucault (2002 [1972]) argues that discourse is the medium through which power and knowledge intersect, giving rise to political subjects, shaping practices, and influencing social relations. Accordingly, as Tonkiss explains (2018), discourse doesn't refer simply to language or speech acts, but to the way language works to organise the field of knowledge and practice. Likewise, Foucault posits that in examining specific concepts, the challenge 'arises of knowing whether the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed' (2002 [1969], p.36). Consequently, discourse analysis should emphasize the temporal, spatial, and social settings where meanings are created and transformed.

Tonkiss' (2018) discussion of discourse analysis, which highlights the role of language and texts in shaping social meanings, constructing social identities, and forming social realities, guided both the interpretation of texts and the analysis of semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and fieldwork observations. As a result, this approach informed my

analysis of the evolution of Poblenou over the past three decades, and of statements surrounding the significance of post-industrial heritage within it. In my analysis, as suggested by Gill (2000), I became aware of the interplay of various truth claims, and the importance of acknowledging them rather than seeking to infer absolute truths or uncovering what 'really' happened. This is particularly relevant to the specific social-spatial practices I engaged in during my exploration of Poblenou.

2.4.3. Analysing texts: Literature Review, Case Study texts

Primary source texts, and to a lesser extent secondary sources such as academic texts, provided a rich array of information for my research. These texts contained various claims, statements, and propositions regarding the value of post-industrial heritage in the area. As previously mentioned, these texts exhibited nuanced differences in expression, which conveyed the authors' intentions, perspectives, or meanings.

Tonkiss (2018) proposes four strategies for sorting, coding, and analysing data as part of a discourse analysis. The first strategy involves identifying key themes and arguments, while the second approach focuses on identifying patterns of association and variation. The third strategy involves characterizing specific individuals or groups, and the final strategy entails paying attention to emphases and silences within the document analysis. In analysing the data, I particularly engaged with the first strategy and also incorporated the third strategy. The analysis of these transcripts began with a series of linear and iterative processes, which included: a) categorizing data based on research objectives; b) identifying keywords and key phrases in the texts that align with research themes, such as 'Value', 'Significance', 'Post-Industrial Heritage', and also contextual factors (historical, socio-economic, cultural), models, socio-spatial practices, preservation, regeneration, urban transformation, and impact, and c) re-reading, verifying, and re-categorizing. At times, reading a text sparked ideas for a chapter or section, while other times, I actively searched the texts for relevant quotes.

Microsoft Word tools facilitated searches for potential keywords, highlighting, and extraction of sections that provided valuable analytical material for thematic or chapter categorization. Manual coding was also applied to a lesser extent, using coloured pens and 'Post-It' notes.

However, it is important to acknowledge that analysis leads to interpretation, which should be justified through detailed argumentation and careful examination of the material under study (Gill, 2000, p.184). I must also recognise that at times, this justification process was influenced by intuition or personal interest in certain topics over others.

Simultaneously, I focused on exploring how social actors were discussed and positioned within the texts in the different documents I collected in my library and archival sessions. This approach allowed me to identify the characteristics, problems, or concerns associated with different actors and local groups in Poblenou, as well as understand their perspectives on the role of post-industrial heritage in the area. While depersonalization terms such as 'locals', 'us', 'immigrants', 'artists', and 'public bodies' were frequently used in the analysed documents, people's names and histories also emerged, particularly in documents directly related to the investigated spatial practices, including urban planning design, as presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.4.4. Analysing Interviews and Engagement Practices

The informal conversation emerged from my role as an observer in multiple events, in addition to the semi-structured interviews carried out as part of my research. Initially, I transcribed these conversations personally, creating a preliminary draft. Subsequently, I selected the sections that were most pertinent to Research Objectives 3 and 4 explained in the Introduction of this Doctoral Thesis. Nevertheless, this procedure encountered certain difficulties.

To address the theoretical inquiry, the semi-structured interviews focused on different elements depending on the informant, helping to construct a narrative for analysis. This proved difficult in the case of spontaneous chats, where the narrative was sometimes replaced by isolated sentences and words in the form of notes taken after the encounters. As previously mentioned, while the first format had limited use in this investigation, the second was more frequent.

In approaching the analysis, I employed a thematic analysis strategy based on a mixed inductive-deductive approach to enhance the consistency, transparency, and validity of the

data being analysed (Guest et al., 2012). Although I used the same terms indicated for analysing texts, I soon realised that some words were too technical and specific to heritage studies and conservation practice.

In the example, I soon realised that the central term 'Value' in my thesis was absent from these dialogues. Instead, when describing how people perceive post-industrial heritage in the neighbourhood, they usually referred to specific actions, personal experiences, or events that occurred there, framing them in the past, present, or future. For instance, one female former industrial worker described the significance of the factory where she used to work as follows: '*I was the only woman working with three other colleagues. We shared both good and bad moments* [...] *working in that factory was beneficial. I received my own salary and felt confident expressing my opinions* […]". [17]

A similar situation occurred with the term 'Practice,' which was often referred to as 'project,' 'activity,' or 'claim.' The absence of these terms in the informal conversations highlighted that their use is primarily within the domain of conservation experts and academics. Therefore, this required a process of interpretation, which was supported by the initial theoretical framework on the relationship between the concept of value and post-industrial heritage over time (discussed in Chapter 3). Furthermore, these interpretations were later discussed with representatives of each of the socio-spatial practices studied or with witnesses of key events, as was the case of the illegal occupation of Puigcerdà 127, one of the abandoned factories in the area, as discussed in Chapter 6.

To protect the privacy of all interviewees and adhere to ethical guidelines, all interviews were conducted with the informed consent of the participants and ensured confidentiality. All data was recorded with their permission, and when including their views in the text of this thesis,

[17] MACOSA Factory ex-worker, "Extract from an informal conversation within the frame of the seminar 'Decidim Barcelona' (We Decide Barcelona], organised by Barcelona City Council". Interviewed by Melina Guirnaldos, 10 March 2016.

they have all been anonymised. Anonymity was not granted to those who held public or institutional roles or who agreed not to be anonymized. Finally, since all interviews were conducted in Spanish, only the parts included in the final text were translated into English.

2.4.5. Analysing Visual Materials: Photography, Paintings, Films

Rose (2007, p.192) argues that discourse analysis can be used to examine how images construct specific perspectives of the social world. Specifically, it explores how these perspectives or accounts are constructed as real, truthful, or natural through particular systems of truth (p.193). In analysing the photographs and paintings collected during my archival and fieldwork research as primary sources, I employ what Tonkiss (1998) and Gill (1996) describe as an 'interpretive process'. As both authors suggest, I made an effort to set aside any preconceived notions I had about the material. However, I acknowledge that my prior knowledge of the area and its post-industrial built legacy before starting my Doctoral Thesis may have influenced this. Once I became acquainted with the sources, I was able to identify key themes relevant to the visual analysis (Rose 2007): the use of post-industrial spaces, the emphasis on aesthetics, people, actions, and their combination, as well as scale and other aspects that arose from the re-categorization process inherent in the discourse analysis method. Subsequently, I began to consider the connections between keywords and key images, as well as between key images and texts. In Foucault's terms, I started to focus on identifying the 'correlations' or 'regularities' (2002 [1969], p. 41) between images and texts, within the framework provided by my research objectives.

The examination of photography in this research has highlighted the nuances of spatial practices and their contexts, particularly through the work of photojournalists who documented the deindustrialisation of Poblenou. The efforts of other photographers, such as the "New Topographers" group discussed in Chapter 3, have also shed light on this topic. Their focus on the social lens has provided clarity in revealing the interplay between people and post-industrial heritage. This same clarity was observed in the analysis of films and video recordings. By adopting the methodological approach outlined in the section on text analysis, the examination of videos, especially those depicting Poblenou's urban transformation after

the arrival of the Olympic Games, proved to be particularly revealing. The 'web of intertextuality' (Rose, 2007, p. 217) inherent in video recordings became more perceptible thanks to the dynamic interaction between the videos' narratives and their visual elements.

2.4.6. Visualising Findings

The triangulation process of the data collected became vital since it helped me not only obtain a much more nuanced understanding of a very complex case in which I was just immersing myself in, but also in producing more substantial evidence, as suggested by Cochrane (1998). However, the information resulting from the analysis was extensive and the coherent reading of the connections between context, practices, post-industrial heritage and urban transformation was at times challenging. The difficulty resided in defining a clear articulation of the narrative on how the value of post-industrial heritage has been constructed over time, to understand its origin and evolution, and the spatial consequences linked to this. Likewise, the main debates related to the construction of heritage and its values investigated in the preliminary phases of this Doctoral Thesis presented complex connections between different variables. To overcome this, I developed a series of diagrams that facilitated the triangulation of data and findings emergent from the analysis. In the analysis of the preliminary literature review, I developed a series of graphs intended to illustrate the main theories investigated. The use of them helped to construct my theoretical framework as presented in the figures and text of Chapter 1. However, in my case study investigation, the process was more thorough. To investigate the relationalities between the different data, I created 3 different charts (Appendix 1), each structured into four levels (Figure 2.1):

A1. At the bottom, the timeline elucidates the moments of 'discontinuities' of history illustrated with the major social, cultural, and economic events associated with them.

A2. Focused socio-historical context connected to post-industrial heritage and the rise and development of the socio-spatial dynamics connected to its value.

A3. Articulation of values and social practices associated with them.

A4. Urban and Architectural consequences of the interactions with the other three levels.

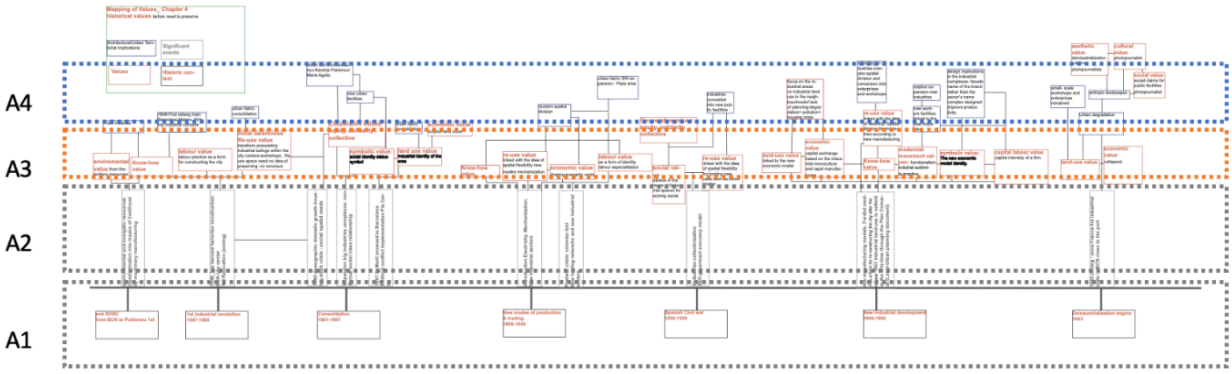


Figure 2.1: Chart 1 of Chapter 4 (Source: the author, 2018)

Each of the 3 charts is associated with their corresponding empirical chapters. Namely, Chart 1 aligns with Chapter 4, Chart 2 represents the summarised findings of Chapter 5, and Chart 3 represents those of Chapter 6.

Exploring the 3 charts by focusing on their vertical and horizontal relationalities helped to construct the narrative of my empirical Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It also supported the confirmation of this thesis' initial hypothesis based on the mutability of values over time and on Byrne's (2008) arguments on how heritage values are 'simultaneously inherited and reinvented by the living', as I will further discuss in the Conclusion Chapter of this Doctoral Thesis.

The previous analysis conducted to comprehend the urban and architectural implications of the valuation processes examined in this thesis also consisted of triangulating data gathered from the visual analysis of plans, pictures, and related accounts obtained from semi-structured and informal chats during the different conducted fieldwork.

Furthermore, I completed this examination by overlapping two key plans of the area, as included in Chapter 4. The aim was to juxtapose these plans for analysing current vacant and occupied spaces.[18] (Figure 2.2) This analytical tool proved to be particularly valuable in

[18] The urban plan that serves as the basis for depicting the current vacant and occupied spaces is the one completed by the MUHBA in 2010. By comparing this with current aerial images of the area on Google Maps, I found that there were only minor changes (which I later corrected in my drawing) in the area, as confirmed by the information provided by the Museum and the authors of the digital plans during one of my fieldwork encounters in 2016.

enhancing my understanding of the significant urban transformations that occurred in the area through development, decay, and dismantling over time. It allowed me to identify vanished industrial spaces, fragmented areas, and plots that have been occupied differently over time.

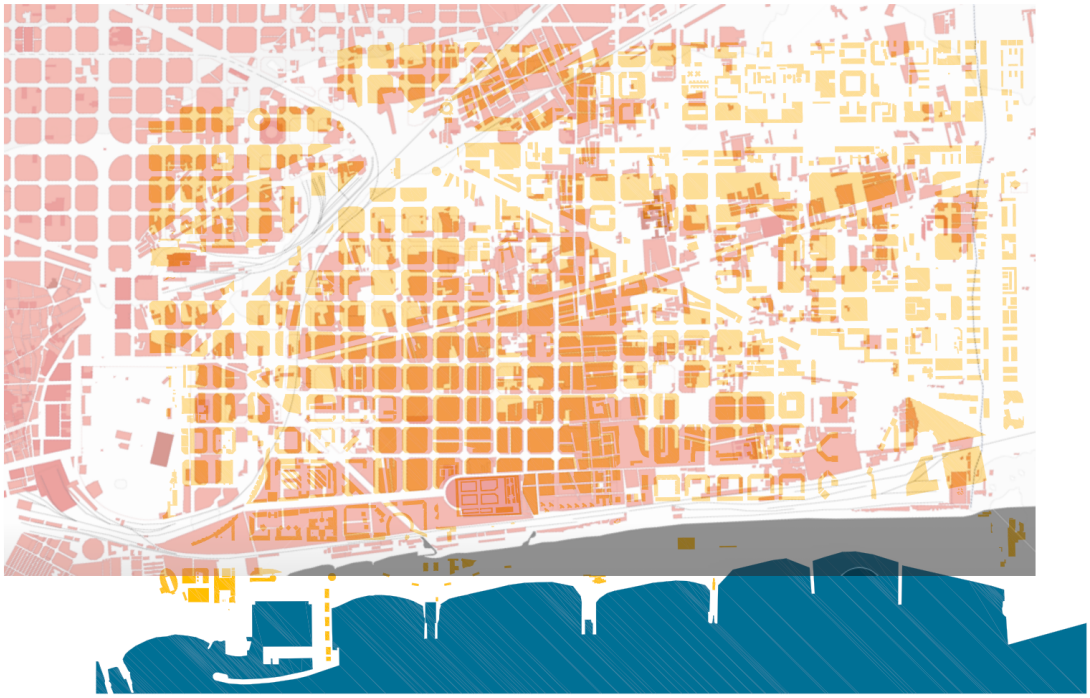


Figure 2.2: Example of juxtaposed plans of Poblenou: 1936 (in yellow) and 2010 (in red). (Source: the author, 2018)

2.5. Challenges and limitations of the research

Although this investigation was meticulously planned to achieve its objectives, it encountered several challenges and shortcomings during the process. These factors, in addition to the ones already mentioned in previous sections of this chapter, impacted up to a certain degree the final results of the thesis. The primary limitations are summarised as follows:

1. The visit to the local archives had limited time availability. In the case of the *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*, although its extensive collection of historical pictures can be accessed online, the library documents can only be accessed on-site. During the investigation period, the archive was open on Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 17.00 to

19.00. There was little time available for examining the documents, and some of them – particularly those related to the first post-industrial heritage demolition period for the Olympic Games urban development – could not be fully consulted. Moreover, there were very few copies of certain publications I wished to explore, and most of them were already out of print, making it extremely challenging to find them elsewhere. To partially overcome this issue, a visit to Salva Clarós' private archive was arranged, where I could find copies of most of the relevant publications I needed to investigate that had limited access in the *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*.

Concerning the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou archive, the challenges were related to the lack of organisation of the documents. Due to limited financial resources for document management, informal classification was adopted, resulting in significant time being required to find relevant data for my research.

2. Distinguishing between primary and secondary sources presented some challenges. It was sometimes difficult to determine whether the author of the document I was analysing was directly involved in the events he/she was writing about. To overcome this, I reached out to these authors via e-mail. While I did receive some responses, some authors did not reply. In such cases, the criteria used was to consider these sources as secondary.
3. The majority of documents and participative events that I engaged in during my on-site explorations were in Catalan. Although my Catalan language reading and listening skills were sufficient to conduct the investigation, there were occasions when taking real-time notes and following discussions proved challenging. To address this issue, I filled any gaps in my understanding by consulting other sources. However, I am aware that there may have been some information that I may have missed during this process.
4. The investigation began during a significant political period in Catalonia and Barcelona. Since the global economic crisis in 2008, the Catalan movement for independence from Spain has gained *momentum* at the regional level. The efforts of public institutions to emphasize Catalan identity have led to a series of cultural events,

which have also brought up questions about the industrial history. This gave the investigation convenient access to general information about Poblenou's industrial past and potential scenarios for its heritage and urban landscape. However, it was necessary to carefully analyse this information, taking into account its potential political bias.

5. At the local level, in May 2015, a new left-wing political party called *Barcelona en Comù* (BC) was established by various social platforms and won the elections. This had two implications for this doctoral research. First, the social profile of the new party facilitated open discussions about neighbourhood associations and other collectives aiming to address local issues. In Poblenou, there were concerns regarding the significance of post-industrial heritage and the role of the industrial legacy in the ongoing urban planning policies of the 22@ Plan. However, the focus of these dialogues soon shifted to the housing crisis in the area and its consideration in the 22@ Plan, leaving the discussions about heritage unresolved. Consequently, the conclusions drawn from these meetings remain incomplete.
6. The new political environment in Poblenou led to the emergence of various socio-dynamic practices, which posed a challenge to the relevance criteria developed in Chapter 6. Although the final selection of examples aligns with the objectives of this doctoral research, I am aware that other relevant cases were excluded during the exploration process.

2.6. Why this research matters

The discipline of Critical Heritage studies to which this Doctoral Thesis pertains aims to develop innovative models for promoting democratic processes in heritage decision-making.

Its theoretical framework predominantly draws on post-structuralist theories, focusing on debates around social connections and space. This includes Michel Foucault's discussions on power, knowledge, and the identification of long-term historical discourses (2002), alongside Henri Lefebvre's analyses of the dialectic between society and places (1991). Consequently, research within this field has primarily used social science research methods, as noted by Winter (2013).

Similarly, Wells (2017) highlights a significant trend within critical heritage studies, pointing out that 30% of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) members specialise in Anthropology and Archaeology. This suggests a strong inclination towards certain research approaches that examine people's interactions with the built legacy. However, it also indicates that other humanity disciplines are considerably less represented within the field. This disparity has sparked a debate over the past decade regarding the necessity to broaden the range of research methodologies and methods employed in critical heritage studies. Advocates for this expansion, such as Winter (2013), Wells (2017), and Fredheim and Khalaf (2016), argue that it is essential for maintaining the field's democratic approach to heritage and for strengthening its connections with more practical areas of knowledge, such as conservation practice.

In this search, some scholars have claimed for blended methodologies to further develop the field. For instance, Holley-Kline and Papazian (2020) propose a new methodology named 'Heritage trekking' which consisted of applying archaeological techniques such as mapping and data integration together with ethnographic methods. Similarly, Byrne & Nugent (2004, p.64) advocate for a combination of historical methods, archive consultation at the local and national level in particular, together with the record of 'what is visible on the ground' to map the attachment of people (the invisible) with their heritage and to better recognise 'cultural landscapes'.

By using mixed methods, this doctoral research intends to contribute to the broadening of new methodologies within the field of critical heritage studies, bringing in architectural research alongside social science methods. Furthermore, given my professional background as an architect, this research responds to these calls on the need for further reinforcement of the links between the theory and practice by emphasising its focus on the 'making' process of heritage values in post-industrial heritage. Finally, my research approach advocates for the need to explore and promote interdisciplinary work and new ways of collaborating in heritage assessment at the theoretical and practical levels.

Within the spatial frame of Poblenou, this research matters as it contributes to debates relating to heritage values. It addresses the problems I encountered personally through my experience both as a heritage consultant for public administration and in my professional architectural practice, but it also serves to bring to broader light the complexity of value when the full range of stakeholders' voices is included. The research exploration 'gives voice' (Cloke, 2004, p.151) to those who were or had been involved in the construction of those values while it also brings the historical context where these valuing processes underwent. This study transitioned from a general contextualization of the understanding of the value production in post-industrial heritage over time, as detailed in Chapter 3, to the construction of post-industrial value in Poblenou over the last two centuries. Following Lowenthal's concept of nodal points as the historical moments of the reinvention of heritage, the narrative of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 evolved around 3 'Nodal Points' (NP) that signified cultural and socio-economic transformations influencing the evolution of industrial development and the urban fabric of the area. The first nodal point (NP1) was established as spanning from the onset of industrialization in the 19th century to the end of Franco's dictatorship, coinciding with the global stock market crash of the early 1970s. The second nodal point (NP2) extends from the democratic transition in the late 1970s, through social changes and economic shifts leading to deindustrialization, up to the aftermath of the 2008 real estate bubble. This period includes Barcelona's announcement in 1986 as the host city for the 1992 Olympic Games and the subsequent urban transformations following the 'Barcelona Model' from the 1990s onward. Finally, the last identified period (NP3) spans from the 2008 economic crisis to the present. During this time, there has been a notable emphasis on new economic growth models that are rooted in social values. This focus has had a significant impact on the ongoing urban transformation of Poblenou, as demonstrated in the last of my empirical chapters (Chapter 6).

Figure 3.0: La Sibèria factory in Poblenou transformed into the Garage Wad-Ras
(Source: the author, 2017)

CHAPTER 3. VALUE AND POST-INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

3.1. Introduction

Post-industrial heritage has been extensively examined from diverse cultural and academic perspectives, revealing its complexity that spans across multiple scales, physical structures, individuals, and events. Some scholars, (e.g. Smith et.al., 2011; Benito del Pozo and Alonso, 2012, and Martínez and Closa, 1999), largely agree that these sites predominantly stand as records of the working class's historical experiences. They encapsulate the memories, narratives, and socio-economic fabric of the communities that once lived within their bounds, offering a window into the aspirations and struggles characteristic of those periods. However, far from static historical markers, these sites are dynamic entities - characterized by cycles of use and obsolescence— that reflect ongoing changes and adapt to new realities.

Drawing from this temporal essence that grants post-industrial heritage a sense of continuity, and guided by Simmel's (2004, p.85) concept that values are not fixed but evolve with changes in social dynamics, cultural norms, and collective priorities, this chapter explores the changing valuation of post-industrial heritage. Its goal is to clarify the motivations, political contexts, and socio-cultural factors that influence its appraisal over time. Furthermore, informed by Lefebvre's perspective on social practice and its threefold dimension (1991), this exploration aims to shed light on the social practices intertwined with the process of valuing post-industrial heritage. Through this lens, the chapter will examine how these practices not only take place in relation to and within post-industrial heritage spaces but also actively contribute to their significance and transformation, reflecting the dynamic interplay between human actions, perceptions, and the spatial environments they inhabit.

Taking a chronological approach, the initial section of this chapter discusses the 18th and 19th centuries, a period marked by the transformative impact of the Industrial Revolution on the European landscape. It explores the emergence of the concept of 'Sublimity' as an aesthetic practice, which continues to be used to characterize post-industrial heritage today. Subsequently, the investigation delves into the cultural practices that arose after World War I and endured until the outbreak of World War II, during which the industrial model was seen as a new economic and social lifeline.

The following section situates post-industrial heritage within the broader context of the postmodern cultural shift of the 1960s and early 1970s, as well as the onset of the deindustrialization process. Lastly, the final section scrutinises recent critical debates surrounding the value of post-industrial heritage and its role in the architectural and urban heritage transformations of the past two decades.

Finally, in the conclusions of this chapter, I will address questions of tangibility, uses, and relationality related to the construction of heritage values by comparing its main findings with the analysis of value theories within critical heritage studies presented in Chapter 1. By placing the concept of 'Value' in the context of post-industrial heritage, the primary objective of this chapter is to complete the theoretical framework for investigating the origins and evolution of post-industrial heritage values in Poblenou, as well as their implications in the architectural and urban spaces.

3.2. In Awe of Industry

3.2.1. Origins and initial approaches of the industrial sublime, 1757–1914

At the beginning of the 18th century, Joseph Addison initiated an aesthetic revolution that challenged the classical principles of Vitruvius' *Firmitas*, *Utilitas*, and *Venustas*. In an essay published in June 1712 in *The Spectator*, a London daily periodical he directed with Richard Steele, he introduced the term 'Pleasures of the Imagination' to describe the enjoyment derived from observing objects. Addison classified these 'pleasures' into three aesthetic categories: *Great*, *Uncommon*, or *Beautiful* (1712, in Ashfield, 1996, p.62). The first category encompasses the pleasures derived from beholding what is *grand* (or *sublime*); the second relates to the enjoyment derived from encountering what is *novel* (*picturesque*); and the third refers to the pleasure derived from perceiving what is *beautiful* (*beauty*). Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Addison's ideas inspired new cultural practices that encouraged individuals to contemplate their relationship with nature, and later, with artificial landscapes. However, the world of human experience is in constant flux, and consequently, the concept of the sublime has also evolved over time.

Many authors, (e.g. Trigg, 2006; Nye,1994; Shaw, 2017), agree that the first modern definition of the 'Sublime' was proposed by Edmund Burke in 1757 in his text, 'A Philosophical Inquiry

into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.' Up until the mid-18th century, the concept of 'Sublime' was closely associated with ideas of *nature* and *beauty*. This association was inherited from the religious belief in finding God in the beauty of nature, as exemplified by Saint Francis's 'Nature Mystic,' and later transmitted by Pastor John Calvin during the Protestant Reformation (Nye, 1994, p.5). In his treatise on aesthetics, Burke, for the first time, separates the idea of the sublime from its original connection with nature and beauty, asserting that various physical and non-physical elements can evoke feelings of awe. In his own words:

'Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror […] *it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling'* (Burke, 1798, p.58).

Furthermore, the philosopher emphasises that the sublime experience is a mental state that arises from the qualities of an external object. He defines the sublime as a personal inner encounter that can be controlled by reason. According to Burke, encountering a sublime object temporarily disrupts one's emotions, compelling the observer to engage mentally. The intense emotion aroused by the grand and awe-inspiring aspects of nature, when these factors are at their most potent, is astonishment. Astonishment is a state of the soul where all its movements come to a temporary halt, often accompanied by a sense of horror. In this state, the mind becomes completely absorbed by the object, incapable of entertaining any other thoughts or reasoning about it. This is why the sublime holds such immense power. Rather than being a result of rationalization, the sublime surpasses our ability to reason and propels us forward with an irresistible force (Burke, 1798; cited in Nye, 1994, p.9). Burke's works have had a significant influence on subsequent studies of sublimity. One of the most notable discussions of this concept was developed by Kant in his essay 'The Critique of Judgement'. The German philosopher suggests that the sublime is not an inherent property of an object but a result of the mind and the ideas it associates with the object (Trigg, 2006, p.5). Similar to Burke, Kant argues that the sublime cannot be found in nature. However, for Kant, the sublime can only be found in human ideas:

'[…] *but let us assume that we designate something not merely as great, but as great in an absolute sense* (*schlechthin, absolut*)*, in every respect -beyond all comparison- that is, as sublime. Obviously, in this case, we do not allow a standard that corresponds to it to be sought outside it; we find it only within itself. It is a magnitude that is equal only to itself. Consequently, the sublime must not be sought in natural things, but solely in our ideas; to which idea it belongs must be a topic left for deduction.*' (Kant, 1781; 1987, p.250).

Kant places human reason at the core of aesthetic theory and describes sublimity as a feeling of anxiety arising from the human's incapacity to fully comprehend phenomena that challenge their senses. In this regard, the German philosopher outlines:

'The feeling of the sublime is, therefore, at once a feeling of displeasure that arises from the inadequacy of the imagination in aesthetically evaluating magnitudes to achieve a valuation based on reason, and a simultaneous pleasure that arises from this very judgment of the inadequacy of the greatest faculty of sense being in accordance with reason's ideas, since the endeavour to achieve those is a law for us.' (Kant, 1781; 1987, p.260)

Likewise, Kant argues that while artistic and cultural expressions require prior knowledge and are sources of pleasure, the recognition of the sublimity of natural scenes is accessible to all, regardless of one's social, cultural, or economic background. The philosopher claims that many individuals can discern and appreciate a sublime discourse, but only a few have the ability to create one. Based on this, Kant distinguishes two forms of sublime experience: the mathematical sublime, which involves encounters with magnificence or vastness, and the dynamical sublime, which arises from the contemplation of these encounters through a process of reflection (Nye, 1994, p.7).

Transitioning from the Enlightenment thinkers like Burke and Kant, where the natural realm gradually receded in the discourse on sublimity, we arrive at a pivotal juncture in the aesthetic exploration of the industrial age. To trace the genesis of the industrial sublime and its associated cultural practices, it becomes essential to delve into the emergence of a novel aesthetic theory that recalibrated our understanding of the world and the sublime's connection to tangible realities. This theory, known as the 'Picturesque', initially coined to denote the light and chromatic effects in painting, evolved to embody a broader philosophical

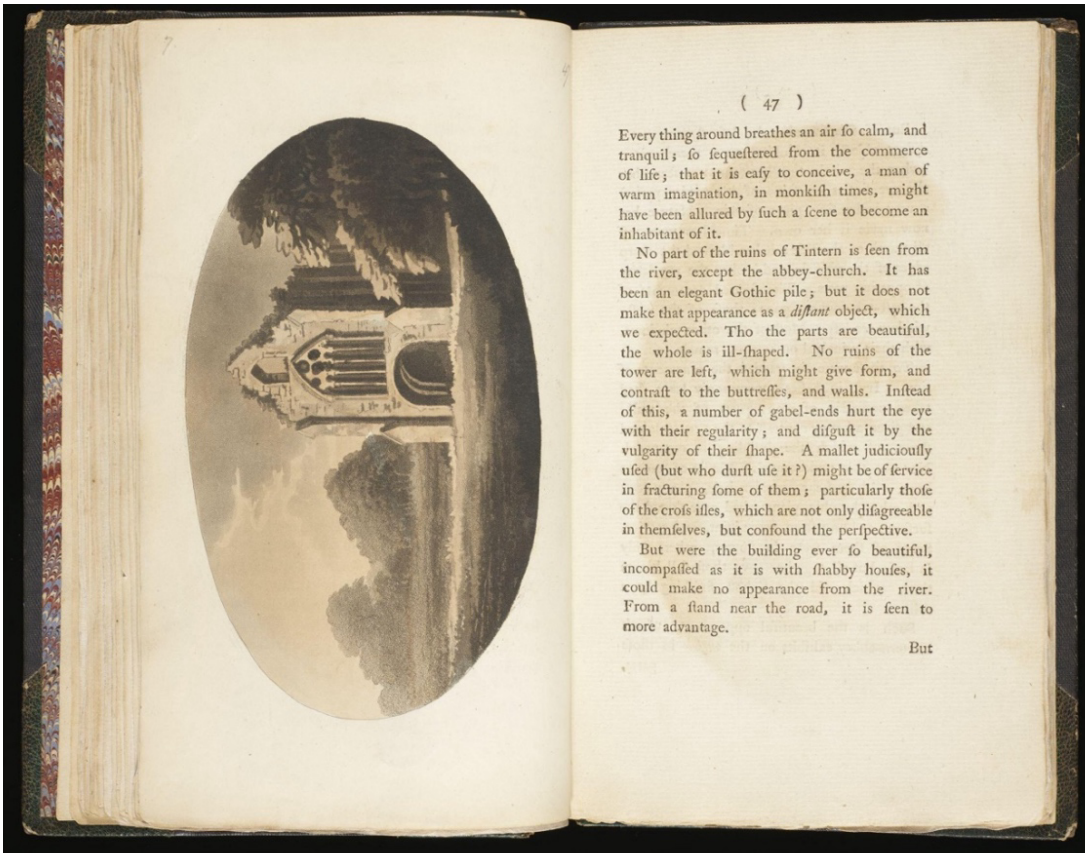
framework, extending its applicability to diverse subjects, from natural landscapes to architectural forms.

The picturesque heralded a new mode of engaging with and interpreting the world, drawing upon empirical methodologies of observation and experimentation that were hallmarks of the Enlightenment's scientific pursuits. This approach sought to uncover the less overt, more nuanced aesthetic experiences that reside in the irregular, the unstructured, and the transient aspects of both nature and the built environment. The conceptual foundation of the picturesque can be traced back to the late 18th century, notably through the influential writings of Uvedale Price, who articulated this theory in his seminal work *An Essay on the Picturesque as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1794).

In the preface of this text, Price formulates a nuanced understanding of the aesthetic categories of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque, proposing a distinct yet interconnected relationship among them. He posits the picturesque as an intermediary aesthetic, nestled between the realms of beauty and sublimity, suggesting that it occupies a unique position that allows for a more harmonious and frequent blending with both, more so than the direct intermingling of the sublime and the beautiful themselves. Price (1794, p.82) elucidates: *'*[…] *the picturesque appears to hold a station between beauty and sublimity; and on that account, perhaps is more frequently, and more happily blended with both, than they are with each other* […]' He further elaborates on the characteristics of the picturesque as being subtler and less universally appealing compared to the undeniable allure of the sublime or the beautiful, noting: '*What is really sublime or beautiful must always attract or command it; but the picturesque is much less obvious, less generally attractive, and had been neglected and despised by professed improvers*' (Price, 1794, p.12).

Price also delineates the distinctions between beauty and picturesqueness, emphasizing their contrasting attributes: beauty is associated with smoothness, gradual variation, and the vitality of youth and freshness, whereas picturesqueness is characterized by roughness, sudden variation, and the venerable qualities of age and decay. Despite these differences, he observes that the sublime and the picturesque share several affinities, including a predilection for elements of wilderness, magnificence, dereliction, and a sense of melancholy.

Expanding on this notion, Herrington (2006, p.26) asserts that the sublime's traditional characteristics significantly enrich picturesque practices. He suggests that some of these practices were specifically crafted to inform and fundamentally alter the way society interacts with the environment. A prime illustration of this concept is found in William Gilpin's 1782 publication *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales*. Accompanied by aquatints that captured the essence of Gilpin's journeys through the lakes and the River Wye region in Wales (Figure 3.1), his writings aimed to guide readers towards places of interest and recommend enjoyable activities within those locales, thereby influencing a shift in societal engagement with and appreciation of the landscape (Trott, 2017, pp.81-82). This activity of exploring unique landscapes quickly gained popularity among the elite, leading artists such as John Hassel to spotlight scenes where the natural world, architectural elements, and human efforts converged harmoniously.



(47)

Every thing around breathes an air ſo calm, and tranquil; ſo ſequeſtered from the commerce of life; that it is eaſy to conceive, a man of warm imagination, in monkiſh times, might have been allured by ſuch a ſcene to become an inhabitant of it.

No part of the ruins of Tintern is ſeen from the river, except the abbey-church. It has been an elegant Gothic pile; but it does not make that appearance as a *diſtant* object, which we expected. Tho the parts are beautiful, the whole is ill-ſhaped. No ruins of the tower are left, which might give form, and contraſt to the buttreſſes, and walls. Inſtead of this, a number of gabel-ends hurt the eye with their regularity; and diſguſt it by the vulgarity of their ſhape. A mallet judiciouſly uſed (but who durſt uſe it?) might be of ſervice in fracturing ſome of them; particularly thoſe of the croſs iſles, which are not only diſagreeable in themſelves, but confound the perſpective.

But were the building ever ſo beautiful, incompaſſed as it is with ſhabby houſes, it could make no appearance from the river. From a ſtand near the road, it is ſeen to more advantage.

But

Figure 3.1: Gilpin, W. (1782) Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, p.46 (Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Available at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1410652/observations-on-the-river-wye-book-gilpin-william/?carousel-image=2021NB2529 (Accessed: 5 April 2019)

This approach is illustrated in one of Hassel's aquatints shown below (Figure. 3.2), where he depicts the ruins of Castle Coch, with a lime kiln prominently in the foreground.

Gilpin's and Price's theories signified a departure from classical aesthetic norms, proposing that beauty and sublimity could be found in the less conventional, often overlooked features of our environment. Their approach expanded the scope of aesthetic appreciation to encompass rugged terrains, decaying ruins, and industrial landscapes, providing a foundation for the emergence of the Industrial Sublime.

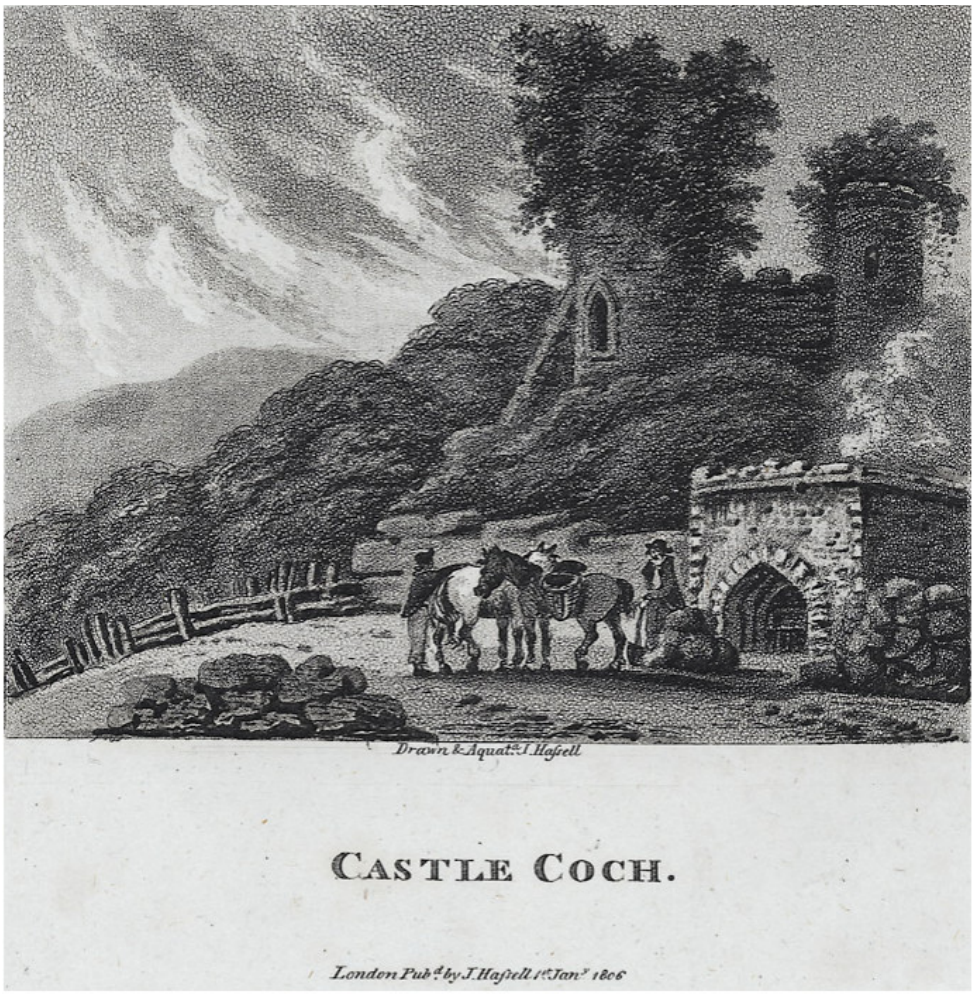


Figure 3.2: Hassel, J. (1806) Castle Coch, Drawn and Aquat. Available at: https://castellcoch.com/2023/11/24/castell-coch-by-john-hassell/ (Accessed: 5 April 2019)

At the end of the 19th Century, industry sparked new aesthetic interests in large-scale industrial structures and the transformative power of emerging technologies. Notable illustrations of this shift can be seen in two of J. M. W. Turner's celebrated works: '*The Fighting*

Temeraire' (1838) and '*Rain, Steam and Speed*' (1844), both influenced by Hassell's works, as noted by Gage (1965, p.22).

'*The Fighting Temeraire*' (Figure 3.3) portrays the venerable warship, a veteran of the Battle of Trafalgar, being towed to its final dismantling by a modest steam tugboat, symbolising the transition from one technological era to another.

Figure 3.3: Turner, W. (1838) *The Fighting Temeraire* (Source: The National Gallery Digital Archive)

Conversely, '*Rain, Steam and Speed*' (Figure 3.4) captures a train slicing through a classical landscape on the Maidenhead Railway Bridge, an engineering marvel of its time designed by Brunel. Scholarly interpretations of this painting vary. Some, like Carter (1997, p.4), see it as a nostalgic lament for the past, whereas others, including Gage (1972, p.32), view it as an affirmation of the Industrial Revolution's progress. Observations made during a visit to view these paintings at the National Gallery in London reveal a noticeably more vibrant light and more vigorous brushstrokes in the elements representing industrial progress, which might lend weight to Gage's perspective.

These two paintings collectively suggest that industrialization introduced a novel form of the sublime, diverging from the *grandeur* of natural landscapes that captivated the Romantics in the late 18th century. They highlight not just the functional but also the aesthetic significance of industrial elements, evoking reflections on their historical importance and forward-looking potential.

Figure 3.4: Turner, W. (1844) *Rain, Steam and Speed* (Source: The National Gallery Digital Archive)

The concept of the industrial sublime, which originated from a blind faith in progress, led to the development of new industrial infrastructures and architecture from the late 19th century until the start of World War I. These constructions were not intended to simply please people, but rather to inspire awe in the public and showcase the new power dynamics (Nye, 1994, p.XIX). In the early 20th century, particularly in the American context, this shift resulted in a transition from a consciously aesthetic experience to a cultural process based on the belief in the inherent transformative value (social, economic, and physical) of industrial features, as I will further discuss.

3.2.2. Cultural practices around the Industrial Sublime, 1920–1942

In the first half of the 20th century, North America underwent a significant transformation from a rural, agricultural society to a global industrial power. During this time, New York emerged as the city that best exemplified this change, and artists associated with the first Modern Art movement in the USA, known as 'Precisionism', became the storytellers of this social and urban evolution. Influenced by Cubism and Futurism, their work celebrated the new transportation infrastructure, bridges, factories, and skyscrapers as the elements that were shaping the city and symbolising the vitality and optimism of the post-WWI era (Jensen and Bartholomew, 2014). It was within this context that the new concept of the Industrial Sublime emerged.

In 1921, Charles Sheeler, a painter, and Paul Strand, a photographer, released a short film titled *Manhatta*, which depicted a typical day in city. The film begins by showcasing the views of Manhattan's skyscrapers that commuters would see every morning from the Staten Island ferry. As a metaphor for the belief in the transformative power of industrialization and efficiency, the next scene portrays the moment when hundreds of people disembark from the ferry heading to work. The subsequent scenes focus on various ongoing processes in the city, such as construction, transportation infrastructure, and people going about their daily routines. These views are carefully chosen to create abstract compositions, with the authors exploring the geometric patterns, lighting, and materiality of the new structures. Through this artistic approach, the film poetically celebrates the industrial aesthetic values of the city. As noted by Nye (1994) to further emphasise the connection between these values and the future of Manhattan, the scenes are interspersed with excerpts from Walt Whitman's poetry, in which the author enthusiastically celebrates the city's transformation (Figure 3.5)

Additionally, according to my observations, the film symbolically represents this admiration for the industrial by showcasing smoke as a recurring element throughout the images, with the smoke shaping New York in the same way that natural features or religious concepts have shaped cities in the past (Figure 3.6). The film ends with two images. The first is the sun setting over the Hudson River and the second depicts the skyline of Manhattan (Figures 3.7, 3.5). While the first image recalls the paintings of artists such as Thomas Cole and Asher Durand,

associated with the Hudson River School,[19] the final image of the film *Manhatta* announces a new understanding of the industrial sublime, forging a connection to the role of industry in the future city-making process.

Figure 3.5: Manhatta (1921) Directed by C. Sheeler and P. Strand (Source: Getty Museum Digital Archive). Available at Getty Museum YouTube channel (Accessed: 15 April 2019)

Figure 3.6: Manhatta (1921) Directed by C. Sheeler and P. Strand (Source: Getty Museum Digital Archive). Available at Getty Museum YouTube channel (Accessed: 15 April 2019)

[19] The Hudson River School was a group of American landscape painters from the 19th century, whose works were highly inspired by the principles of the picturesque aesthetic discipline.

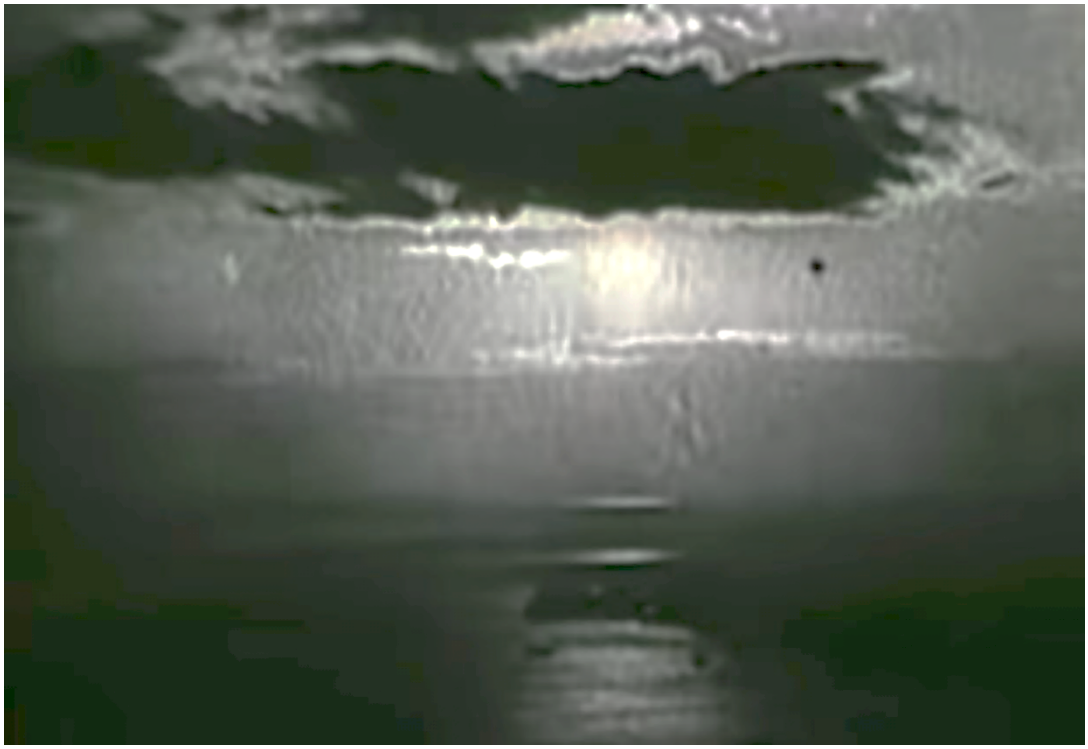


Figure 3.7: *Manhatta* (1921) Directed by C. Sheeler and P. Strand (Source: Getty Museum Digital Archive). Available at Getty Museum YouTube channel (Accessed: 15 April 2019)

Six years after the release of *Manhatta*, Charles Sheeler received a commission from Henry Ford to photograph the Ford Motor Company's new River Rouge plant in Detroit. Ford, a visionary entrepreneur, believed in Industry as the 'new Messiah' and a pivotal force in shaping the 'new America'. His industrial model, known worldwide as the Fordist model, revolutionized mass production and efficiency. This model prioritized standardized, large-scale manufacturing processes and introduced innovative labour management techniques, laying the foundation for modern industrial practices. The River Rouge plant, which was the largest industrial complex in the world at that time, covered over 2,000 acres. Sheeler's goal was to showcase the facility as an embodiment of modern rationality and order.

Through his lens, Sheeler captured the essence of the industrial complex, portraying it as a monument of contemporary architecture and engineering. His photographs, along with a series of paintings, intentionally omitted the presence of workers, focusing instead on the majestic scale and the mechanical beauty of the industrial setting (Figures 3.8, 3.9). Sheeler likened these new factories to cathedrals, suggesting they offered a modern substitute for religious awe, providing a profound connection to the spiritual realm and embodying symbolic significance far beyond the mundane aspects of daily life.

This comparison underscored an emerging perception of industrial spaces as places of reverence and admiration, marking a shift in societal values towards the celebration of industrialization and its transformative impact on the American landscape (Jensen and Bartholomew, 2014).

Figure 3.8: Sheeler, C. (1930) American Landscape (Source: The MoMA Digital Archive)

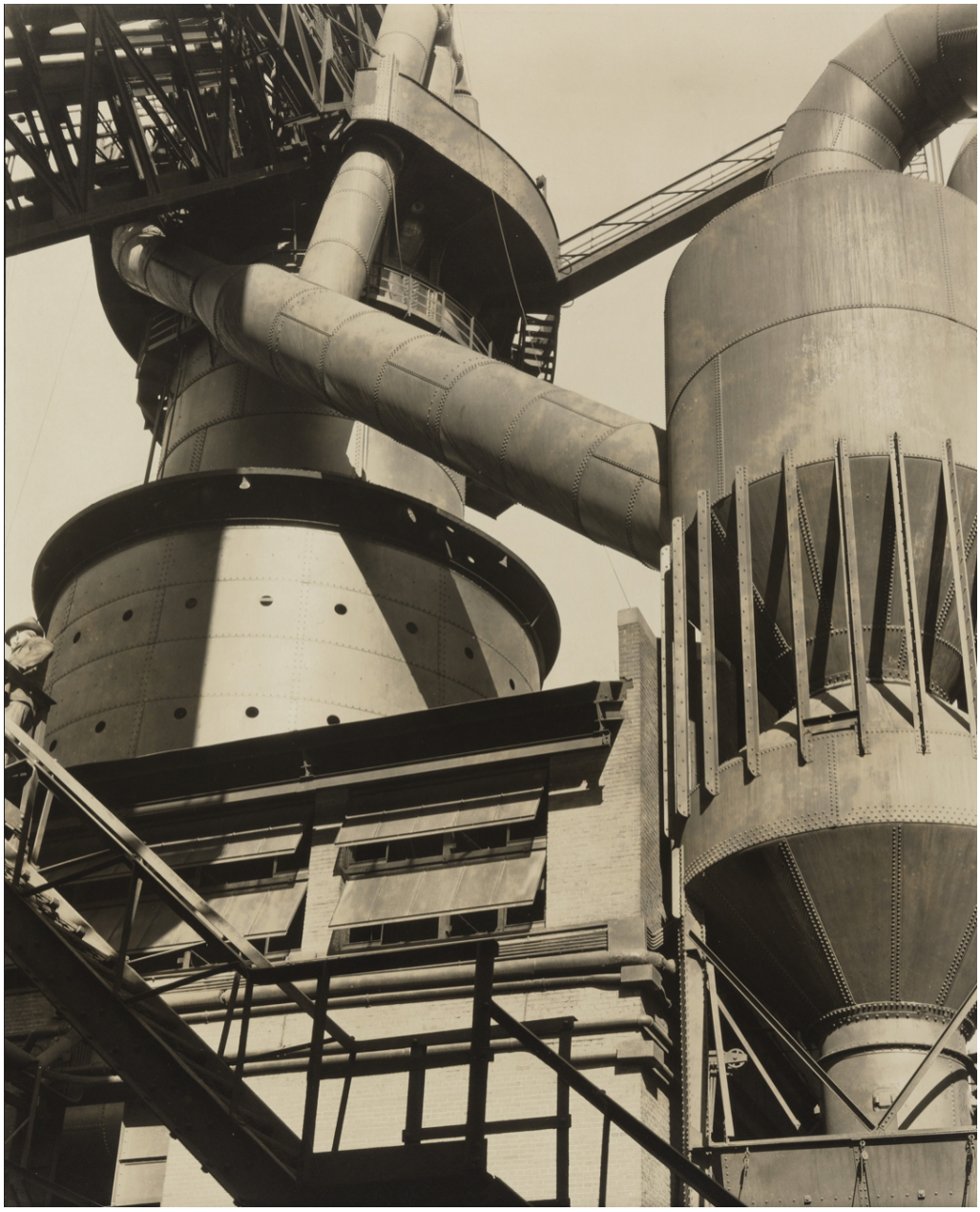


Figure 3.9: Sheeler, C. (1927) Ford Plant, River Rouge, Blast Furnace and Dust Catcher (Source: The MoMA Digital Archive)

The American industrial sublime transcended borders and had a significant impact on the early architecture of the modernist movement in Europe. Architects like Gropius, Taut, Mendelsohn, and later Le Corbusier, admired the ability of American industrial buildings to breathe new life into architectural aesthetics and society as a whole. In his essay *'The Development of Modern Industrial Architecture',* Walter Gropius dedicates seven pages of illustrations to American grain elevators and factories, highlighting their importance.

Accordingly, the Architect states:

'America, the Motherland of Industry, possesses some majestic original constructions which far outstrip anything of a similar kind achieved in Germany. The compelling monumentality of the Canadian and South American grain elevators, the coaling bunkers built for the leading railway companies and the newest work halls of the great North American industrial trusts can almost bear comparison with the work of the ancient Egyptians in their overwhelming monumental power. The impact of these buildings seems to lie in the fact that American builders have retained a natural feeling for large compact forms fresh and intact. Our own architects might take this as a valuable hint and refuse to pay any more attention to those fits of historicist nostalgia and other intellectual fancies under which European creativity still lingers and which frustrate our true artistic naiveté.' (Gropius, 1913; Benton et.al, 1975, p.32)

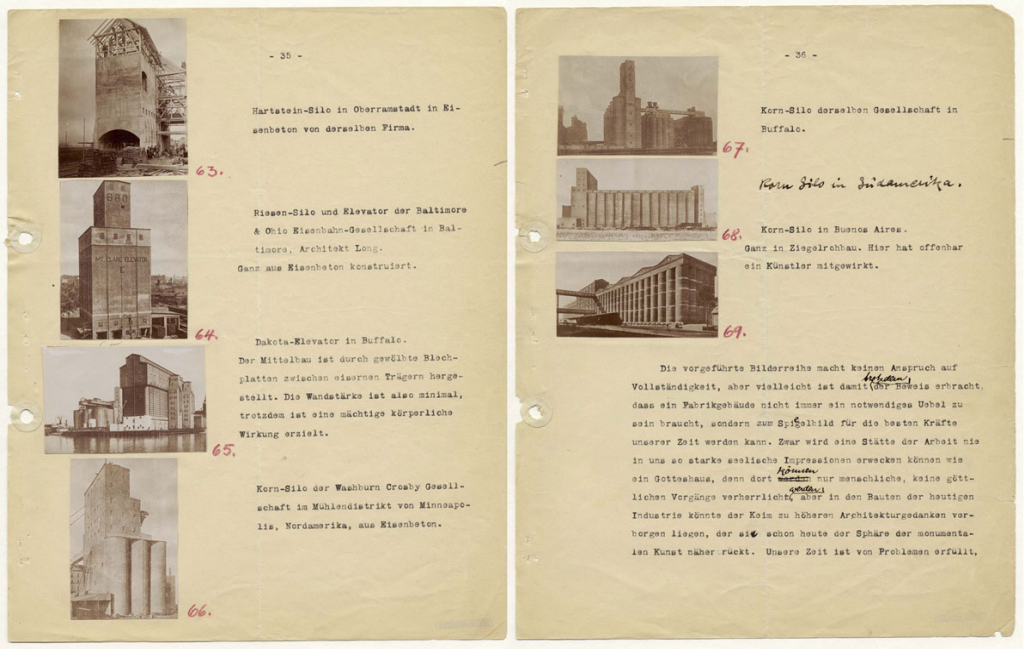


Figure 3.10: Walter Gropius' 'Monumentale und Industriebau' manuscript with images took in America. The manuscript was the draft for a lecture delivered in the Museum Folkwang Hagen in 1911 (Source: Mejía, 2022)

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Gropius's essay and reflections disseminated in diverse forms (Figure 3.10) became a source of inspiration for other architects. Mendelsohn's famous grain elevator pictures (Figure 3.11) were influenced by the images contained in the essay, and Le Corbusier sought permission from Gropius to use some of the pictures in his own book *Vers une Architecture* (Krivý, 2010, p.829). Mendelsohn's first trip to America in 1924 further solidified his appreciation for

industrial elements. Like the Romantic travellers of the past, he visited industrial areas to understand their cultural essence. In his letters to his wife, he describes feeling overwhelmed by the scale and form of the industrial infrastructures he encountered.

'[…] *Mountainous silos, incredibly space-conscious, but creating space. A random confusion amidst the chaos of loading and unloading of corn ships, of railways and bridges, crane monsters with live gestures, hordes of silo cells in concrete, stone and glazed brick. Then suddenly a silo with administrative buildings, closed horizontal fronts against the stupendous verticals of fifty to hundred cylinders, and all this in the sharp evening light. I took photographs like mad. Everything else so far now seemed to have been shaped interim to my silo dreams. Everything else was merely a beginning* […]' (Mendelsohn, 1924, cited in Krivý, 2010, p.829).

Figure 3.11: Mendelsohn, E. (1926) *Grain Silos. Buffalo, New York* (Source: Guitart, 2022)

Despite the stock market crash in 1929, the idea of the industrial sublime and the associated aesthetic values, which recognised the potential of industrial buildings and infrastructure to construct the future, persisted. As Jensen (2014, p.79) suggests, popular magazines such as *Fortune* and *Life*, played a crucial role in promoting industrial imagery until the early 1940s, when World War II brought significant changes to the social, political, and economic contexts. After the war, new cultural paradigms and the beginnings of deindustrialization prompted a re-evaluation of the values attached to the industrial sublime, leading to a new understanding of industrial elements and landscapes.

3.3. Postmodernism and the Instrumental Approach of Industrial Structures

The economic uncertainties of the post-war period in America and Europe were addressed by new market models based on mass production, which resulted in industrial expansion between the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s. This period, commonly referred to as the Golden Age in the American context, brought about significant changes to the social and physical landscape of the country. New capital forces, such as the thriving automobile industry, led to the emergence of new everyday needs, resulting in urban sprawl, the transformation of rural landscapes due to road transport, and a new understanding of industrial features. During this golden age, the dominant paradigm portrayed industry as a catalyst for regeneration, primarily driven by values aligned with capital forces (exchange value). As a result, the aesthetic and cultural dimensions that had previously played a significant role in shaping perceptions of industrial features began to fade into the background. (Nye, 1994)

Nonetheless, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw a significant reorganisation of capitalism and manufactured production. According to Crinson et al. (2011), two primary factors contributed to this transformation. Firstly, there was a political and social class crisis, exemplified by the riots in Detroit in 1967 and the events of May 1968 in France. Secondly, an energy crisis emerged due to petroleum shortages and the subsequent embargo in 1973 by the members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries. In this context, artists and architects who were familiar with and educated within working-class environments, known as the 'red-brick' generation (Colomina , 2005, p.215), began to explore industrial landscapes and infrastructures in response to the new social and cultural challenges brought about by

the process of deindustrialization. Robert Smithson, a member of this group, played a pivotal role in the understanding of industrial elements beyond their function or aesthetic value, particularly through his works focused on abandoned and derelict industrial landscapes (Ábalos, 2008, p.45). Smithson questioned the relationship between reality, time, and representation, offering an alternative re-evaluation of the perception of these industrial elements in the present, as we will further analyse.

3.3.1. Introduction to the work of Robert Smithson

In 1966, Robert Smithson published his essay 'Entropy and the New Monuments' in the American art journal *Artforum*. In this essay, Smithson introduces a new concept of monumentality, which was influenced by minimalist artists such as Donald Judd, Dan Flavin, and Sol LeWitt, among others. These artists created works based on serial construction, which lacked a specific beginning or end. Instead, they consisted of an infinite series of repetitions, where a distortion would unexpectedly arise and then quickly be followed by the replication of the original pattern. Smithson argues that these unexpected 'displacements' shape events, causing elements within a particular system to transition from order to disorder (Smithson, 1966). This phenomenon, known as 'Entropy' in Physics, served as the inspiration for Smithson's conceptual understanding of History. He saw History not as a closed system or process, but rather as an endless back-and-forth movement characterized by fragmentation. According to Smithson, this dynamic interplay between progression and regression brings the past and future into the present moment. To illustrate this concept, Smithson references a quote from Vladimir Nabokov's short science-fiction story 'Lance', published in 1952: 'The future is but the obsolete in reverse' (Smithson 1966; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.11)

Furthermore, Robert Smithson's concept of 'New Monuments', as analysed in the text, refers to minimalist artworks that represent *'a systematic reduction of time down to fractions of seconds, rather than representing the long space for centuries* […]'. Smithson highlights Dan Flavin's fluorescent light installations as exemplifying 'Instant-Monuments'; these works crystallise moments, positioning them within the domain of time rather than space. Smithson explains that Flavin makes *'*[…] *"instant-monuments"; the "instant" makes Flavin's work a part of time rather than space. Time becomes a place minus motion. If time is a place, then*

innumerable places, 'New Monuments' are possible [...]*"* (Smithson 1966; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.11) This perspective challenges traditional notions of monuments as static, spatial entities, suggesting instead a dynamic interplay with temporal experience, where the transient moment itself becomes monumental. Drawing on this, Smithson identifies some examples of these *'New Monuments'* as follows: *'*[…] *the slums, the urban sprawl, and the infinite number of housing developments of the postwar boom* […] *"moderne" interior architecture of the new "art-houses" like "Cinema I and II", and finally, the much-denigrated architecture of Park Avenue known as 'cold glass boxes', along with the Manneristic modernity of Philip Johnson. The Union Carbide building best typifies such architectural entropy'.* (Smithson 1966; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.13)

Smithson also reinforces the new concept of monumentality by emphasizing its intangible aspects. He states: *'This kind of architecture without 'value of qualities,' is, if anything, a fact* […]*'* (Smithson 1966; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.13)

Following the publication of 'Entropy and the New Monuments', Smithson embarked on a series of exploratory trips from 1966 to 1969. These journeys took him to altered urban environments, industrial wastelands, and abandoned infrastructures—spaces where Smithson believed the essence of eternal equilibrium could be observed in its most natural form (Smithson, 1996). Among these explorations, his experience in Passaic, New Jersey, was immortalized in the seminal essay 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey'. This piece became a pivotal influence on the dialogue surrounding the new aesthetic and historical significance of suburban and post-industrial landscapes within the European and American postmodern cultural contexts (Ábalos, 2008, p.45). Smithson's reflections in this text critically engage with the prevailing principles of preservation, challenging the conventional approaches adopted by conservation professionals up to that point.

3.3.2. 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey' and the 'Non-Site' concept

In the mid-sxties, New York City experienced an uncontrolled post-war construction boom, resulting in the demolition of numerous historical buildings and neighbourhoods. One of the most highly contested demolitions was that of Penn Station, which marked a critical moment

in the city's preservationist discourse.[20] This ultimately led to the enactment of the New York City Landmarks Law in 1965, which aimed to oversee the designation and protection of landmark structures and historical areas within the city. It is no coincidence that Smithson's essay, 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey,' was published during this historic preservation movement.

As suggested by Roberts (2004), Smithson could not have remained unaffected by these debates. He closely observed how his own neighbourhood, Greenwich Village, became the largest historic district designated by the Landmark Commission in 1967, following intense disputes over property rights and social claims. However, Smithson's understanding of how entropic processes shaped history and how this was reflected and continuously constructed in architectural structures and urban forms diverged from the criteria set by the Landmarks Commission, which had been inspired by the remarks of Alois Riegl at the beginning of the 20th century: *'The cult of historical value must aim above all at the most complete conservation of the monument (or building) in its present state, and this requires that the natural course of decay stayed as much as is humanly possible* […]*'* (Rielg, 1903, cited in Roberts, 2004, p.67).

Smithson's arguments against this approach are evident in some of his writings, as his article *'Ultramoderne'*, which was published in September 1967 in *Arts Magazine*, a highly influential journal in the country's cultural scene. In this article, he critiques the Landmarks Preservation Commission criteria for neglecting buildings that are less than 30 years old. To support his argument, he specifically focuses on the Art-Deco modernist buildings from the 1930s that

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[20] Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic for the NY Times writes in her article 'Architecture: How to Kill a City' (*New York Times*, 5 May 1963):
'[...] *But once the plans were announced, public reaction was quick and loud* […] *Now alerted, New York's architects, artists, and writers were outraged at the prospected demise of such a significant structure. Art and architecture institutions almost uniformly called for Penn Station to be preserved* [...] *many were angered that Penn Station was being taken down to make way for commercial development. New Yorkers will lose one of their finest buildings, one of the few remaining from the 'Golden Age' at the turn of the century* [...]
The Fine Arts Federation of New York, a non-profit alliance of art and architecture groups established in 1895, also protested the plans for demolition, preferring instead that a study should be made to preserve those qualities of spaciousness and monumentality for which the station is justly famous.'
(Huxtable, 1963. Cited in Plosky, 1999, pp.35-36, 58-59)

are situated in the Central Park West area. Smithson questions whether there is a necessity for an age limit at all, emphasizing the importance of viewing these structures as infrastructure that extends continuously from the past into the future. Ironically, 20 years later, some of the buildings he used as examples in his article were actually designated as historical landmarks by the Commission.[21] (Roberts, 2004)

Following his field trip to Passaic, and through his later essay 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey,' Smithson solidifies his intellectual stance on the necessity of reevaluating conventional approaches to heritage. The essay begins with a meticulous account of the journey's outset, setting the stage for a more inclusive recognition of industrial environments as integral components of our cultural legacy:

'On Saturday, September 30, 1967, I went to the Port Authority Building on 41st Street and 8th Avenue. I bought a copy of the New York Times and a Signet Paperback called Earthworks by Brian W. Aldiss. Next, I went to ticket booth 21 and purchased a one-way ticket to Passaic. After that, I went up to the upper bus level (platform 173) and boarded the number 30 bus of the Inter-City Transportation Co.' (Smithson, 1967, p.52)

Inspired by the personal narratives of 19th-century travellers, particularly by William Gilpin,[22] the American artist applies this style in his work. Smithson captures photographs of partially destroyed and partially constructed infrastructure in black and white during the day (Figure 3.12). He refers to these images as 'Ruins in Reverse' (Smithson 1996, p.355) as they depict structures that 'do not fall into ruin after they are built but rather rise into ruin before they are built. He finds places in these structures where one can journey backwards or forwards in

[21] The group of twin-towered apartments, 'The Century', was designated as a landmark in 1985. Today, it stands as one of the city's most iconic buildings.

[22] In section I of his book Observations on the River Wye, William Gilpin describes in a direct style the beginning of his journey: *'Crossing Hounslow Heath, from Kingston, in Surrey, we struck into the Reading-road; and turned a little aside, to see the approach to Caversham-house, which winds about a mile, along a valley, through the park* […]' (Gilpin, 1794, section I)
In 1969, Smithson travelled to England to explore the work of Price and Gilpin (Roberts, 2004)

time, where historical progression appears to be halted. In these unique spots, the past holds the promise of the future.

Some scholars (e.g., Roberts, 2014; Ábalos, 2008; Flam, 1996) concur that Smithson's essay makes a significant contribution by redefining the history of monuments and the associated historical and aesthetic values. Smithson achieves this by considering the buildings and infrastructure present in the abandoned industrial landscape of Passaic as monuments. However, it is Smithson's expansive vision that extends the post-industrial areas beyond their material existence. Drawing inspiration from Jean-Francois Lyotard's postmodern definition of the sublime as an 'ontological dislocation',[23] Smithson argues that these 'Other Places'[24] provide opportunities for diverse interactions at both individual and communal levels (Ábalos, 2008). According to the artist, these 'Non-Sites'[25] are abstract containers engaged in a constant dialectic with the sites they represent (Smithson and Flam, 1996). In comparing Passaic to New York, Smithson asserts that while the latter appears to have a cohesive structure, Passaic is full with 'holes' that he defines as *'the memory-traces of an abandoned set of futures'* (Smithson 1967; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.355). Moreover, he poses the question of whether Passaic has replaced Rome as 'the eternal city'. In a subsequent text promoting his tours to Passaic, he writes as follows:

'SEE THE MONUMENTS OF PASSAIC NEW JERSEY […] *what can you find in Passaic that you cannot find in Paris, London or Rome? Find out yourself. Discover (if you dare) the breath-taking Passaic River and the eternal monuments on its enchanted banks. Ride in Rent-a-Car comfort to the land that time forgot. Only minutes from N.Y.C. Robert Smithson will guide you through this fabled series of sites … and don't forget your camera. Special maps come with*

[23] For Lyotard, sublime experience is produced by – and produces – displacement. Lyotard's work about sublimity was inspired by the works of *Avant-Garde* artists, particularly Barnett Newman (Shaw, 2013, p.179), whose paintings also inspired Smithson, as the artist stated in his interview for The Archives of American Art/Smithsonian Institution in 1972. (Roberts, 2004)

[24] Term coined in the text by Smithson to designate entropic landscapes (Smithson 1967; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.355).

[25] In his text 'Sites and Settings', published also in 1967, he provides a list of 'Non-Sites', as follows: landscapes without the gaze of history; buildings (suburban factories, rectilinear interiors, and exteriors) with hard and impenetrable surfaces; ordinary places that seem to come from a future time, industrial estates with no industry, new galleries and museums without paintings or sculptures, many without cars, shopping centres without commodities, office buildings with no business activity. (p.3)

each tour. For more information visit DWAN GALLERY, 29 West 57th Street […]*'.* (Smithson 1967; Smithson and Flam, 1996, p.356).

Smithson's contributions significantly redefined the concept of sublimity and the associated values within post-industrial landscapes, fundamentally altering the perception of these spaces. His exploration of entropy and the aesthetic qualities of decay and disuse not only shifted the dialogue around the beauty and significance of such environments but also paved the way for subsequent approaches that sought to uncover additional values embedded in the entropic nature of these sites. Through his work, Smithson opened the discourse to a broader understanding of how post-industrial landscapes can be appreciated and valued, encouraging a re-evaluation of their role and relevance in contemporary cultural and environmental contexts.

Figure 3.12: Smithson R. (1967) *Monuments of Passaic* (Source: Smithson and Flam, 1996)

3.4. The *New Topographics* and the Value of Post-Industrial Landscapes: First Approaches to Conservation

Foucault first mentions his idea of 'Heterotopia' in the preface of his 1966 book *Les Mots et les Choses* (Johnson, 2016). However, his explanation of the concept more relevant to the field of urban and architectural studies was given to a group of architects in the Cercle d'Études Architecturales of Paris in March 1967, six months before Smithson's first trip to Passaic. In his lecture, Foucault defined 'Heterotopia' as real and localised sites which relate to other sites by both representing and, at the same time, inverting them (Johnson, 2016). Although the current investigation found no evidence of contact between the two thinkers – or indeed references to either one's work in the writing of the other – Smithson's notion of 'Entropic Places' and Foucault's concept of 'Heterotopia' are complementary.26 This inspired the work of many renowned photographers and architects who, in the late 1970s and 1980s, began to contemplate everyday landscapes, suburbs, and peripheral sites, including deindustrialized and obsolete areas, in order to capture the inherent values within their identities. A pivotal moment in this quest was marked by the exhibition 'New Topographics, Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape', curated by William Jenkins and inaugurated in 1975 at the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House (Rochester, NY). The exhibition's subtitle, 'A Man-Altered Landscape', clarifies the significance of the work of ten American and European photographers, namely Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, Frank Gohlke, Nicholas Nixon, John Schott, Stephen Shore, and Henry Wesse. Through their photographs, they reflect on the human processes and interactions that shaped the ordinary American landscape during the 1970s. According to Bisbal (2016, p.23), these artists sought the 'spirit of the place' rather than the pre-existing 'spirit of a site,' as traditionally encountered by landscape painters and photographers.

[26] Although at the conceptual level there is a strong correlation between Smithson's work and Foucault's concept of 'Heterotopia', in the course of my investigation I couldn't find objective evidence of contact between these two thinkers or any references to either one's work in the writing of the other. In addition, the text '*Des Espaces Autres*', which was the basis of the famous lecture given by Foucault in the Cercle d'Études Architecturales, was first published by the French journal *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* in October 1984 (Johnson, 2016), 11 years after Smithson's death.

The search for the values of factories, intersections, car parks, and other everyday landscapes took different perspectives. For example, while Robert Adams and Lewis Baltz reflected on the value of land, the ecological impact of suburban sprawl, and the excessive production of built infrastructure, Shore explored the value of randomness and banality in the creation ofthe 'Nowhere'[27] landscape. Similarly, Bernd and Hilla Becher sought singularity and uniqueness within the multitude of industrial architecture and sites.

Using systematic methods of abstraction from context, the Bechers' work presents isolated industrial elements organised into series and grids (Figure 3.13). This creates a narrative of sequences that some scholars (Bisbal, 2016; Krivý, 2010) have interpreted as reducing industrial objects to pure forms, anonymous sculptures, in order to highlight their aesthetic value. However, Roberts (2019) suggests that, through their scientific approach and use of classificatory codes, the German photographers were seeking the principles and processes that gave significance to these industrial infrastructures. To support this argument, Roberts (2019) states that the Bechers conducted extensive research, including interviews with experts and former workers, and examined industrial manuals, maps, and historical photographs. As a result, the realism captured in their pictures reflects an understanding of the "lived experience". They engaged with the social and historical value and considered how these were intertwined with the tangible qualities of the industrial elements they photographed. Bernd and Hilla Becher themselves explain this concept:

'Just as [the] cathedral came out of the medieval world view and […] *castles embody the feudal system, these edifices are to be seen as emanations of our time, as a self-representation of our society* […]*'* (Bernd and Hilla Becher, 1971, cited in Roberts 2019).

[27] I here use the term 'Nowhere' coined by the American sociologist J.H. Kunstler in his book published in 1994 *The Geography of Nowhere*, to describe places where the cities are dead zones.

Figure 3.13: Becher, B. and Becher, H. (1974) Pitheads (Source: Tate Modern Digital Archive)

The work of the Bechers, along with other photographers featured in the '*New Topographic*' exhibition, generated increased public interest in these 'Non-Sites', as previously defined by Smithson. Additionally, they advocated for alternative conservation practices such as the *'Mission Photographique de la DATAR*',[28] an initiative by the French Government aimed at documenting the post-industrial landscapes of the country during the 1980s. With the scientific objective of creating a catalogue, Baltz and Gohlke, both participants of the '*New Topographic*' exhibition, along with 10 other American and European photographers, were invited to capture images of peripheries, including industrial areas and ordinary places. The outcome of this project, which was replicated in other European countries, revealed two fundamental aspects of these locations. Firstly, their connection to everyday life, and secondly, their ever-changing dynamics. Baltz vividly portrays this in the image below, juxtaposing a housing landscape with an industrial area in front of it (Figure 3.14):

Figure 3.14: Baltz, L. (1984) Littoral Urbain, Fos-sur-Mer (Source: arteplan.org). Available at Mission photographique - DATAR - Arts & Aménagement des Territoires (arteplan.org)

[28] In English: 'DATAR Photographic Mission'. DATAR: *Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale. In English: Delegation for the Management of the Territory and for the Regional Action.*

3.5. Post-Industrial Heritage as a Landscape Practice

Cultural initiatives like the DATAR Mission project have played a pivotal role in fostering an appreciation of industrial infrastructures as 'Practised Places' (Karen, 2016), suggesting that post-industrial landscapes are intrinsically linked to their utilisation and, as a result, the ways in which they are shaped. These endeavours have also contributed to framing the post-industrial sublime as an experience rooted in the obsolescence of industrial sites, intertwined with the values of their historical practices and envisioned futures. Furthermore, the postmodern acknowledgement of heritage's social dimension—coupled with the workers' narratives emerging from the deindustrialisation process—has positioned the concept of 'use' as a fundamental social practice within the discourse on industrial heritage value. This shift towards an instrumental approach to heritage, which emphasizes its usage, has sparked discussions that encompass questions of tangibility and the diverse manifestations of this form of heritage in contemporary settings across various forums.

3.5.1. The evidential value of post-industrial heritage

The discontinuity of post-industrial heritage raises questions about the concept of 'Integrity Value', which is a key principle in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* by UNESCO. This document, which has influenced conservation practices and policies, defines ‘Integrity Value’ as the measure of the completeness and intactness of natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. It also highlights the relationship between integrity and the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of a property. To assess integrity, the guidelines state that the property should include all necessary elements to express its OUV, be large enough to represent its significant features and processes, and not suffer from adverse development or neglect (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2019, paragraph 88).

However, post-industrial heritage often does not meet these criteria, as Orbasli (2008, p. 29) points out. The discourse on integrity is further challenged by the constantly changing nature of post-industrial sites. Therefore, some scholars argue for a new definition of integrity that focuses on the intangible aspects of this form of heritage (Cossons et al., 2015), leading to increased debates about its universal value.

In the context of studying and preserving post-industrial heritage, the TICCIH published the Nizhny Tagil Charter in July 2003. This document provides international guidelines for protecting and assessing the values of post-industrial heritage, including its tangible and intangible manifestations. The charter recognizes the evidential, rarity,[29] social, technological, scientific, and aesthetic values of industrial architecture. It emphasises that the protection of industrial heritage is based on its universal value as evidence of significant historical activities, rather than the uniqueness of individual sites.

Nevertheless, there have been some criticisms of the Nizhny Tagil Charter and its focus on the extrinsic nature of heritage values. Scholars such as Cossons et al. (2015), Martin (2012), and Smith (2015) argue that this limited understanding of heritage value could be problematic. They suggest that solely focusing on traditional preservation practices may result in a partial understanding of post-industrial heritage and a disconnection between local communities and their legacy.

To address the tangible and intangible aspects of post-industrial heritage, Cossons (2012) have proposed protecting it based on the universality of evidential value. Unlike earlier historical periods that rely heavily on documentary sources for understanding intangible evidence, industrial remains offer the opportunity for research and interpretation in their original setting. The scholar argues that indirect sources cannot fully replace the reality found in post-industrial heritage. Evidential value provides insights into past activities, as well as the continuity and consequences of those activities in the present. However, other scholars, such as Smith et al. (2011) contend that understanding the value of post-industrial heritage requires a closer examination of its social dimensions and usage.

[29] The term 'rarity' refers here to architecture, design, and planning. Rarity is an important factor in assessing value. The survival of particular processes, site typologies, or landscapes adds particular value and should be carefully assessed. (Nizhny Tagil Charter, 2003. p.4)

3.5.2. The use value of post-industrial heritage

Drawing on her discursive approach to heritage, Smith, together with Shackel and Campbell (2011), focuses on how working-class people and communities use post-industrial heritage to construct their identity and sense of place, rather than simply to celebrate their past. Mah (2011) analyses three deindustrialized landscapes and place-based communities (Newcastle upon Tyne in the UK, Ivanovo in Russia, and Niagara Falls in the USA) to argue for an understanding of industrial heritage as a lived process. According to Mah's explorations, the local people develop a strong place attachment to these sites and view them as 'home', despite the devastation of industrial landscapes. This place attachment provides social cohesion for the communities and should be considered when addressing post-industrial urban heritage regeneration processes. The value of 'community solidarity' may be observed in the organisational abilities of place-based communities to resist urban development plans that compromise their sense of home and in their proactive responses to other urban and social challenges, such as the need for integrating new residents.

Some scholars have also examined the spirit of self-organisation within ex-workers communities and its connection to the political significance of post-industrial heritage. For example, Wray (2011), a scholar and ex-miner, investigated how a group of community-based workers in County Durham, UK, confronted Thatcherism, including its heritage politics, by creating an alternative self-funded Miners' Museum. This museum aimed to exhibit the physical and representational realities of their experiences. The group, known as 'The Herrington Miners Banner Partnership', fought against the political shifts driven by the government in the 1980s and ensured that industrial sites managed by volunteer-based associations were transferred into public hands through private foundations (Bapty, 2016). Their work was inspired by solidarity principles inherited from trade unions. Wray emphasizes that miners primarily identify themselves with pride as being a miner and in solidarity with other miners (Wray, 2001, p.13).

Paskaleva and Cooper (2017) examine the concept of 'Voluntarism' in workers' communities in a socialist political context.[30] They argue that collaborative practices have played a significant role in shaping urban environments and can help preserve and understand both tangible and intangible aspects of post-industrial urban heritage. However, the authors caution that solely focusing on these practices may fail to engage younger generations.

They also highlight the importance of considering how these practices are applied and organised, as this can contribute to a disconnection with the industrial legacy in the short term.

On the other hand, Camerin (2019) posits that cycles of activity, ruination, and reclamation are inherent to post-industrial heritage. This perspective aligns with other contemporary studies that emphasise the significance of ruination (e.g., Mah, 2014; Trigg, 2006; Edensor, 2005). In the following section, I will explore the two directions that this discourse on value has taken and how they relate to a new form of sublimity and post-industrial heritage.

3.5.3. Value and industrial ruins

At the beginning of the 21st century, the de-industrial sublime emerged as a new aesthetic dimension. It was linked to amazement at the process of deindustrialisation itself, the progressive loss of use of industrial sites, and the urban consequences of this (Strangleman, 2013; Apel, 2015). However, beyond the aesthetic experience, where post-industrial heritage appears as an untouchable sacred totem of the past, other scholars (Mah, 2014; Trigg, 2006; Edensor, 2005) understand this sublimity as a tool to connect society with its past and to make other social concerns evident.

Within the framework of the 65th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians held in April 2012, the local co-Chair Dale Allen Gyure, in his 'Welcome to Detroit' speech,

[30] The study focuses on the post-socialist industrial-mining city of Velenje in Slovenia. The municipality has launched the "ReNewTown" programme to regenerate degraded areas, aiming to foster a rejuvenated voluntarism and develop a positive connection between people and their natural and social environment. (Paskaleva and Cooper, 2017)

defines the Motor City as 'America's greatest unknown city'. Gyure (2012)pointed to the one-sided perception of Detroit, *'shaped by negative portrayals dominated by images of ruined buildings or stories of post-industrial decline.'*

Images of shuttered factories and abandoned neighbourhoods have been exhibited in museums, published as fine-art coffee-table collections, and disseminated on the internet and via other media (Strangleman, 2013). Additionally, the emergence of activities such as urban exploration, with 'take nothing but photos and leave nothing but footprints' as their mantra (O'Connel, 2014), has promoted an idealistic view of industrial ruins. According to some authors (i.e. Gyure, 2012; Cowie et al., 2013), this phenomenon has been counterproductive for the regeneration of post-industrial areas due to trivializing the social and psychological value of industrial heritage and completely negating historical processes. In their introduction to the essay collection 'Beyond the Ruins', Cowie et. al (2013) argue that there is a risk of sentimentalising and objectifying the past. They describe this new 'commodified' relationship with industrial ruins as 'smokestack nostalgia'.

However, other voices have welcomed the growing interest in recording - in various forms (photography, film, literature, media) - these derelict post-industrial ruins and their uncanny atmospheres. As a result, a passionate debate about the relevance and impact of these cultural practices in the value-creating process of post-industrial heritage has arisen in the last two decades. In his article 'Detroitism', John P. Leary points out: 'Ruin photography, in particular, has been criticised for its "pornographic" sensationalism [...] and others roll their eyes at all the positive attention heaped on the young, mostly white "creatives", which glosses over the city's deep structural problems and the diversity of ideas to help fix them.' (Leary 2011, cited in Patrick, 2011, p.3)

Likewise, Strangleman et al. (2013) have praised the value of cultural manifestations of deindustrialisation. They argue that these manifestations offer valuable insights into the continuing significance of deindustrialisation by providing access to how people represent and build their memories of industrial work and the process of deindustrialisation itself. Photographic representations of industrial ruins also raise new questions about the value of industrial and post-industrial life, organisation, and politics. Additionally, according to Apel

(2015), these cultural manifestations of urban abandonment in the context of economic precarity help moderate anxieties by presenting ruins as provocative testimonies that can lead to new recovery solutions.

Other scholars highlight the economic opportunities linked to sustainable tourism resulting from the widespread dissemination of these cultural manifestations. This form of tourism, referred to as 'intellectual disaster tourism' by Gardner (2010) and as 'dereliction tourism' by Mah (2013), has been identified as a sign of economic and social recovery in some derelict industrial areas in the US Rust Belt, according to a recent study published by the American Sociological Association's section on Community and Urban Sociology (Florida, 2017).

Within the framework of industrial ruination, the political value of post-industrial heritage has also been discussed by academics such as Edensor (2005) in his explorative 'derives' of derelict industrial sites. Edensor points out that these spaces raise questions about the over-regulation of contemporary urban space design, which reflects the demands of capital. The spaces, through their inarticulacy and discontinuity, also manifest the fragility of their structure, which is based on the control of processes. As political counter-sites, they highlight how global market forces contribute to social inequality by marginalizing certain areas of the city, leaving them as devalued capital (Harvey, 1985). This discrimination is emphasised in the urban-planning discourse, which often portrays these sites as '*locus horribilis*' that promote crime and anti-social activities (Mah, 2014). However, in the past decade, there has been a more sophisticated and complex practical approach to understanding the value concept in obsolete post-industrial areas.

3.6. Bridging Values

In their exploration of the urban transformation processes and planning practices that post-industrial landscapes are confronting today, Oevermann and Mieg (2015) analyse how this form of heritage has generally been considered at the practical level in the conservation field. According to these scholars, there have been various understandings:

- As a testimony to the past: the process is led by the integrity and authenticity of the site.
- As an urban landmark or cultural landscape: the focus is on preserving the industrial

elements and the spatial structures where they are located, as these are considered unique assets.

- As a built infrastructure and a spatial resource: while the conservation of the materiality is considered, the main concern is its long-term reuse.
- As an architectural and atmospheric space: the value is revealed through the spatial and material characteristics of the industrial elements, and contemporary architecture interventions are the medium in which to achieve this.

Within these different understandings, the scholars recognise three approaches to the value of post-industrial heritage. These approaches are sometimes connected, and other times reflect conflictual visions of the very meaning of the concept. These three discourses, identified as 'core discourses', come from heritage conservation, urban development, and architectural practice. Each is divided into sub-discourses: industrial heritage, industrial heritage and culture/creative industries, and industrial heritage and architectural production. While the overarching discourses are informed by values, assumptions, and objectives that ensure consistency over time, the sub-discourses are variants that respond to particular challenges. In terms of value, one could say that there are fixed values that are assumed and others that emerge according to contextual circumstances and demands, such as employment needs and the demand for sustainable aspects. Oevermann and Mieg suggest that the core values attached to the heritage discourse are authenticity, integrity, and 'heritage values'. Their text refers to heritage values as those associated with the tangible aspects of the element to be preserved, but in any case, the use of the term is diffused. Instead, they identify the following as sub-discourse values: accessibility, a bottom-up character, reuse, and sensitivity. In the urban-development core discourse, the associated values are development, economic and environmental value, and vision. Within the sub-discourse, they are accessibility, a bottom-up character, image, and reuse. Finally, the discourse on architectural production concerns design and aesthetics, while accessibility, character, image reuse, and sensitivity are related to its sub-discourse. Based on this analysis, the authors conclude that conservation conflicts arise from the values attached to the core discourses, and they argue for a focus on the values that the three sub-discourses have in common: accessibility, character, and reuse, with a special emphasis on this last one. They

term these as 'Bridging Values' and suggest their use to overcome the conflicts between the different preservation visions and in the search for a balance between the protection, conservation, and change of material post-industrial heritage during the city's transformation.

While Oevermann and Mieg (2015) suggest that the values ascribed to post-industrial heritage should be considered within the three discourses, their interpretation is always subject to contextual circumstances. According to Rodwell (2018), the values that citizens associate with urban heritage, including industrial sites and landscapes, can be placed into four categories:

- Community: includes all social values and everyday interactions between inhabitants.
- Resources: of different scales, from material and financial to environmental (including energy).
- Usefulness: how the urban built legacy could be adapted and creatively re-used and (together with resources) relates to the '3Rs' of sustainability (Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle)
- Cultural: communities recognise their urban heritage as a manifestation of the processes of active engagement beyond materiality.

Accordingly, the concept of 'Bridging Value' has been further explored by scholars who have included place-based community discourses in their investigations. For instance, Karge and Marenko (2015) analysed the multidisciplinary, international, and local approaches to urban transformation processes applied in the industrial site of Frunze 35 in Kyiv, Ukraine, and identified two communal values. These values, which arose from dialogical actions in workshops and during fieldwork on the site and on digital social meeting platforms, were ‘Reuse Value’ and ‘Accessibility Value’. The first of these, ‘Reuse Value’, is primarily understood in terms of the ecological sustainability principles of reducing material expenditure and conserving economic and environmental resources. The authors conceptually divide the second value, ‘Accessibility Value’ into four groups: physical access, visual access, theoretical access, and virtual access. While the first two values are immediately connected with material aspects of the place – and the relationships between these material aspects and the locals' daily life activities – the latter two are a non-tangible manifestation against the control of the area by a single privileged group.

3.7. Initial findings

Drawing on the understanding of heritage and value as the result of socio-spatial construction processes, this chapter has explored the ways in which Post-industrial Heritage has been valued over time. It reveals a narrative where the significance of this form of heritage varies in response to cultural and socio-economic contexts, while also uncovering recurring patterns of valuation. Primarily, it highlights the pivotal role of materiality. Starting from early experiences of awe to the Miners' preservation initiatives in County Durham, the analysis demonstrates that the materiality of industrial components, in their diverse forms including ruins, significantly influences the valuation process of this form of heritage. The analysis brought into light that this observation is further supported by some scholar calls (Cossons et al., 2015; Orbasli, 2008) for a redefinition of the role of integrity within the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) criteria in the context of Post-industrial built heritage. Advocating for a nuanced appreciation of its material manifestations, these scholars emphasize the necessity to account for the ever-evolving nature of post-industrial sites.

However, the approach to materiality varies significantly across the different contexts analysed. On one hand, some practices are based on the extrinsic assignment of value to material elements, treating them as static bearers of significance aligned with traditional value-based approaches (GC, 1996). On the other hand, through the works of Robert Smithson I have argued that the post-modern turn has accompanied in a deeper understanding of materiality as an outcome of various processes. This perspective advocates for a more comprehensive acknowledgment of both the tangible and intangible qualities of materiality. It suggests that these qualities are not merely inherent or assigned but are actively constructed and reconstructed through continuous interactions and processes.

The last approach to materiality is based on my analysis of the efforts by community-based workers in County Durham to preserve their industrial legacy, as well as the studies conducted by Paskaleva and Cooper (2017) on 'voluntarism' in workers' communities within a socialist political context. Aligned with Byrne's (2008) concept of the interplay between social action and how cultural landscapes emerge, I argue that post-industrial remains are seen as sites that required being transformed by the community to keep and continue constructing their significance.

Harrison (2013) suggests that practices play a crucial role in facilitating dialogical exchanges during the construction of heritage values. This is exemplified by the second pattern identified, which explores the contribution of arts and photography to valuation. This contribution can be seen in two ways: Firstly, as support in the valuing processes, they depict post-industrial elements and landscapes as symbols of the ambitions and concerns that arose during industrialization in different time periods. This is evident in the analysis of Turner's work, as well as the contributions of Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand in the post-WW I American context. Secondly, these practices play a role in generating value, as seen in the early picturesque experiences of Gilpin, the search for design strategies by modern architects where “form follows function" (Sullivan, 1896), and later works by Smithson and the New Topographers. Through the analysis of these practices, a common approach towards understanding these infrastructures within the context of daily life emerges. These practices were designed to inform and alter society's interaction with their everyday built environment. This is evident in the popularity of Gilpin's works among the elite of that period, as well as how Smithson's work inspired the New Topographers, ultimately leading to the DATAR mission which aimed to preserve everyday landscapes at risk due to the deindustrialization process.

This investigation has highlighted the enduring connection between sublimity and post-industrial heritage, tracing its roots from the 19th-century 'Picturesque' aesthetic practices to the emergence of the 'De-industrial Sublime' as a new aesthetic dimension in the early 21st century. However, I have also discussed how certain critical perspectives (e.g., Gyure, 2012; Cowie et al., 2013) challenge the idealisation of industrial ruins, arguing that such romanticised views can hinder the effective regeneration of post-industrial landscapes. These critiques assert that the fascination with the aesthetic qualities of decay often overlooks the deeper social and psychological implications of industrial heritage.

The analysis in this chapter put into manifest the connection between post-industrial heritage value and the large territorial scale, at the conceptual and physical levels. The physical aspect is illustrated through various practices, such as picturesque paintings and later New Topographers’ images that depict industrial features in the landscape. This aspect is also visible in the understanding of this type of heritage as a catalyst for urban transformation, as

evidenced by recent debates on this topic. On the other hand, the conceptual aspect is evident in works like the photographs by Bernd and Hilla Becher, which portray post-industrial elements as a reflection of a broader socio-economic models.

This analysis has shed light on how Post-Industrial Heritage has been seen as a catalyst for the future transformations over time. This idea is evident in Turner's works, where industrial elements are portrayed as the new driving forces in contrast to the old elements depicted in a lighter manner in their pictures. Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand also capture this concept in their short film *Manhatta*, highlighting how the city is shaped by industrial elements, as well as through the texts and pictures by Gropius and Mendelsohn, which showcase how these buildings can inspire the development of a new architecture after WWII. I have also argued that this vision of Post-Industrial Heritage as a catalyst for the future is also present in the process of deindustrialization, as evidenced in the works of Smithson and, specifically, in his concept of 'Ruin in Reverse' (Smithson 1996, p.355), which refers to post-industrial elements as structures that 'do not fall into ruin after they are built but rather rise into ruin before they are built'.

In line with these observations, the discussion has extended to contemporary debates surrounding post-industrial heritage as a potential catalyst for urban transformation. Such discussions emphasise the need to bridge the different discourses related to post-industrial heritage preservation and urban planning by identifying shared values, as noted by Oevermann and Mieg (2015). Special emphasis has been placed on incorporating place-based communities into this process, as suggested by Karge and Marenko (2015).

Building on the findings presented and the theoretical framework established in Chapter 1, the upcoming chapter aims to delve into the processes associated with the significance of industrial elements in the transformation of Poblenou neighbourhood in Barcelona. This transformation spans from its humble rural origins, through its period of peak industrialization, and ultimately to the deindustrialization process that began in the late 1970s. The objective is to shed light on how the socio-cultural and economic context influence the value attributed to these elements, identify the key players involved in the construction of this value, and explore the motivations behind their actions.

Figure 4.0: Old? New? (Source: the author, 2020)

CHAPTER 4. THE HISTORICAL URBAN EVOLUTION OF POBLENOU FROM A HERITAGE VALUE PERSPECTIVE

4.1. Introduction

In the latter half of the 19th century, Barcelona underwent a significant transformation by moving away from its traditional reliance on military-driven urban planning and instead embracing the emerging industrial paradigm. This crucial shift was exemplified by the city's hosting of the inaugural Universal Exhibition in 1888, which coincided with the ongoing implementation of Ildefons Cerdà's visionary *Eixample* urban planning project, initiated two decades earlier. Aimed to modernise Barcelona's urban layout and accommodate its growing population, Cerdà Plan introduced a revolutionary grid-like network of wide, straight streets intersecting at right angles, aimed at enhancing traffic circulation and airflow throughout the city. These two pivotal developments synergized to propel Barcelona's formal evolution, positioning it as a prominent centre within both the Spanish and European contexts. Embracing the transformative potential of industrialization, the city witnessed significant changes across economic, social, and political spheres, which had a profound impact on urban planning and progress.

Since then, Barcelona's historical trajectory has unfolded in parallel with the evolution of other major events, concurrently mirroring the fluctuations in industrial activity, encompassing both periods of growth and decline, including the deindustrialization process that started in the late 1970s with the onset of the nation's democratic era. This transition is particularly evident in Poblenou, historically the most industrialized area of the city, which flourished during the 19th and 20th centuries as a hub of manufacturing and innovation. As the industrial landscape transformed, the significance of sites and structures in Poblenou evolved.

The primary objective of this chapter is to engage in critical reflection on the values associated with the industrial transformation of Poblenou. This examination will establish a foundation for understanding which of these values persist and the reasons behind their endurance.To that aim, this chapter draws upon historical documents and cartography to illustrate the initial development of the neighbourhood’s unique urban layout, tracing its evolution, expansion, and integration into the broader cityscape of Barcelona.

From a global-to-particular scale approach, the first part of this chapter introduces a brief historical analysis of the industrial model's implementation in Barcelona. This analysis aims to illuminate its profound social and spatial ramifications and uncover the underlying values that shaped the

development of Poblenou. In the subsequent part, the chapter delineates the evolution of Poblenou, tracing its trajectory from its early manufacturing settlements to the onset of the democratic political transition in the 1970s, a period marked by emerging concerns regarding the preservation of industrial heritage. Throughout both sections, a thorough examination of the interactions between social, economic, cultural, and political contexts is undertaken to chart the urban evolution and discern the nuanced and inherent values embedded within it.

4.2. The Implementation of the Industrial Model in Barcelona

4.2.1. Introduction to the context

The industrial model in Barcelona emerged as a transformative force in the late 19th century, reshaping the city's urban landscape and economic structure. The catalyst for this transformation was the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exhibition (Ballester, 2004). Analysis of historical plans showed that the fortress of Ciutadella, constructed under the reign of the King of Spain Felipe V in the early 18th century as a symbol of military control over the city, was demolished to make space for the exhibition (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Barcelona in 1859, before the plan for the 1888 Exhibition. The fortress of Ciutadella appears on the right. (Source: MUHBA Digital Archive)

This action initiated a process of urban renewal that opened up the city to the coastline, providing available land for the development of productive industries and the creation of new symbolic spaces (Figure 4.2). These spaces included the Parc de la Ciutadella, which became the city's first green public space, as well as the *Palau de Belles Arts*[31] and the *Palau de Justicia*,[32] both of which symbolised Barcelona's emergence as a center of industry, culture, and innovation.

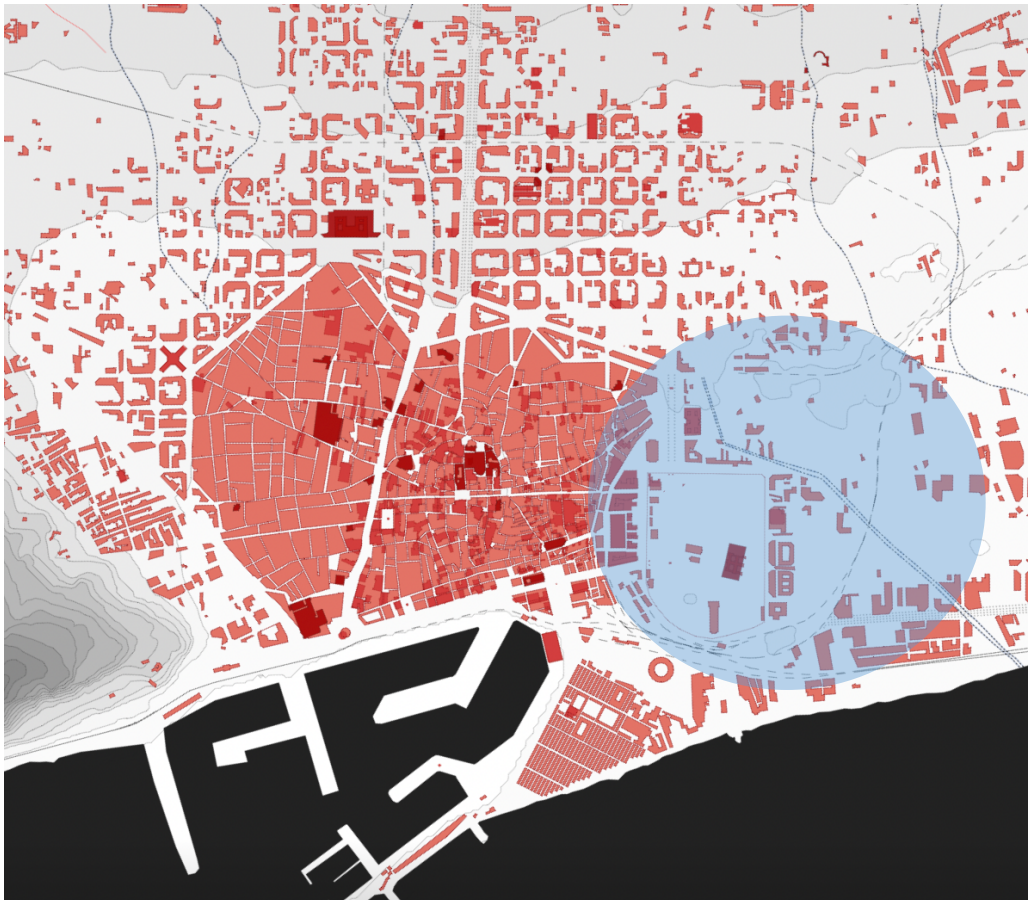


Figure 4.2: Barcelona in 1890. The 1888 Universal Exhibition location is highlighted in blue. (Source: MUHBA Digital Archive)

In this context, the Catalan Modernist Art movement gained recognition and became synonymous with the city's identity, largely thanks to Antoni Gaudi's works. This movement aimed to emphasize the city's identity, particularly as favoured by the bourgeois class. The

[31] The Museum of Fine Arts. The building was demolished in 1942 due to the damage incurred during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).
[32] The High Court of Justice of Catalonia.

bourgeois class, which supported Catalan nationalism and sought political control over industrial manufacturing, saw the urban and architectural landscape as an asset for symbolising their interests and status on a national and international scale.

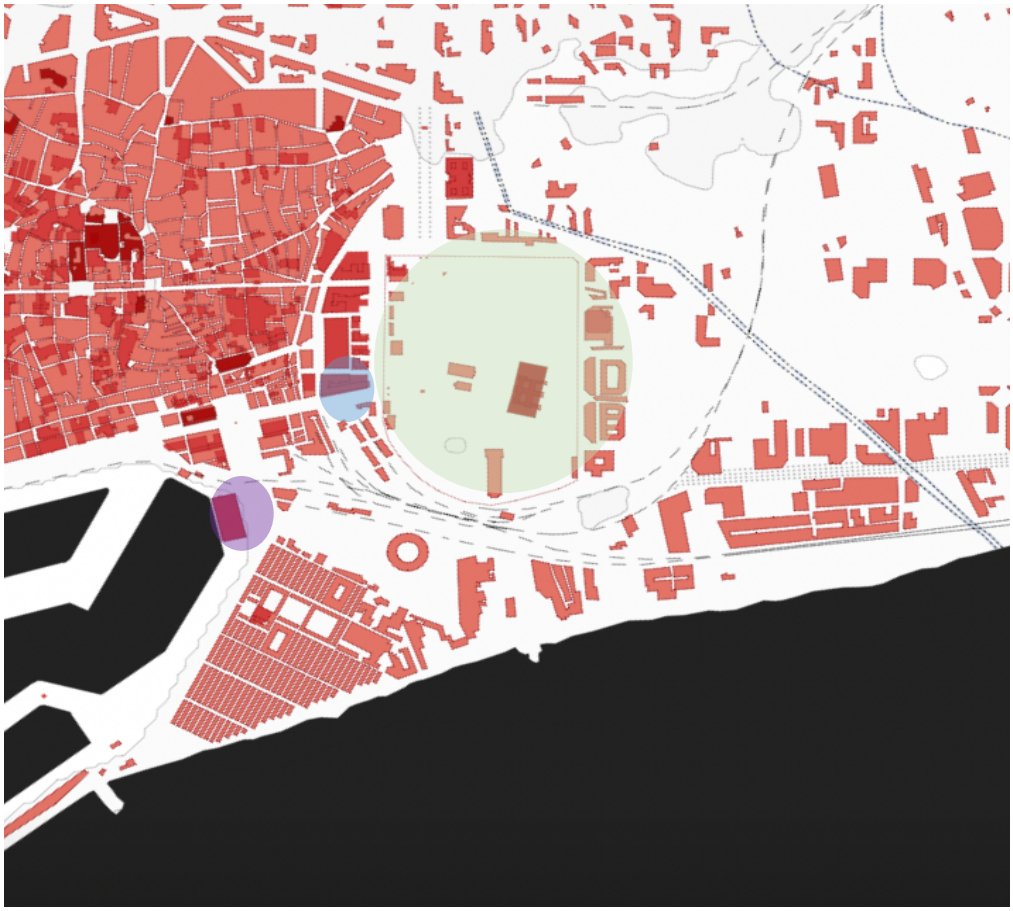


Figure 4.3: Barcelona in 1890. New symbolic spaces: *Parc de la Ciutadella* (highlighted in green), *Palau de Belles Arts* (highlighted in blue), *Palau de Justicia* (highlighted in purple) (Source: MUHBA Digital Archive)

However, as Tatjer (2006) stresses alongside these developments, Barcelona was also undergoing significant urban changes as it transitioned into an industrial city marked by two major factors. The first of them was the 1897 territorial annexation[33] of surrounding municipalities, which aimed to extend the Cerdà Plan grid and incorporate new industries and

[33] The Aggregation Decree was enacted on the 20th of April 1897. This Decree incorporated the municipalities of Les Corts de Sarrià, Sants, Gràcia, Sant Andreu de Palomar, Sant Gervasi de Cassoles, and Sant Martí de Provençals into Barcelona.

residential areas for a growing workforce. However, these moves faced resistance from some municipalities due to political, economic, and identity-driven concerns. Notably, in agrarian areas, like Sant Martí, the district where Poblenou is located, there was a strong call to preserve the remnants of rural landscapes amidst the urban sprawl. The second factor was the housing crisis caused by speculative real estate practices, which further complicated the city's transformation. This crisis coincided paradoxically with the city's outward expansion and the execution of the *Eixample* plan. Despite an increase in residential construction from the late 19th century onwards, rising land values led to housing development that primarily catered to the affluent. In fact, according to Tatjer (2003), a staggering 65% of new homes in the right side of the *Eixample* were aimed at the wealthy, while working-class neighbourhoods like Barceloneta[34] saw only an insufficient 4% increase in new housing, highlighting the growing socio-economic divide.[35] These divergent patterns of urban development gave rise to a new, informal urban landscape. Improvised settlements (*barracas*, in Catalan) sprang up around the industrial zones, mainly along the coastline and in residual spaces within the *Eixample* and hillsides (Figure 4.4). These areas, resembling sub-cities, not only housed marginalized groups including the gipsy community, but also provided refuge for immigrants from the rest of Spain drawn to the city in search of industrial work, who found themselves unable to afford conventional housing. (Jaramillo, 2016, p.46).

Parallel to these developments to host the new labour force, other housing initiatives influenced by utopian socialism, notably the ideas stemming from the 19th-century Cabetian model, emerged. Eugene Cabet's 1840 book *Travels in Icaria*, with its vision of idealized city models based on brotherhood and equality, resonated deeply with a group of anti-bourgeois Catalan intellectuals. Motivated by Cabet's advocacy for cooperative principles, in 1846, they established the first housing and production cooperative in the Poblenou area, naming it *Icaria*, paying tribute to Eugene Cabet's book. This project sought to subvert prevailing social norms by fostering a new communal lifestyle focused on mutual aid and collective ownership.

[34] The Barceloneta neighbourhood, located close to Barcelona's old port, is a popular area historically recognized as the city's first industrial hub (Tatjer, 2003,2006)

[35] The Eixample district is bisected by the Diagonal Avenue. The right side, which was the first to be developed, became the bourgeois area, while the left side was designated for industries and working-class housing. This distinction between the two sides remains evident today.

However, despite its ambitious objectives, this initiative remained a localised experiment with limited impact on the wider urban fabric. (Delgado, 2019; Perrone, 2016)

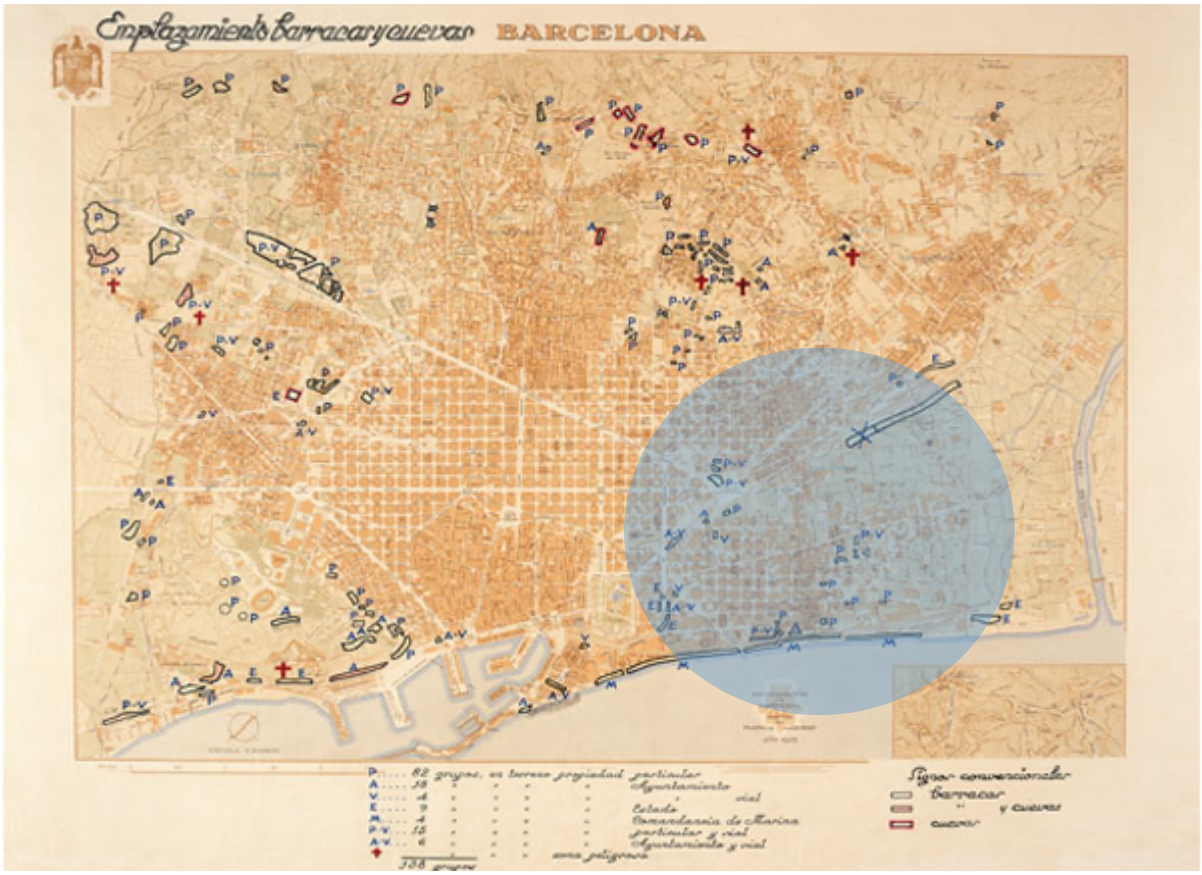


Figure 4.4: 'Location of Barracks and Caves' map (Poblenou area is highlighted in blue). Barcelona City Plan Service, 1945. Original dimensions 52 x 69 cm. (Source: Municipal Archive of Barcelona). Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/expobarraques/2-el-combat-per-a-la-incorporacio-a-la-ciutat (Accessed: 11 December 2016)

The foundation of Barcelona's industrial areas' architectural and urban legacy is profoundly connected with the varied social values brought by workers from different regions of Spain. This heritage is also closely tied to local nationalism and the principles of cooperation and community, stemming from utopian philosophies. Additionally, it mirrors the speculative practices related to land use and economic ambitions that have influenced the city's growth. The sections that follow will explore in greater detail the establishment of this model and the various stages of its evolution.

4.2.2. From specific local settings to the industrial urban development (1832-1900)

The first industrial revolution in Barcelona started within the city walls. Before 1832, Barcelona was a compact city covering an area of 14.7 km2. Apart from a few workshops, its primary source of economic activity was trade with the American colonies. The introduction of the first steam engine in 1832 marked a pivotal shift, notably within the textile sector, at a company initially named *Bonaplata, Vilaregut, Rull y Compañía,* and later known as *El Vapor*.[36] Situated in the Raval neighbourhood, a southwestern area near the main port, this area was characterised by expanses of open land, ripe for the construction of new factories. (Nadal and Taffunel, 1987, p.27)

A unique form of infrastructure also emerged in the Raval, integrating a single factory building into the historical urban fabric. This structure, featuring an internal courtyard with access to the steam engine, included residences for the factory's owner, technical director, and key staff, either within the compound or on the building's upper floors (Tatjer, 2006, p.3).

The swift proliferation of such facilities (Figures 4.5, 4.6) amidst the already dense urban landscape, led to escalating health and safety concerns. In response, Barcelona City Council enacted two crucial regulations in 1846: one restricting the placement of new steam engines and another limiting factory expansions within the city limits. Consequently, this prompted the relocation of industrial endeavours to areas beyond the city walls, marking the beginning of a new phase in Barcelona's industrialisation process. (Nadal and Taffunel, 1987, p.32)

[36] In English: The Steam.

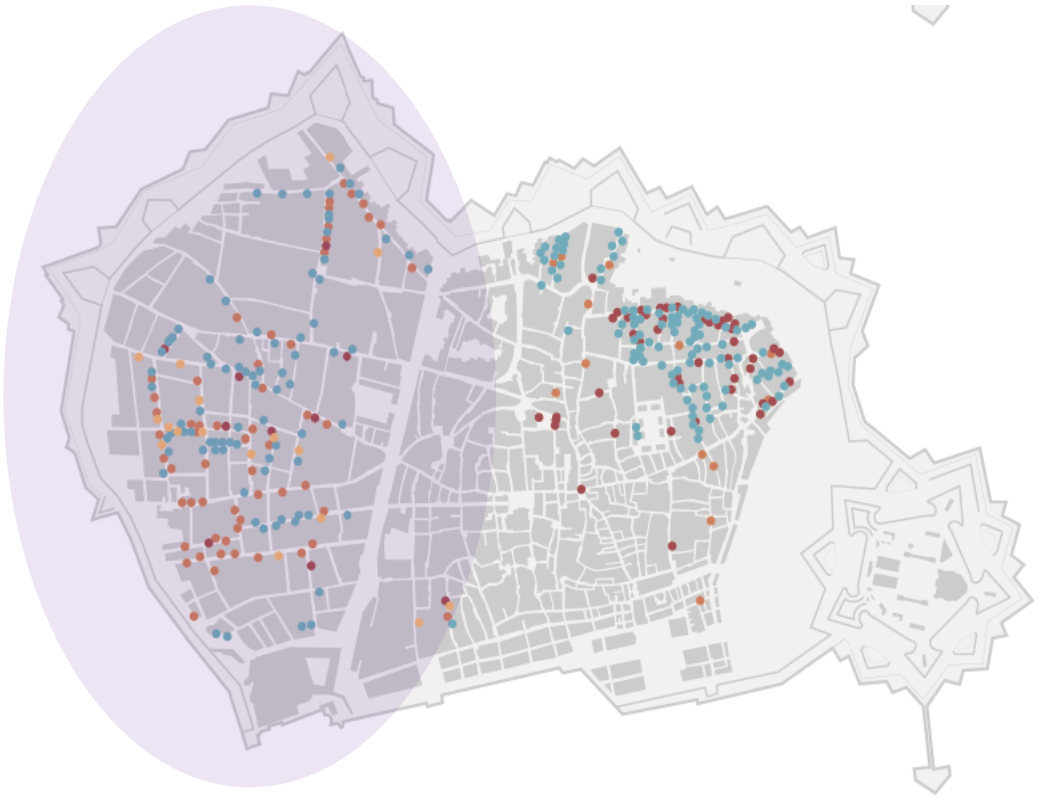


Figure 4.5: Factories within Barcelona's historical city centre in 1829. Textile factories are highlighted in blue, threats factories in yellow, and prints factories in orange. El Raval neighbourhood is highlighted in purple. (Source: Sanchez, 2013, p.92. Map redrawn by the author, 2023)

The location of the new industrial infrastructures was initially determined by two significant urban factors. Firstly, it needed to be close to the port, which supplied coal mainly imported from Cardiff in the UK. Secondly, there was a prohibition on constructing anything within a 1.245-meter radius of the port due to territorial conflicts with the surrounding military area in Barcelona. This context led to a city plan, with the areas near the port, El Raval and la Barceloneta, quickly becoming the main hubs for industrial metalwork in the construction of engines and ships. The new urban landscape also saw the emergence of scattered factories in the outskirts of Barcelona, primarily dedicated to the chemical processes required by the textile industry, such as bleaching and finishing.

These industrial areas, known as *Prats d'Indianes*,[37] consisted of large territories where the activities were more artisanal than strictly industrial. (Nadal and Taffunel, 1987, pp.32-34) Consequently, the buildings associated with these areas were small, and their significance in the development of the city's industrial fabric was limited.

Figure 4.6: Barcelona from its port entrance by Alfred Guedon, 1856. Note the chimneys from the factories at the background (Source: Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona)

The onset of the first industrial revolution in Barcelona is marked by the opening of the country's first national railway line in 1848, as noted by scholars such as Tatjer (2006), Clarós et al. (2009), and Camerin (2019). This railway linked Barcelona with Mataró, a burgeoning textile hub to the north, spanning a distance of 28.4 km along the coastline. The establishment of this line catalysed the spread of textile factories across the region, using vast swathes of previously unoccupied land now made accessible by rail. These areas were chosen for their rich natural resources and abundant water supply, essential for textile production and other industrial processes.

[37] The term "Indianes" was used to designate a specific type of textile that was imported from India and The Philippines (Sanchez, 2013, p.9)

As the textile industry expanded along the railway, the steam-powered factories originally situated in Barcelona city centre began to migrate to these new industrial zones.

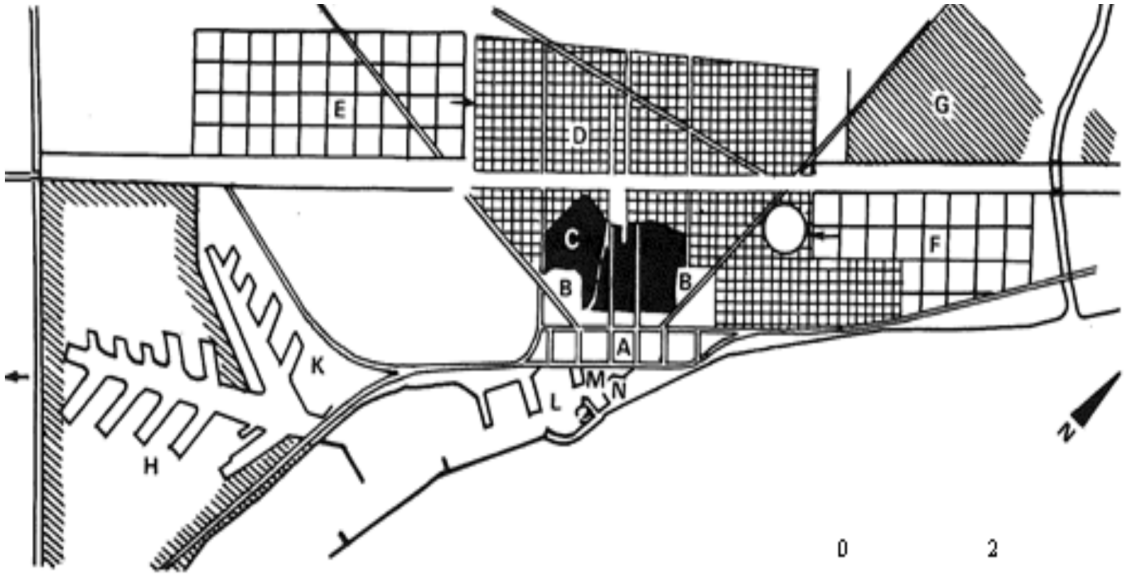
However, these city-centre factories were not entirely phased out; rather, they adapted to the shifting industrial landscape. With the advent of the second industrial revolution and the introduction of electricity, these spaces found new life, transitioning to host a variety of production activities more suited to their urban settings.

4.2.3. Industrial clusters (1900-1936)

The introduction of electricity had a significant impact on Barcelona's industrial landscape. It allowed for the conversion of old steam-powered factories and workshops in the city centre and spurred the construction of new industrial buildings that seamlessly blended with the urban design of the orthogonal grid of Cerdà blocks. One notable change was the fragmentation of large industrial complexes into smaller, more manageable units. This was partly in response to the decline in textile manufacturing, as owners sought financially sustainable alternatives. Electrification played a crucial role in this transition by enabling the division of extensive industrial spaces into smaller sections for rent, creating new sources of revenue. However, despite the economic growth, not everyone benefited from it. Barcelona experienced an increase in labour unrest, strikes, and worker mobilizations due to inflation and shortages of essential goods. The general strike of 1917 and the rise of anarchist and union movements highlighted the growing social tension.

The panorama slightly reversed in the 1920s as preparations for the second Universal Exhibition in 1929 were underway. The exhibition positioned Barcelona as a major industrial competitor in Europe (Grandas, 2004, p.106), leading to urban transformations and a demand for a new workforce in construction and local industry support. However, this also triggered an expansion of the industrial areas, inadvertently causing a housing crisis. As a result, a new real estate boom, which started at the beginning of the 1920s and lasted until the end of the 1930s, provoked an increase in the surplus land value and, consequently, the new speculative processes derived from it.

As industrial activity became deeply interwoven with the everyday life landscapes of Barcelona, the shifting social and economic context necessitated a reimagining and reorganization of the city. This effort was spearheaded by the GATCPAC[38] group led by the architect Josep Lluís Sert, in close collaboration with the modern architecture pioneer Le Corbusier. Embracing the concept of zoning to articulate clusters of activity, the group formulated the Plan Maciá in 1932 (Figure 4.7). This visionary proposal sought to redefine Barcelona according to three primary functions: housing, working, and recreation, aiming to create a new urban reality. The Plan Maciá was grounded in two foundational principles. Firstly, it advocated for the sanitation of the city centre by decongesting the urban fabric. Secondly, it proposed the elimination of 'mixed zones', advocating instead for the city's organization into distinct functional areas.



KEY

A Administrative Centre	G Industrial Zone	B Civic Centre	H Industrial Zone
C The Old City	K Cargo Port		
D Cerda's Ensanche	L Passenger Port		
E New Residential Area	M Maritime Sports Area	F New Residential Area	N Syndical Centre

The Plan also included proposals for a weekend holiday centre ('City of Repose') at Castelldefels, 19km south of Barcelona

Figure 4.7: The Plan Macià, 1934 (Source: Tarragó, 1972)

[38] *Grupo de Arquitectos y Tecnicos Catalanes para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporanea* (Group of Catalan Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture).

It identified designated industrial zones at Puerto Franco to the South and Besós to the Northwest of Barcelona, suggesting adjacent residential areas for a harmonized urban layout.

The plan also recommended halting the further expansion of the Eixample and called for a new urban pattern that better suited the city's evolving needs. The GATCPAC group critiqued the Eixample plan for its disregard for the strategic placement of industries and lack of a coherent connection to the coastline. Furthermore, they pointed out how local urban regulations had been skewed by personal economic interests, arguing that Barcelona's urban development was overly influenced by capitalist values rather than focused on social and productive values and advancements. In this regard, during my archival research, I uncovered correspondence from 1934 between Sucre, the leader of the workers' union within the Catalan regional government, and Le Corbusier. This exchange highlighted GATCPAC's commitment to integrating cooperative initiatives into their planning, demonstrating a keen interest in fostering democratic resource distribution within the Plan Maciá (Le Corbusier, 1934; Tarragò, 1972, pp.35-36). This commitment manifested in a homogenous urban fabric, where communal spaces played a pivotal role in connecting housing blocks (Figures 4.8, 4.9).

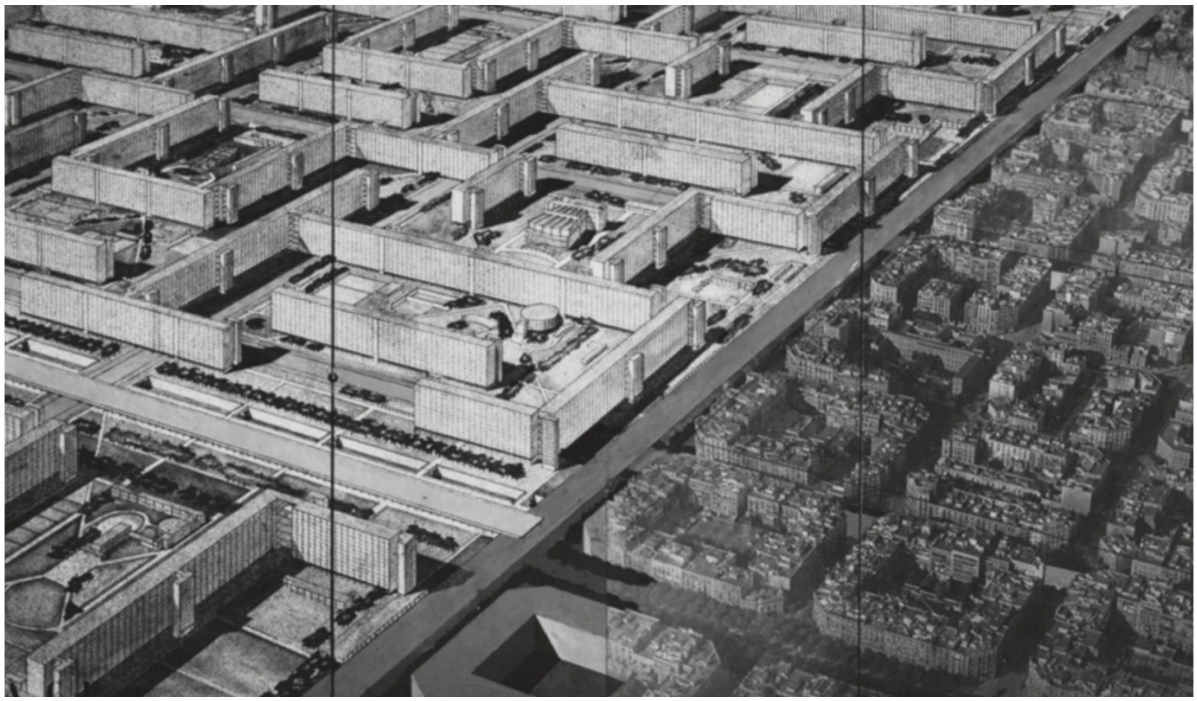


Figure 4.8: The Plan Macià and the Eixample, 1934. (Source: Archivo Histórico del Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña, AHCOAC - Fondo GATCPAC)

Introduced during the 1934 '*Nova Barcelona*' exhibition, the Plan Maciá encompassed the entire Eixample area. To garner public support, the group illustrated how the city's urban morphology was intertwined with evolving social values, labour practices, technology, and transportation modes at various scales.

The exhibition underscored the industrial legacy's historical significance, paradoxically aligning with the *Modernisme* (Catalan Art Nouveau) principles despite its apparent contradiction with the rationalist approach of the Plan Maciá. Sert emphasised that the Plan Maciá was not a fixed blueprint but a '[...] *program that clearly traces a general idea*', (Sert 1934, cited in Tarragò, 1972, p.32) allowing for the necessary territorial flexibility to accommodate the growth of Barcelona's industrial cityscape.

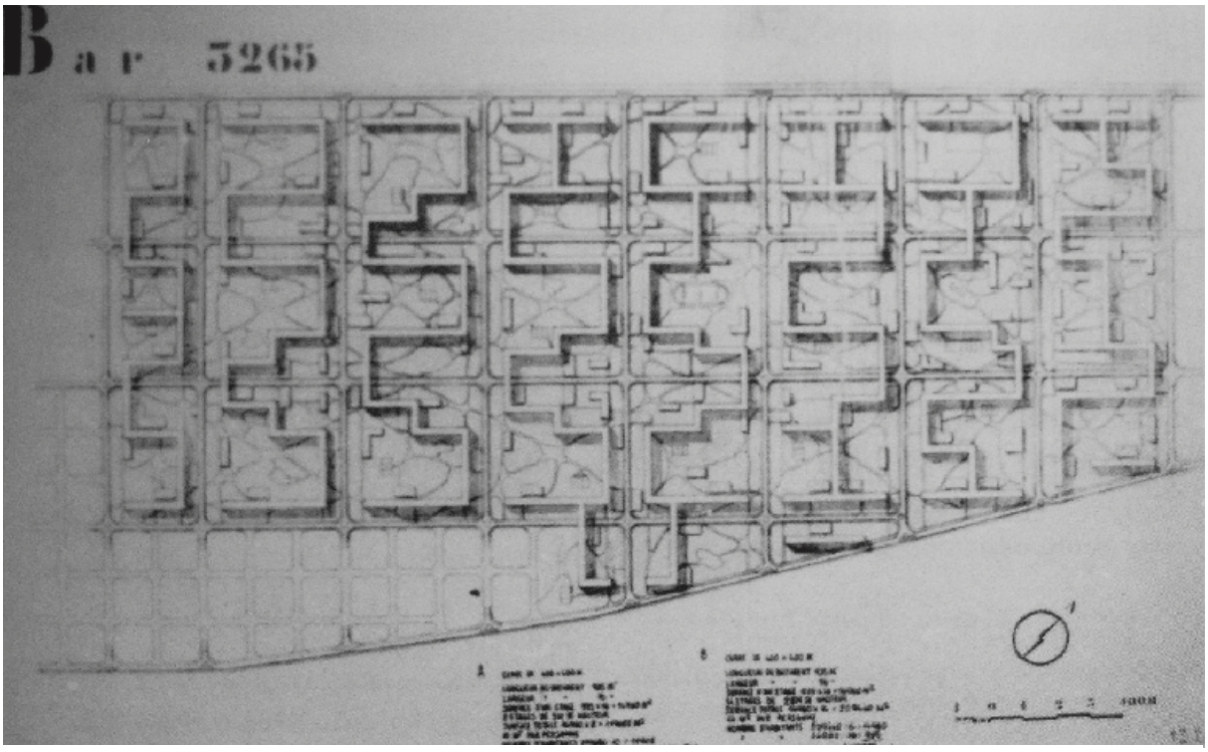


Figure 4.9: The Plan Macià in Poblenou, 1934. (Source: *Archivo Histórico del Colegio de Arquitectos de Cataluña*, AHCOAC - *Fondo* GATCPAC)

Although the Plan Maciá was initially adopted by the Catalan regional government, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 forced the project to be shelved. However, later urban development efforts in Poblenou would revisit and incorporate some of its foundational principles, reflecting the enduring influence of the Plan Maciá vision for a modernized Barcelona.

4.2.4. The large-scale industrial development (1950-1970)

The onset of the Spanish Civil War on July 18, 1936, significantly impacted Catalonia's industrial landscape. By October 26, a widespread collectivization of major industries had been declared in the region. This led to the takeover of some infrastructures by smaller enterprises, which restructured these spaces to enhance the production of war materials and other essential goods. Additionally, these industries often transformed into social hubs, offering refuge and basic services to the community. Tatjer (2006) notes that during the war's initial year, substantial improvements were made to industrial infrastructures, and public amenities such as schools and sports facilities started to appear in urban settings. Nonetheless, the conflict's progression and the ensuing post-war era saw a marked decline in the industrial sector, attributed to a national economic downturn, material scarcities, and wartime damages to industrial infrastructure.

It wasn't until the 1950s that Barcelona reclaimed its status as a major industrial hub, thanks in part to the adoption of new Fordist principles centred around the automotive industry and technological innovations. As outlined in Chapter 3, the Fordist growth model emphasized standardized mass production and was underpinned by capitalist ideologies. This period witnessed the emergence of large industries fostering industrial monocultures that sprawled across vast city areas. These developments encouraged the proliferation of smaller enterprises and workshops, revitalizing small-scale industrial zones both in peripheral areas and within the city's core. This phase also led to the creation and expansion of new industrial zones, alongside the construction of worker housing and public infrastructures linked to these large-scale industries.

However, the expansion driven by the implementation of the Fordist model also led to the emergence of new residual spaces marked by the challenges of material transport and the accumulation of waste from industrial operations. This situation, combined with a rapid increase in slum dwellings due to post-war poverty and a housing shortage, crafted a landscape of deprivation and neglect along the coastal areas. Barcelona City Council's records from 1954 highlight the severity of this urban crisis. Somorrostro and Bogatell, two of the most densely populated slums located in areas that would later become part of the 1992

Olympic Village, consisted of 2,406 makeshift homes, housing approximately 15,000 individuals. (Barcelona City Council Census, 1958; 2021)

The industrial urban landscape underwent gradual change at the end of the 1960s as large factories relocated their infrastructure to designated industrial estates. This led to an increase in the land value of former factory sites and the emergence of a new phenomenon of urban speculation, temporarily halted by the 1973 economic crisis. The relocation of industries continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Barcelona's main industrial area, Poblenou, which began the process of deindustrialization partly due to the city being chosen as the host for the 1992 Olympic Games

4.3. Poblenou

4.3.1. The emergence and the expansion of industry in Poblenou (1846-1900)

Before the onset of the first industrial revolution, Poblenou was an area of marshes in Sant Martí, a rural town adjacent to Barcelona. Its name, derived from Catalan, translates to 'new town,' and it was used to refer to a residential settlement associated with the *Prats d'Indianas* that emerged in the area. The area's abundant natural resources, including the Besòs river and its flat topography, alongside the Mataró Road (now known as Eix Pere IV), facilitated Barcelona's expansion towards the Northeast. Poblenou area was situated near the coastline, to the south of the Sant Martí village, and was connected through two former rural trails: the Clot trail and the Taulat (Figure 4.10). In 1808, out of the 89 *Prats d'Indianas* settlers, 64 chose to establish themselves in Sant Martí district (Nadal and Tafunell, 1987, p.39). Alongside the open area dedicated to chemical processes, these initial industrial settlements were supplemented with modestly divided constructions, consisting of four distinct spaces that accommodated other various activities.

When the first train from Barcelona to Mataró passed through Poblenou, it led to the establishment of the first industries along the banks of the Besòs River in the coastal strip area. According to Tafunell and Nadal (1987), the first industrial period in the area can be dated between 1847 and 1860. In 1846, a new law banned the construction of new factories in Barcelona's city centre, prompting the growth of industries in Poblenou. By 1860, the population had grown from 2,444 to 9,333 people. The second half of the 19th century

witnessed significant expansion in steam-powered textile, chemical, and milling industries. This period also saw the emergence of large industrial complexes such as Can Ricart, Ca l'Alier, Ca l'Arañó, and Can Felipa (Figure 4.13: 1, 2, 3, 4) owned by wealthy families. By 1888, there were 152 registered factories, mostly textile industries and warehouses, in Poblenou (Tatjer et al., 2005). The late 19th century was characterized by the widespread use of steam boilers and the mechanization of industry. A census in 1897 listed 360 chimneys, dominating the

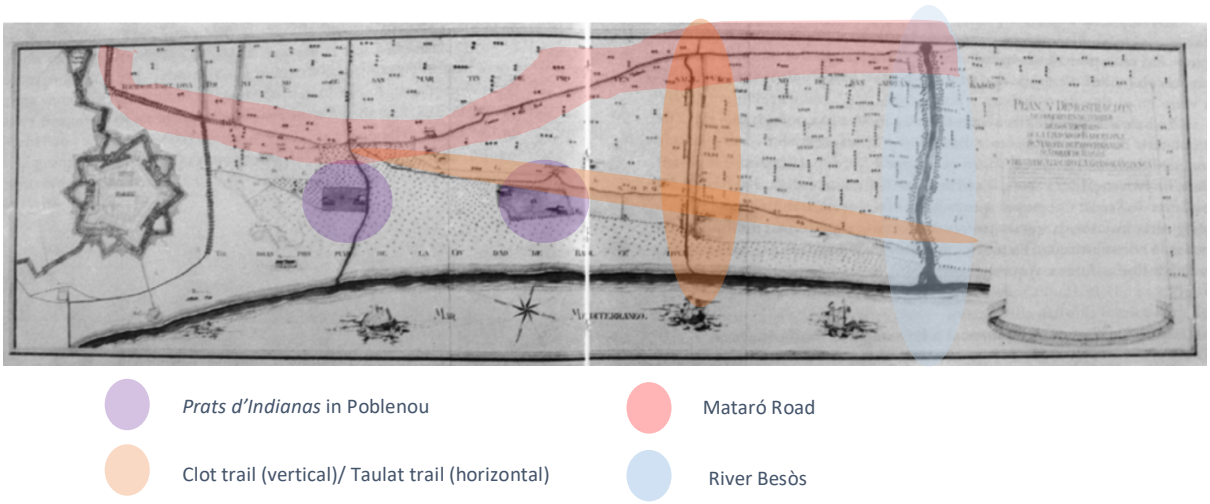


Figure 4.10: *Prats d'Indianas* in the Poblenou area, 1753 (Source: Garate, 2011. Redrawn by the author,

skyline of Poblenou and making it the largest concentration of industrial buildings in Spain (Tafunell, 2009, p.83) (Figure 4.12). Unfortunately, as of 2010, only 26 chimneys remained in place (Garate, 2011, p.73).

The new factories and the development of productive technologies started to change the original rural landscape, but the new buildings and infrastructure largely followed the original rural division pattern. As industrialization took hold, three urban areas began to emerge: (1) *Icaria* along the coastline and near the port, (2) the *Plata* area with a high concentration of small industries and workshops, and (3) the zone defined by the consolidation of the original housing settlement along the old Clot trail. This rural path, later renamed *Maria Aguilò* street, became an urban street where housing and workshops coexisted. It also became the main connection between the coast and *Matarò* road, which was undergoing its own transformation into the most important industrial axis in the neighbourhood and Barcelona (Figure 4.11)

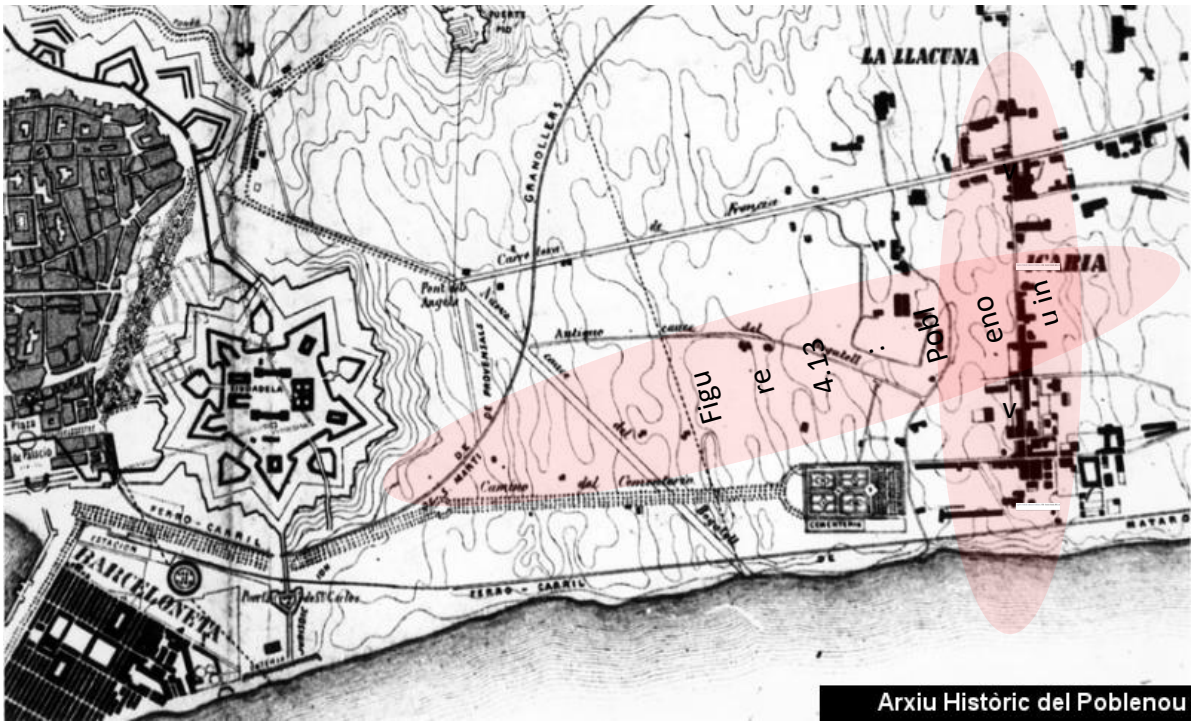


Figure 4.11: Poblenou, 1855. Evolution of the main axis. (Source: MUHBA Digital Archive. Redrawn by the author, 2023)

During this flourishing period, housing in Poblenou was characterized by informal settlements near industries and in the open spaces between industrial buildings and infrastructure. These settlements were a result of the large influx of immigrants, mainly from the regions of Aragón, Valencia, and the south of Spain. The lack of urban infrastructure, including water and sanitation systems, was also a defining feature of this time. Additionally, slums such as Somorrostro, Bogatell, and Trascementeri were established along the coast and continued to grow throughout the early 20th century (Marrero, 2006).

As Poblenou experienced industrial growth and changing urban landscapes, a sense of community and collective consciousness among workers began to develop. This growing solidarity was closely tied to a shared demand for public infrastructure and services that would greatly enhance the quality of life for the local population. In response to these communal needs, the cooperative movement thrived in Poblenou, leading to the establishment of two significant consumer and cultural cooperatives: L'Artesana in 1876 and La Flor de Maig in 1890 (Figure 4.13: a, b). These cooperatives strategically positioned

themselves along the Passeig del Triomf, now known as Rambla del Poblenou, and Maria Aguilò street, turning these thoroughfares into vital arteries of the city, bringing and emphasising the importance of cooperative values in urban development (Dalmau i Torvà, 2015).

Figure 4.12: Vision of Poblenou published in the local newspaper of Sant Marti, 1879. (Source: *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*)

The Passeig del Triomf soon became a vibrant hub of social and associative life, catering not only to the working community but also to the local petite bourgeoisie. This demographic contributed to the neighbourhood's cultural dynamism by establishing upscale residences and social venues, such as La Societat Recreativa i Cultural l'Aliança in 1884. However, the founding of l'Aliança also reflected the complex interplay between different social classes and their roles in public life, underscoring the contested nature of public space as a platform for asserting social power and identity.

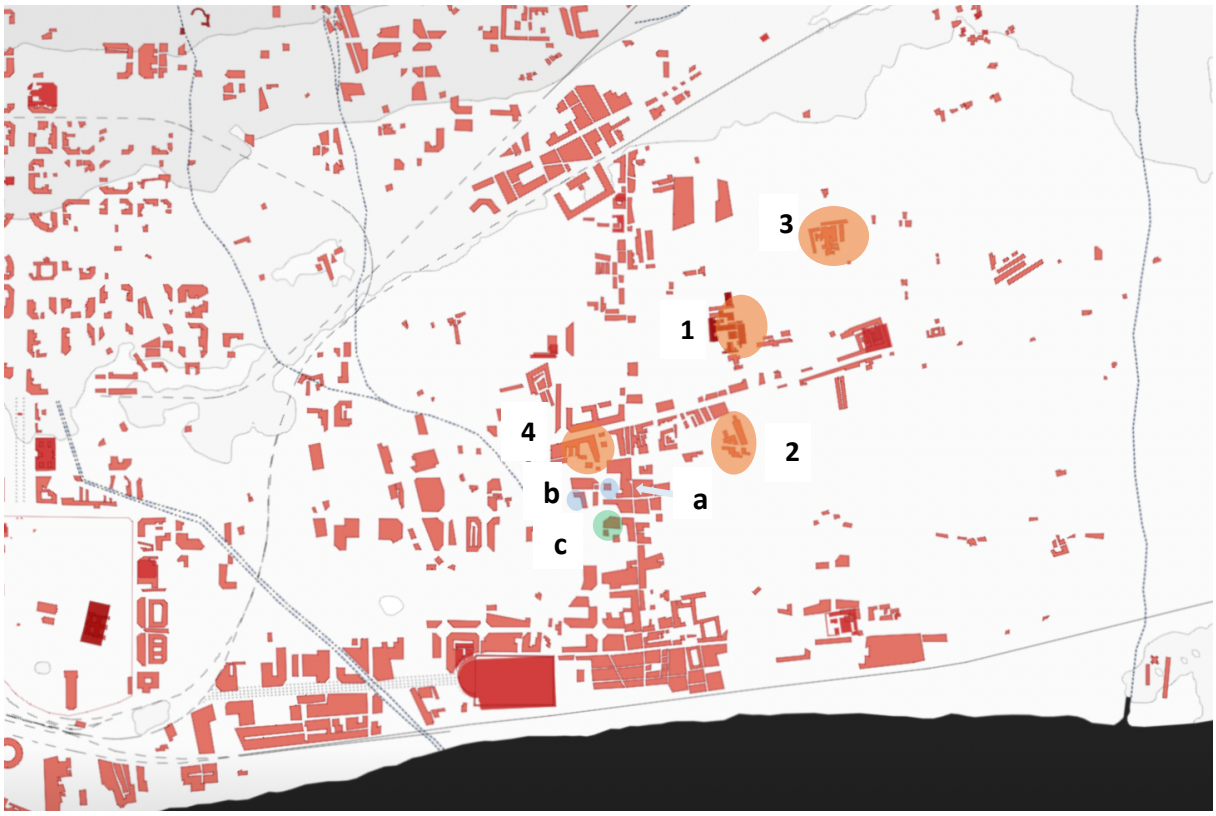


Figure 4.13: Poblenou in 1890. Location of the main factories (1,2,3,4), cooperatives (a, b) and L'Aliança del Poblenou (c) (Source: MUHBA Digital Archive, redrawn by the author)

4.3.2. The consolidation period (1900-1936)

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century and into the early 20th century, large industrial complexes became a defining feature of Poblenou's urban landscape. These entities functioned as opaque islands, with their identities often encapsulated in brand names that reflected the owning family's surname and the factory's year of establishment.

Displayed prominently at the main entrance, alongside the towering chimneys that rose above the perimeter walls, these markers underscored the dominance of the owners over the manufacturing processes, symbolizing a clear hierarchy within the industrial domain. Yet, the dense social interactions that blossomed within these industrial hubs, along with the values they engendered, began to permeate the broader community. Solidarity, equity, and collective values inspired the continuation of the construction of communal buildings, which rapidly became catalysts for shaping new urban forms. (Clarós, 2016)

The growth of large-scale industries also necessitated job specialisation, fostering a sense of identity tied to specific roles within the industrial ecosystem. This specialization, coupled with the diverse origins of the migrant worker population, contributed significantly to the neighbourhood's expansion and the growth of its social mosaic. For example, the early consolidation of Poblenou's left side was closely linked to the activities of *boters*, or barrel makers (Figure 4.14). This group, predominantly comprising immigrants from Valencia and Aragón, began to cluster their workshops and homes in this sector, well connected to major thoroughfares and access routes to Barcelona and its port. The emergence of the Plata neighbourhood, with its pharmacies, groceries, and other amenities, solidified the urban and social infrastructure, fostering new areas of growth towards the Southwest. (Tatjer, 2006)

Figure 4.14: *Boters* in Poblenou, circa. 1900 (Source: *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*)

The implementation of the Cerdà Plan in the early 20th Century marked a significant transformation of Poblenou. However, this transformation was not without its challenges.

Figure 4.15: Industries and rural patterns in Poblenou, 1915 (Source: *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*)

The Eixample, as part of this plan, faced political conflicts due to opposition from Sant Martì City Council. They argued that the Cerdà Plan was incompatible with the existing rural fabric of the area (Figure 4.15) and did not take into account important historical connections and roads, such as the Matarò road, which was becoming the main industrial axis at that time. These concerns were voiced by the municipal architect Antoni Rovira i Trias, who had initially won the competition for the city's extension but was replaced by the Cerdà project following instructions from the Central Government of Madrid. Furthermore, the Cerdà Plan faced opposition from industry and landowners, with only a few of them constructing new factories that aligned with the Cerdà urban grid layout while maintaining the original rural fabric orientation (Figure 4.16). Despite conflicts arising from private speculative interests related to economic and land value, two important issues emerged during this period: the recognition of the urban fabric as an identity factor, and the acknowledgement of the area as an industrial one by the local city council, including on it its urban symbols such as the Matarò road.

Figure 4.16: The Eixample and the original plan of Poblenou, 1855 (Source: Sabaté and Tironi, 2008)

The urban development of the area in the first half of the 20th century also responded to the implementation of electricity and the loss of the last Spanish overseas colonies in 1898. These two events brought about changes in the circulation of raw materials, modes of production, and trading networks. The mechanisation of factories and the development of the metalworking sector, linked to the construction of machines and means of transport, gradually replaced the textile industry as the principal productive sector in Poblenou. The need for suitable spaces to house the machines during the mechanization period led to the construction of new large-scale complexes or the expansion of existing ones. At the same time, there was a gradual shift in the productive model towards a stock corporation model. Alongside these new forms of industries, many small companies and workshops began to emerge in the area, empowering a new middle class of specialized workers and entrepreneurs. The loss of the colonies provoked the return of means of production to Spain helping to the rise of new industrial sectors.

New large-scale industries mainly devoted to the production of alcohol, flour and their derivatives commenced to colonize the territory upon an incipient Cerdà fabric and some urban initiatives that responded to particular interests. When the Spanish Civil War started in July 1936, Poblenou was in continuous growth. The urban density of the area was comparable to its present state, as revealed through analyses of corresponding urban plans (Figure 4.17). Despite this industrial boom, Poblenou was also a hotbed for intense worker protests, fuelled by dire living conditions and a housing shortage. As an example of this, the Camp de la Bota, a new extensive slum area, arose close to the coast in 1925 for locating almost 2,000 new immigrants who came to work in the Poblenou factories and at the building sites of the Universal Exhibition of 1929. (Nadal and Taffunel, 1987, p.152). These protests were deeply infused with an anarchist political ethos, with the area's warehouses and the liminal spaces between them serving as strategic points for mobilisation within the neighbourhood. The outbreak of the Civil War saw these political mobilisations extend to the broader industrial complexes, catalysing the development of new cooperative and social values within these spaces. (Dalmau i Torvà, 2015, pp.90-92)

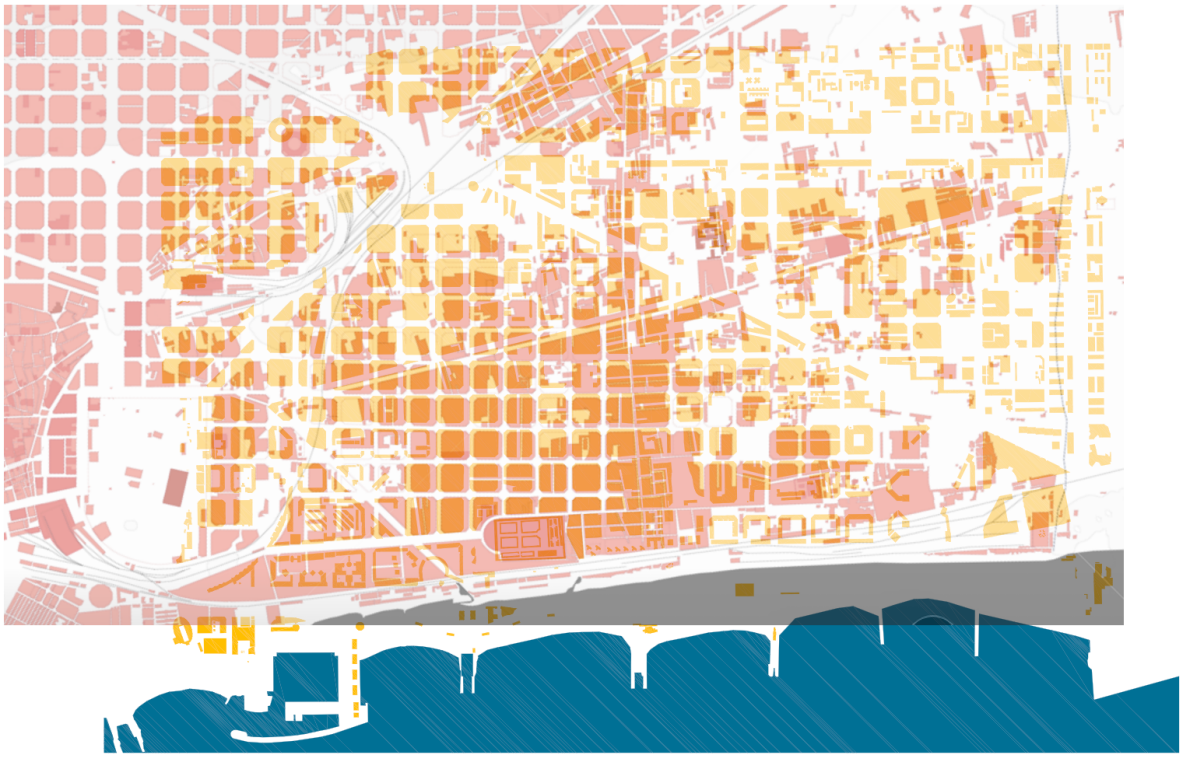


Figure 4.17: Poblenou in 1936 highlighted in yellow, and in 2010 highlighted in red (Source: the author, 2018)

4.3.3 Industrial change and the Spanish Civil War

The irruption of the Spanish Civil War on July 18th, 1936, saw Catalonia, with its strong industrial labour community and social values inherited from the Second Republic, firmly opposing the coup d'état led by the General Franco. In Poblenou, a neighbourhood characterized by its industrial vigour and working-class ethos, the atmosphere was one of tension and anticipation:

'[…] *the factories' sirens sound. The balconies are filled with early risers. Expectant faces, some in solidarity, others frightened. The radio reports on the facts and gives instructions to the people. Trucks full of militiamen with the red and black flag of the CNT-FAI*[39] *passing first on the Rambla* [of Poblenou]*, then on the road to Mataró. The workers of the metallurgical factory known as Can Girona improvise a kind of entrenchment from the shield of a truck and they take it in front of the Casino de L'Aliança, where it will stay for a while due to the impossibility of maneuvering normality* […]' (Anonymous, cited in *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*, 2009)

Figure 4.18: 'The People who spoke at the polls have had to confirm their victory by the arms'.31st July 1936 (Source: Dalmau i Torvà, 2015, p.930

[39] CNT: *Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores* (Anarchist Workers' Union); FAI: Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation)

This vivid account captures a critical moment in Poblenou's history, when the community's daily life was disrupted by the unfolding conflict. The once bustling streets, which were filled with the activities of a thriving industrial area, became stages for expressions of resistance and solidarity. These expressions were marked by the political, cooperative and collective values that were already established in the area. The era's manifestos and posters serve as a testament to this, where political proclamations were seamlessly interwoven with imagery depicting industrial structures and activities, illustrating the intrinsic connection between the area's industrial identity and its social and political ethos. (Figure 4.18)

During the conflict, factories then also played a crucial role in daily life. On one hand, many factories, especially those owned by fascists were collectivized (Figure 4.19) and taken over by workers' organizations as per the Catalan Decree of October 26, 1936 (Tatjer, 2006).

The metal sector factories were repurposed for producing war materials, while others were transformed into public facilities to meet the emerging social demands. Additionally, the underground spaces in the factories served as bomb shelters, and the sirens, previously used to signal the beginning of shifts, were repurposed to announce imminent attacks. Domingo Ibars, a worker and member of the Libertarian Youth during that period, emphasizes the value of factories for workers, highlighting how they diligently worked to preserve and enhance these industrial spaces:

'*With the collectivisations we didn't destroy anything. On the contrary, when the war ended the owners returned, they were amazed to see that we hadn't destroyed anything, that we had improved everything.*' (Domingo Ibars, worker and member of the Libertarian Youth, 2009; Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, 2009)

Figure 4.19: 'El Canem' collectivized factory, 1936 (Source: *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*)

4.3.3. The Fordist model and the beginning of Poblenou Deindustrialisation (1950-1970)

After the Civil War concluded, the sprawling industrial complexes of the area found a dark new purpose as prisons and concentration camps for Republican prisoners. Urban development came to a halt during this period, yet the inherent qualities of these industrial spaces allowed them to accommodate a variety of uses, adapting to the shifting needs of the historical moment. This adaptability highlighted the value of industrial locations and their spatial flexibility, underscoring their significance and utility in the daily life of the community, even under the direst circumstances.

During the immediate post-war period, the dictatorship regime sought to rebuild Spain by focusing on its own resources. Despite limited trade with other countries, the new local-focused policies facilitated the regeneration of industries in Poblenou. In the 1950s, the area once again became the most important industrial hub in Barcelona due to the growth of the metal sector. Prior to the start of the Civil War, there were 429 metal industries and workshops in the neighbourhood. However, 30 years later, that number had grown to a total of 1,826. (Nadal and Taffunel, p.216)

The motor industry was the most significant within the metal sector, but it experienced a sharp decline during the post-war period. Due to the economic crisis, many families could no longer afford automobiles. However, the production of two new, more affordable means of transportation, bicycles and motorbikes, successfully replaced it. Two local factories in this sector, Montesa (Figure 4.20) and Ducati, which were established in Poblenou in the 1940s, became internationally renowned enterprises. In order to further consolidate productive activities and their economic value for the development of the city, the industrial land use was officially established for the first time through the Comarcal Urban Planning Plan in 1953. (Tatjer, 2006)

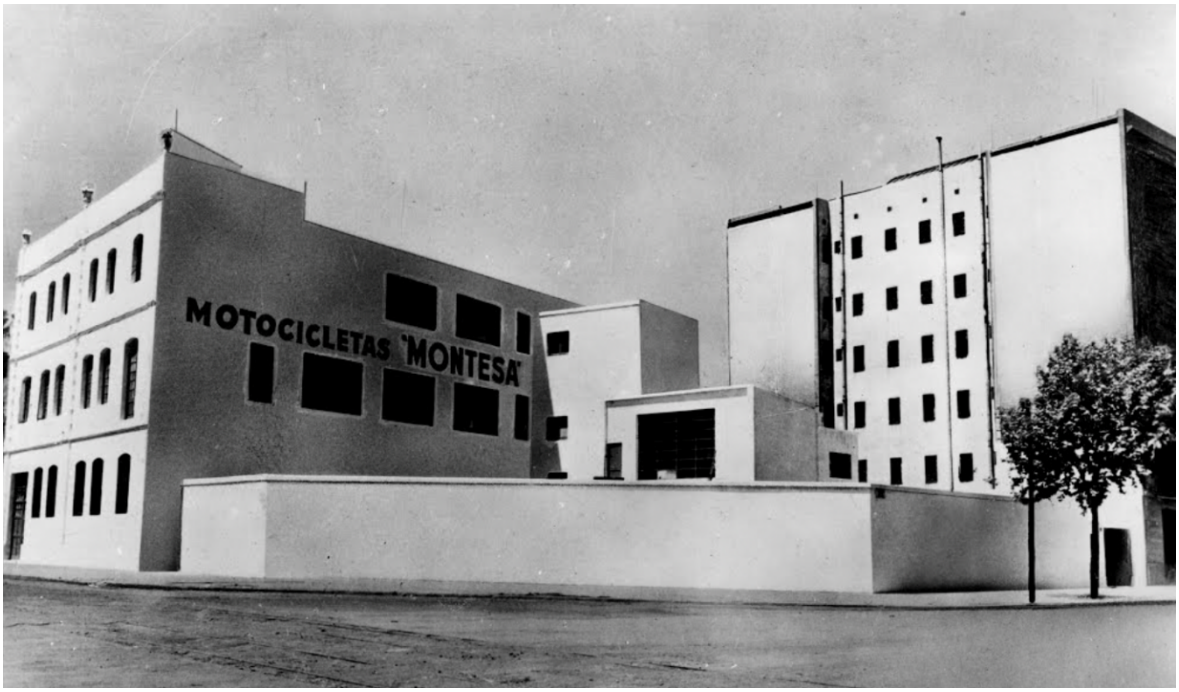


Figure 4.20: Montesa factory, 1951 (Source: *Museo de la Ciencia y la Tecnología de Cataluña*)

According to Tatjer (2003, 2006) the implementation of new metal-sector industries led to three urban spatial phenomena. The first phenomenon was the development of new industrial complexes that represented modernity within the Barcelona area. These complexes also housed other facilities such as nurseries and sports areas. Although these spaces were originally intended for the factory workers following a top-down approach based on the Fordist model, they served as replacements for the cooperative movement, which had almost disappeared under dictatorship control. One example of such a company was the Hispano-Olivetti (Figure 4.21), which produced typewriters and calculators, symbolising the beginning of a new technological era. In the 1960s, the factory and its facilities occupied a total area of 32,000 m^2.

Figure 4.21: Hispano Olivetti factory, 1954 (Source: *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*)

The neighbourhood witnessed a second significant spatial transformation with the expansion of medium and small-scale workshops. This development further solidified the bond between industrial endeavours and the everyday urban landscape. Emerging both within the urban fabric and repurposing old textile factory complexes, which evolved into hubs of varied industrial activities. Characterised by a diverse spatial arrangement, these clusters accommodated a multitude of enterprises and workspaces, embodying the dynamic coexistence of enduring and ephemeral elements within Poblenou's post-industrial built legacy.

Finally, the third spatial implication is the influx of new immigrants that leads to a housing crisis. Although some social housing initiatives were introduced, the lack of public services reveals the inadequate planning and lack of interest from the city council. An example of this is the escalating pollution problems caused by the absence of a proper sewage network.

In 1963, the Motor Ibérica factory, one of the two Spanish subsidiaries of the American Ford company, was transferred to the *Zona Franca*,[40] the most important industrial estate of Barcelona at that time. Motor Ibérica had previously been located in Poblenou since 1929, and its move marked the beginning of the decline of the area's industrial sector. Consequently, a number of other industries followed Motor Ibérica's example, and gradually relocated to the Southwestern part of the city. The *Zona Franca*, located near the industrial port, offered more direct trade routes and lower land prices due to its duty-free legal status. (Claròs, 2016)

The deindustrialisation of Poblenou was also influenced by another significant factor, the pressure to address the housing shortage in Barcelona. From the late 1950s to the early 1970s, Spain entered a socio-economic period known as the 'developmental phase',[41] during which industrial and rural outskirts of major Spanish cities, including Barcelona, began to be colonised by large-scale housing developments. These developments were inserted into areas with no established urban fabric, where land use was easily changed in violation of existing urban planning regulations, as was the case in Poblenou. This, combined with the shift towards a service-based economic model, opened the door to private speculative interests that were sometimes supported by the Francoist city council of the time. Although the global stock market crash of 1973-74 halted most of these speculative urban transformation initiatives, it also triggered an industrial crisis that contributed to the decline of activity in the area. (Tatjer, 2006) After decades of being the industrial hub of Barcelona, Poblenou

[40] On the 17 July 1965, the Statal Law n.102 (*Agencia Estatal Boletin Oficial del Estado*, 1965) established the creation of an extensive industrial zone in the soil of the duty-free zone, the so-called '*Zona Franca*', in the Southwestern part of the city. (Camerin, 2019)
[41] In org. Spanish: *Desarrollismo.*

transformed into what Smithson described as an 'Entropic Landscape'.[42] Vacant lands, empty buildings, and remnants of old infrastructure began to define the area (Figure 4.22). However, this new urban fabric coexisted with a well-established local community, which gradually began to appreciate the industrial legacy as something worth preserving and reusing.

Figure 4.22: Deindustrialised urban landscape of Poblenou, 1986 (Source: Arxiu Històric del Poblenou)

4.4. Initial Findings

This chapter has delved into the values associated with the industrial development of Poblenou, exploring which values have persisted and the reasons behind their endurance. Through historical documentation and cartography, it has outlined the origins and development of Poblenou's unique urban layout, detailing its expansion and how it became a part of Barcelona's broader urban fabric. The analysis of the industrial model's implementation and its various stages in both Barcelona and Poblenou has illustrated how this relationship influenced the area's spatial and social structures and highlighted the

[42] See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.

importance of its post-industrial architectural legacy. Specifically, it has shown that Poblenou's development is closely linked to Barcelona's efforts to establish a global presence at various historical junctures.

By building a detailed narrative of Barcelona and Poblenou's industrial history, the analysis developed has revealed three distinct patterns in the emergence of values: The first of them relates to the political tensions and ambitions at different scales. As demonstrated in the analysis, the industrial model's introduction was motivated by a desire to move beyond an early pre-industrial period dominated by military planning rule. Likewise, the industrial urban fabric of Poblenou was utilized by the City Council of Sant Martí to obstruct the implementation of the Cerdà Plan. Similarly, during the Spanish Civil War, industrial spaces were repurposed for use against Franco's forces, and after the conflict, as prisons and concentration camps for Republican prisoners. In this analysis, the investigation has also revealed how values related to the aesthetics of the industrial spaces as a symbol and identity, together with values linked to solidarity have emerged.

These political tensions were also reflected in the everyday landscape of Poblenou. While buildings to host cooperatives and social services were constructed in the area, the growing industrial bourgeois social class colonized the same spaces with housing and other facilities against the growing urban landscape dominated by industrial workers, as demonstrated in the analysis of the consolidation of the main arteries of Poblenou.

The second source of value for post-industrial heritage arises from its adaptability and interaction with daily life. My investigation across various phases of industrialization highlights how these spaces have flexibly accommodated changing technological and economic demands introduced by new industrial paradigms or crises, such as the Civil War. Additionally, this adaptability frequently intertwines with everyday life, as exemplified by the proliferation of workshops in Poblenou since the early 19th century. These workshops became integral to an urban fabric where industrial, residential, and community functions coalesced, illustrating a dynamic relationship between the built environment and the daily experiences of its inhabitants. Here, values related to the use/reuse of the spaces connected to economic

and industrial innovation occurred as well as the social values linked to the everyday life and socio-political processes, such as the collectivization of the industries in 1936.

Lastly, the significance of post-industrial heritage in the urban transformation of Barcelona and Poblenou is intricately tied to cycles of surplus. As Camerin (2019) states, these cycles, characterized by the recurring processes of construction, dismantling, abandonment, and regeneration, highlight a pattern of speculative practices. These practices have shaped the city's expansion, exacerbated the housing crisis, and contributed to the emergence of marginalized communities near industrial zones, evident in the proliferation of slums along the coastal strip. Yet, these cycles also touch on deeper issues of value, interweaving with use value through practices of reuse of industrial spaces as well as cooperative values that emerge from social solidarity in response to resource scarcity. This investigation has also revealed how initiatives like the Plan Maciá, spearheaded by the GATCPAC group, stand out by emphasizing democratic resource distribution and structuring urban spaces to cater to the needs of workers, incorporating their perspectives into the design process. This approach is exemplified in the correspondence between Le Corbusier and Sucre, the Head of the Workers' Union within the Catalan Regional Government during the II Republic before the Civil War, showcasing an early attempt to integrate community needs and cooperative values into urban planning (Le Corbusier, 1934; Tarragò, 1972, pp.35-36).

In the next chapter, I will delve into the evolution of the value of post-industrial heritage from the onset of deindustrialization to the global crisis of 2006. This investigation aims to uncover the extent to which the values and patterns identified in the present chapter influence or recur during this period of time, as well as how they contribute to the recognition and preservation of post-industrial buildings and sites as a form of heritage in the area.

Figure 5.0: Encinas, P. (1974) Mar Bella beach (Source: Arxiu Històric del Poblenou)

CHAPTER 5. THE CONSTRUCTION OF POST-INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE VALUES IN POBLENOU (1986–2006)

5.1. Introduction: From zero to multiple values

Many scholars (e.g. Degen, 2013; Degen and Garcia, 2012; Tatjer, 2006, 2012; Montaner, 2012) have investigated the protection, contestation, and claims surrounding post-industrial heritage in Barcelona, specifically in the area of Poblenou. However, this research -and more specifically, this chapter- focuses on the construction of heritage values in Poblenou from the decline of industrial activity in the late 1970s until 2006, when the economic crisis deeply impacted Spain and Barcelona. This research is inspired by Byrne's observation that cultural landscapes are contested places and socially constructed, meaning that their significance and physical form are shaped by the actions and imagination of people in society (Byrne, 2008, p.155). In this case study of Poblenou, I will demonstrate these two premises by analysing various social and cultural practices and the architectural and urban events associated with them. Building on the findings of the previous chapter, I will explore the role of values in these practices. When and why certain values emerge, and how they interact with the material manifestations of post-industrial heritage.

This investigation examines the socio-spatial dynamics resulting from conflicts surrounding the interpretation of the industrial built legacy of the area, specifically focusing on the conflicts between various stakeholders, arising from the role of post-industrial heritage in the regeneration of Poblenou since the deindustrialisation process began. The selection of these stakeholders is inspired by those described by the Catalan urban geographer Jordi Borja in his text 'Revolución Urbana y Derechos Ciudadanos' (Urban Revolution and Citizen's Rights) (2013). These stakeholders include public bodies and the private agencies they have established, market dynamics and private institutions, neighbourhood associations and social collectives, the common urban culture inherited by the community, and professionals such as photographers who have played a significant role in shaping the social perception of the value of post-industrial heritage since the beginning of the democratic period. The chapter is organized into four main sections, each corresponding to a specific time period defined by the interactions of these stakeholders. The study begins in 1986 when the preservation of post-industrial heritage was compromised due to the urban regeneration plans in preparation for the 1992 Olympic Games and concludes in 2006 when its value is comprehended from multiple perspectives as an asset to the area.

5.2. An overview of the politics of heritage in Barcelona during the democratic period (1977-present)

The politics of post-industrial heritage arise within the context of broader political and social changes affecting Spain as a whole. In the late 1970s, as the country entered its democratic period, Barcelona embarked on an experiment in urban restructuring. The city faced structural issues of disconnection and deterioration resulting from the territorial expansionist policies implemented to accommodate the influx of immigrants from the southern and other deprived regions of Spain, as well as from the speculative development of the outskirts inherited from Franco's regime.[43] The new urban planning department, led by the architect Oriol Bohigas,[44] aimed to reconstruct the city rather than expand it by repurposing existing spaces, increasing connectivity within the urban fabric, and revitalizing vacant areas (Bohigas, 1986). The founders of this approach advocated for the involvement of the private sector in urban project financing, the establishment of autonomous entities to manage the urban planning processes, consensus among the public bodies governing the city regarding strategic planning practices, the use of major events and cultural activities to catalyze urban regeneration, and citizen participation in the city's design (Bohigas, 1999; Acebillo, 1999; Busquets, 2004; Esteban, 1999; Maragall, 1999a; Raventós, 1998; Subirós, 1999; Casellas, 2006). In his book *Reconstrucción de Barcelona*, Oriol Bohigas summarizes these strategies as follows:

'A form of urbanism based on a democratic political structure that prioritizes decisions according to popular will, conditioned, promoted and shaped by the actions of local residents, of bodies organized territorially around the problem – that is, shaped by the direct, creative intervention of the grassroots…' (Bohigas, 1985, p.26)

[43] Under the Law of Social Emergency declared on November 13, 1957, which was originally intended for Madrid but also applied in Barcelona. This law aimed to stimulate private investment in the construction sector (Montaner, 2006).

[44] Oriol Bohigas served as head of the urban planning department (1980-84) and as councillor of culture (1991-94) on the Barcelona City Council.

The ‘Barcelona Model’ of urbanism, internationally renowned for its innovative approach, received numerous prestigious international accolades starting from the mid-1990s. It won awards like the Prince of Wales Prize in Urban Design from Harvard University (1990), the Royal Gold Medal of Architecture from the RIBA (1999),[45] and the Special Award at the 8th International Architecture Exhibition of the Venice Biennale (2002). More recently, it was recognized at the International Architectural Biennale of Buenos Aires (2017) as a source of inspiration for the reconstruction of Latin American cities. However, despite these awards, the model has faced criticism from various sources (Delgado, 2004; Borja, 2013) regarding its real-world effectiveness. Critics argue that the *'Barcelona model'* has led to a disconnection from authentic urban life by shifting control over urban decision-making from public entities to the private sector. Further examination (Capel, 2005; Montaner, 2012) suggests that the model laid the foundation for the city's privatized development, with urban solutions heavily relying on the urban planning policies of the *Plan General Metropolitano* (PGM) (Metropolitan Master Plan) approved in 1976 after Franco’s death but developed during the final years of the dictatorship. This reliance can also be observed in speculative projects preceding the model, such as the special plan for the Olympic Village. This plan drew inspiration from the highly controversial Ribera Plan proposed in 1965, which aimed to transform the seafront area—from la Barceloneta neighbourhood to the mouth of the river Besòs—into a new luxury residential zone. These critiques highlight a broader debate about the model's impact on the city's development, questioning the balance between public benefit and private interests in shaping urban spaces.

The notion of the 'Barcelona Model' as a uniform approach to urban renewal has been critically analysed by several scholars (McNeill, 1999; Marshall, 2000; Casellas and Pallares-Barbera, 2009), who question its coherence as a single strategy. They point out a significant

[45] In 1999, the Royal Institute of British Architects made history by recognizing in his Royal Gold Medal not just an architect, but an entire city for the first time.

shift in the model's approach, moving from targeted interventions in key areas to the concept of 'Prosthesis': the introduction of large, standalone projects and urban operations that lack integration with the surrounding urban fabric (Montaner and Martinez, 2011, p.263). Indeed, there is a consensus among researchers and specialists in Barcelona (Acebillo, 1999; Casellas, 2009) on a structured framework to categorize the various stages of the model, defined by the evolution of city governance into four distinct periods. Each period is characterized by its specific plans, instruments, and representational methods (Montaner, 2012):

1979–1986: Starting with the first democratic elections, this period introduced a more democratic urbanism approach, emphasizing citizen participation. The announcement that Barcelona would host the Olympic Games signalled the start of widespread urban transformation.

1986–1992: In the lead-up to the 1992 Olympics, the focus was on identifying potential spaces for development in emerging central areas, establishing a comprehensive network of roads and services, and creating public spaces and amenities to support the extensive preparations for the Games.

1992–1997: This phase saw the urban model solidify within the old town. The establishment of the Barcelona regional department within the city council aimed to scout new urban projects and reinforce Barcelona's image as the capital of a broad metropolitan area, including the integration of its historical outskirts (Acebillo, 1999).

1997–2006: Characterized by neoliberal and fragmented urban planning, this period featured large-scale developments with ambiguous roles for citizen participation and a pronounced shift towards private sector involvement. Private investments became the primary source of funding for urban transformations, marking a significant pivot in the model's implementation.

The onset of the democratic era also heralded a new phase in the process of valuing heritage, which has since evolved. In 1979, the 'Catalogue of the Artistic and Historic Architectural Heritage' of Barcelona was established, alongside the Ordinance for the protection of this heritage, which was made public for consultation in 1987 and remained in effect until the approval of the current catalogue in 2000 (Álvarez, 2012). This updated catalogue and its

subsequent revisions broadened the scope of urban conservation to include not only individual buildings but entire streets, archaeological sites, and even the interiors of shops, expanding its reach to encompass industrial urban landscapes as well.

However, Álvarez (2012) observes that the development of the 'Barcelona Model' and the timing of heritage-related issues do not necessarily coincide. This discrepancy, according to the scholar, highlights that during the years of significant urban morphological changes in Barcelona, heritage was not prioritised within the city's development strategy. Instead, built heritage was utilised more as a complementary asset in urban planning rather than as a catalyst for urban transformation. Moreover, in the context of Poblenou, the policies for heritage preservation have not always been synchronised with the broader preservation politics of Barcelona's built heritage.

This mismatch between the city's evolution, the acknowledgement of its heritage, and vigorous social demands has led to a complex narrative surrounding the values associated with post-industrial heritage in Poblenou. This chapter aims to critically examine and elucidate this intricate discourse, providing clarity on how heritage has been valued and preserved amidst the rapid transformations in Barcelona and particularly in Poblenou.

5.3. Initial post-industrial-heritage value approaches at the time of the political transition to democracy (1970-1986)

5.3.1. Early sensitivities on post-industrial heritage: the Ribera Plan and the *Contraplán* response

Identifying the precise moment when heritage, especially post-industrial heritage, began to be recognized and valued by people is challenging. To bring some light to this, I adopted Lowenthal's (1985, 2015) suggestion that heritage is acknowledged when there is a perceived need for its preservation, whether tangible or intangible. Insights from the previous chapter suggest that 'early sensitivities' to the significance of post-industrial heritage can be traced back to instances like the opposition by the Sant Martí town Council to the integration of the Cerdà Plan in their area. The council's resistance, grounded in concerns that the plan overlooked the town's existing buildings and crucial industrial routes such as the Mataró road, hints at an initial recognition of the importance of preserving industrial landscapes. Yet, the subsequent adoption of a new planning proposal nearly two decades later, inspired by the

Cerdà Plan but crafted by the local council, might indicate an initial awareness of the need to protect the industrial fabric. However, considering that this new plan was driven by elite interests for economic and political gain, it appears that social consciousness regarding post-industrial heritage at the time was limited.

The onset of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) marked a significant point in recognizing the social importance of industrial spaces in Poblenou, as evidenced by the widespread collectivisation of industries. This era heralded the rise of a self-managed economic model and led to significant urban transformation within the area, with several industrial facilities being adapted to meet social demands. However, based on the documents reviewed, including testimonials collected from the *Arxiu Històric de Poblenou* (Poblenou historical archive), it appears that the utilization of these buildings during the civil war was driven not by a conscious effort to preserve them for their heritage value but rather as pragmatic solutions to immediate needs posed by the unique historical circumstances of the time.

Following Lowenthal's argument, the first signs of social awareness towards the preservation of post-industrial heritage emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. During this time, a speculative private urban renewal project, the Ribera Plan, which affected a 5km. stretch in length and almost 500m. in width of the east coastline of the city, including Poblenou seaside, received support from the city council. However, it faced strong social opposition from those advocating for the resolution of social needs in the area through new urban solutions that focused on preserving the historical built environment and promoting new public facilities.
As an alternative response to the Ribera Plan, the *'Contraplán'* (counterplan), was a planning proposal for the area emerging from a competition among five neighbourhood associations and four professional bodies.[46] The goal was to create a more democratic model for the city design. The project, led by Manuel Solà-Morales, was heavily influenced by the Italian

[46] The local stakeholders participating in the Counterplan competition were: El Taulat neighbourhood association, Barceloneta neighbourhood association, the association of land owners and industrial businessmen of the *Plan de la Ribera* neighbourhood, the Casino de la Alianza of Poblenou, the City's Friends association, the Official Institute of Doctors and Graduates in Philosophy, Literature and Sciences of Catalunya and Balearic Islands, the Official Institute of Engineers of Catalunya and Balearic Islands, the Official Institute of Architects of Catalunya and Balearic Islands, and the Official Institute of Surveyors of Catalunya and Balearic Islands.

discourse on urban form. After completing his studies with Ludovico Quaroni in Rome and Josep Lluìs Sert at Harvard GSD, where he also encountered Lefebvre's spatial theories, Manuel Solà-Morales returned to Barcelona with a new perspective on urbanism that focused on creating a new city model. These theories served as the initial catalyst for the development of the 'urban project' in Europe, emphasising the importance of analysis, meticulous observation of the fabric, attention to history, and above all, attention to places.

According to the authors - M. Solà-Morales, J. L. Gòmez Ordoñez, J. Busquets, M. Domingo, and A. Font - The *Contraplán* argues for connecting the historical analysis of the urban fabric to the social processes that drive urban development (Figure 5.1). It also advocates for preserving the stability of the original urban fabric, involving residents in the design process and sharing the economic benefits that result from the revitalisation of the landscape. Land ownership is transferred to the collective (the residents of Poblenou), with the potential for promoting a private housing market. The document proposes the addition of three new hubs of public facilities and social housing along the coastline, integrated into the existing urban fabric. The authors of the plan describe their proposal as follows:

'The initial intervention would consist of transforming the land that currently allocates obsolete industrial processes and services into housing whose physical organisation demonstrates the prototypical nature of the intervention and increases its power to transform the environment. It is thought that this first phase could provoke a spontaneous second phase that would tend to follow a similar development to the previous one. However, this would require, in any case, the transfer of the land as the price of the change of use'

(Solà-Morales et al., 1974, p.10).

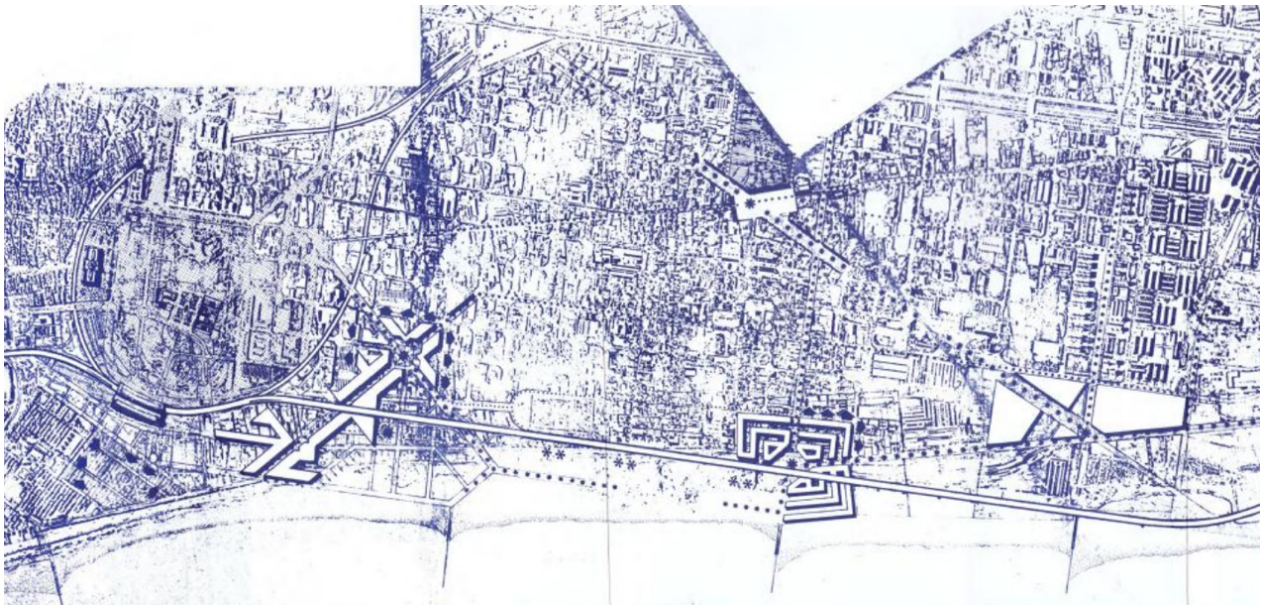


Figure 5.1: Final proposal for 'The Counterplan' (Source: Solà-Morales, M. et al., 1974)

In an interview I conducted with Jose Luis Gómez Ordóñez (2018), he highlighted two significant insights.[47] Firstly, the counterplan was designed with a research objective in mind, positioning itself as a 'professional manifesto' advocating for innovative approaches to urban and social challenges. Secondly, he noted that the formal proposals were not directly derived from an analysis of the area but followed their own intrinsic logic, serving as new symbols within the cityscape. Despite acknowledging Poblenou's industrial identity and recognizing crucial aspects such as the value of historical urban structures, the counterplan's design strategy did not explicitly address the use of industrial heritage as a vital urban instrument. The clarity on whether these industrial sites were to be transformed, preserved, or disregarded remained ambiguous. Ordóñez further mentioned the absence of any participatory process, which he attributed to the competition's constrained timeframe. Additionally, he pointed out that the final output of the plan could be challenging to comprehend for non-professionals.

During the early stages of Barcelona's transition from an industrial to a tertiary city, there was not a pronounced need for a preservation strategy yet of its industrial heritage. The

[47] The interview to the Professor of Urbanism of the University of Granada J. L. Gòmez Ordoñez was conducted by the author in December 2018 in Granada, Spain. In the early 1970s, J. L. Gòmez Ordoñez was one of the planners in Barcelona who authored the 'Contraplán', as part of Solà-Morales' team.

tumultuous political landscape during the final period of Franco's dictatorship saw societal efforts predominantly directed towards the city's democratisation and addressing fundamental urban issues, such as the provision of social housing and the development of public spaces and amenities. This focus naturally shifted attention away from concerns related to industrial heritage preservation.

However, according to an interview with Salvador Claròs I conducted in September 2017, the counterplan represented an initial step towards acknowledging broader social claims within the neighbourhood.[48] This included an emerging focus that would gain prominence in the 1990s: the call to safeguard the area's industrial legacy. Claròs suggests that while the immediate post-dictatorship period may not have prioritized industrial heritage, the groundwork was being laid for future recognition and preservation efforts, highlighting the evolving nature of community values and priorities over time.

5.3.2. Early industrial heritage recognition from the work of photojournalists: Pepe Encinas

In this evolving landscape of industrial heritage recognition, the work of Pepe Encinas, a native of Poblenou and a pioneering photojournalist, stands out for brilliantly documenting the neighbourhood's transition. Encinas captured the essence of Barcelona's peripheries and the vibrant political activism spurred by neighbourhood associations advocating for participatory rights in urban development. His photographs not only contextualize the protests but also underscore the labour identity of Poblenou, portraying industrial infrastructures as integral to the daily life narrative of the community (Figures 5.2, 5.3). The profound connection between the moments captured by Encinas and the industrial backdrop of his photographs underscores the deep relationship between Poblenou's identity and its industrial history. Featured prominently in *Quatre Cantons*, a magazine advocating for

[48] Salvador Claròs has been a key figure in this research. He has been the main coordinator of Poblenou neighbourhood association for 20 years (1999-2019), an important scholar on Poblenou's social and urban transformation processes, and one of the main advocates for a community-led preservation strategy of Poblenou post-industrial heritage.

working-class rights and envisioning the future of Poblenou, circulated by the local neighbourhood association from 1973 to 1978.

Figure 5.2: Encinas, P. (1970) Mar Bella Beach (Source: Arxiu Històric del Poblenou)

As Huertas (1998) suggests, his photographs emerged as a crucial tool for raising awareness of the area's industrial heritage among the broader public and served as inspiration for subsequent photographers, including Xavier Basiana. Basiana's efforts further emphasize the significance of preserving this heritage, contributing significantly to the ongoing dialogue on industrial heritage conservation in Poblenou.

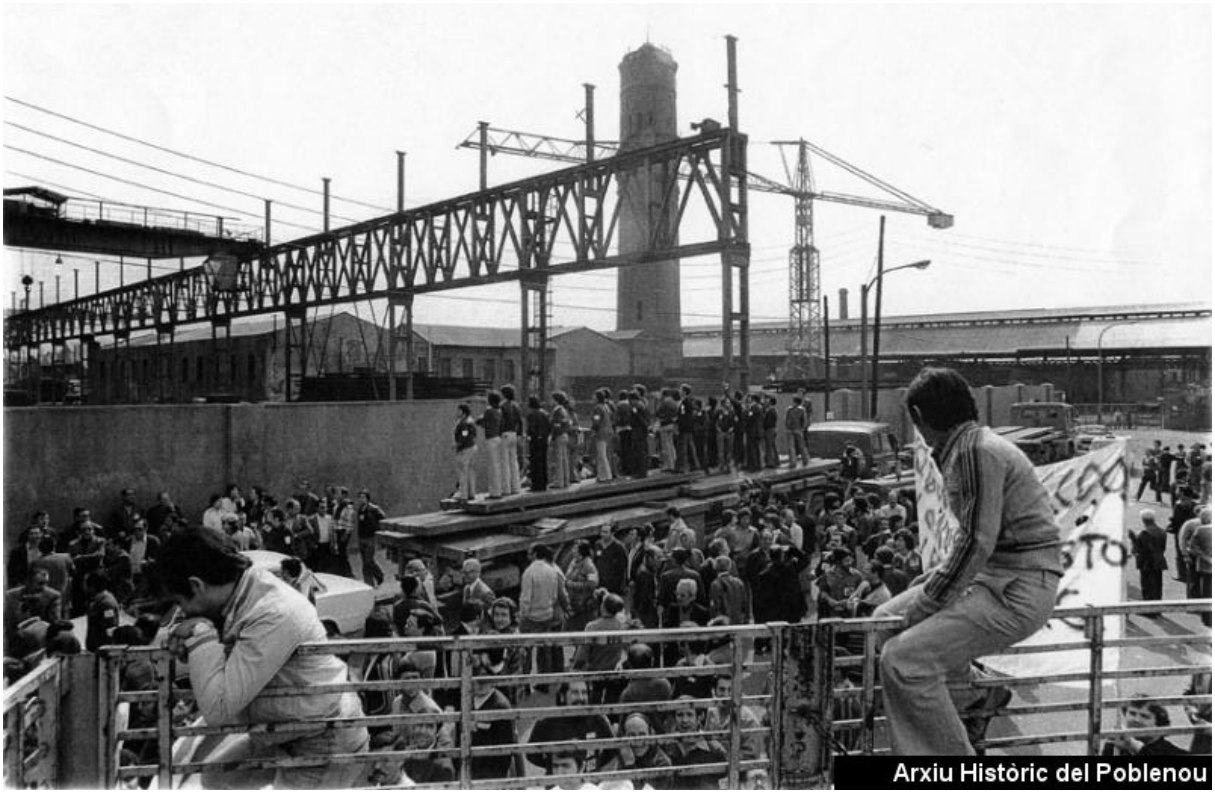


Figure 5.3: Encinas, P. (1974) *The Workers' Demonstration* (Source: Arxiu Històric del Poblenou)

5.4. The arrival of the Olympic Games and its impact on the meaning of heritage value (1986–1992)

5.4.1. The destruction of Icaria neighbourhood

Between the 3rd of August 1987 and the year 1992, a significant number of industrial buildings were destroyed in a 40-hectare area of Poblenou to make way for the *Villa Olímpica* (Figure 5.4). The majority of the demolition work took place in an area called *Icaria*, named after the utopian socialist community, imagined by French philosopher Etienne Cabet. Even today, it is difficult to determine the exact number of warehouses and industrial structures that were demolished. According to an article titled '*30 Años de la Destrucción del Barrio de Icaria, la Actual Villa Olímpica'*,[49] published in the national newspaper *La Vanguardia* in August 2017 (Jimenez, 2017), 40 industrial buildings and 37 houses were demolished. However, according to Muxí (2012), the Arxiu Històric of Poblenou registered 168 demolished dwellings in 1990.

[49] In English: '30 Years Since the Destruction of the Icaria Neighbourhood, the Current Olympic Village'

Additionally, the report 'Proyecto Remodelación del Frente Marítimo del Pueblo Nuevo, Barcelona'[50] developed by the city council in 1988, states: '*This procedure allows, if agreement is not possible, for the urgent occupation of the affected areas, with 72 plots occupied by 147 workshops and 147 houses*' (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1998, p.7). The disagreement regarding the number of demolished buildings is likely due to differences in social, economic, and political interests as well as varying considerations of what industrial features are worth preserving. The only remaining element that connects us to the industrial past of this area is a chimney that once belonged to Can Folch, an industrial complex that operated from 1886 to the early 1970s. It included a distillery, a flour mill, and an ice factory, and more recently functioned as a shared industry (Tatjer, 2006). Its railway tracks, as remnants of its industrial past, were reused by the Catalan architect Enric Miralles in his urban design project for Icaria Avenue, the main street of t his renovated sector.

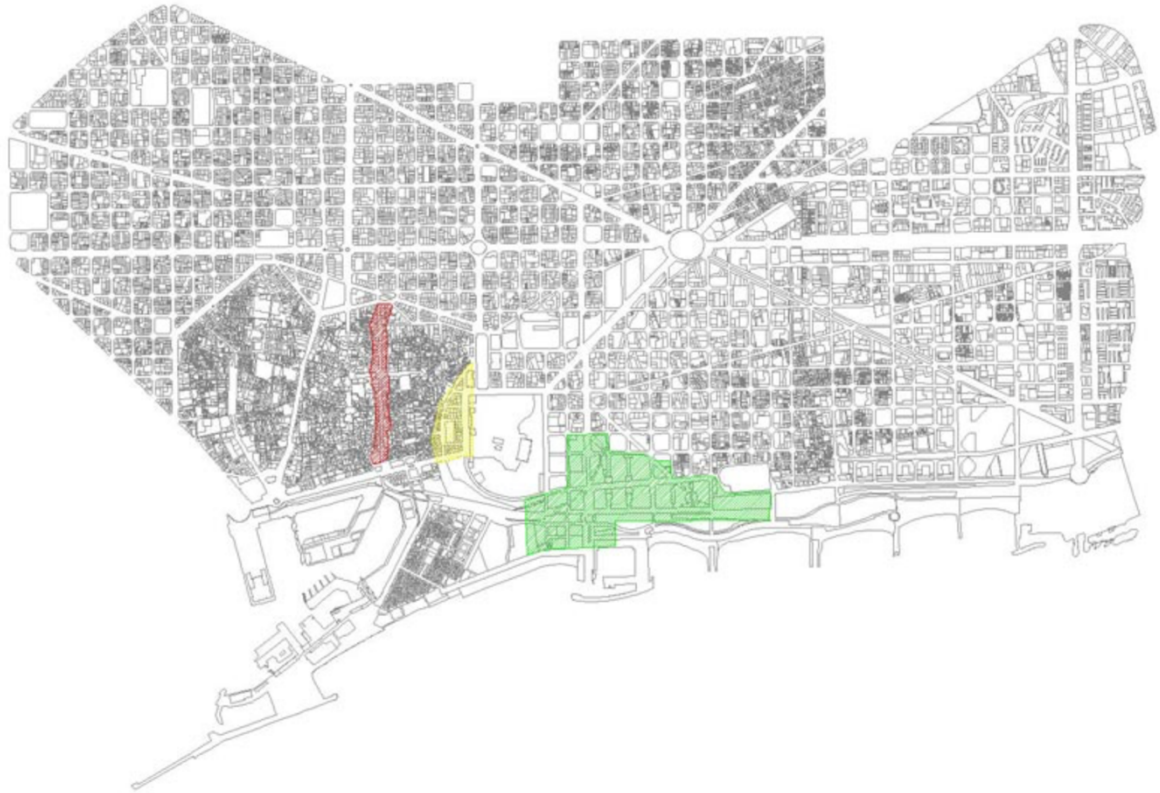


Figure 5.4: Demolition area highlighted in green for the redesign of Icaria Avenue sector. (Source: Caballè, 2010)

[50] In English: 'Project for the Redesign of Pueblo Nuevo, Barcelona'

To understand the cause of this widespread urban destruction, two interesting perspectives on the concept of 'Value' within urban Barcelona has to be considered. The first perspective is presented in the paper 'The Land Value of Barcelona' by Roca Cladera and Garcia Almiral (1995). These scholars argue that in Barcelona, land does not have inherent value but rather a 'residual value' that arises when a previous occupation is removed. This is partly due to the limited availability of vacant lots caused by the city's complex geographical location and growth restrictions.[51] Furthermore, there has been a persistent housing shortage in the city since the late 1980s, as reported by the Ministry of Public Works (1990), with Barcelona ranking eighth worldwide in terms of population density.

The second discourse stems from the approval in 1986 of the '*Pla Especial d`Ordenació Urbana de la Façana de Mar de Barcelona al Sector del Passeig de Carles I i La Avinguda Icaria*',[52] authored by Josep Bohigas, David Mackay, Josep Martorell, and Albert Puigdomènech, concerning the *Villa Olímpica* project. In this document, the authors deliberate on how to discern the values worth preserving and enhancing within Barcelona's 'old neighbourhoods' and its 'periphery'. They argue that while the identity of old neighbourhoods is shaped by their historical significance and urban morphology, the identity of 'new neighbourhoods', including Poblenou, is determined by demographic balance and the unifying presence of youth. Thus, Bohigas et al. appear to sideline the historical industrial past and its associated intangible values. Further, the text discusses the potential harmony between urban industry, public amenities, and residential areas for urban rehabilitation. Bohigas cites the medieval Ribera and Raval, the 17th-century Gràcia, and the 18th-century Barceloneta with its orthogonal layout, as exemplary areas where traditional workshops and storage spaces contribute significantly to neighbourhood vibrancy. However, Poblenou does not receive the same recognition in this Special Plan.

[51] The Colserolla mountains and the sea are located to the east and west, respectively. The growth of the city is constrained to the north and south by the cities of Esplugues, L'Hospitalet, Sant Adria, and Badalona, which also have natural protected areas of great ecological interest.

[52] In English: 'Special Plan for the Urban Management of the Maritime Façade of Barcelona in Carlos I and Icaria Avenues sectors'

Moreover, Bohigas describes parts of Poblenou—those not defined by the 19th-century 'Eixample' urban grid or a formal urban structure—as 'no-man's lands'. These areas, he suggests, are ripe for significant morphological and topological changes. This perspective specifically targets industrial zones like Icaria, positioned between railway infrastructure and the edge of the 'Eixample', and labels them as susceptible to erasure. This viewpoint indicates a readiness to overlook the existing industrial fabric of Poblenou in favour of urban transformation, revealing a nuanced stance on the preservation and development of post-industrial spaces within the city's evolving urban landscape.

Before the demolition work commenced, the *Servei d'Activitats Arqueològiques del Museu d'Història de la Ciutat*[53] called for comprehensive documentation of the area to be undertaken. This request was forwarded to the *Servei de Protecció del Patrimoni Monumental de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona*[54] and subsequently to Vila Olímpica SA (VOSA), a pioneering public agency with the status of a private company, established by Barcelona Council in 1986. VOSA was tasked with overseeing the development of the Villa Olímpica project, including managing demolitions and negotiations with local residents (Casellas, 2006). To fulfil this directive, detailed architectural plans of the principal industrial buildings were created by architect Xavier Güell. Additionally, a historical-archaeological study was conducted under the guidance of historian Manuel Arranz, complemented by a social report prepared by anthropologist Concha Doncel. However, the influence of these efforts was notably minimal.

Francesc Caballé (1988, 2010), a participant in this project, remarked that the work was not seen as an analytical or critical examination of the project's development. Furthermore, the timing of the social report, compiled after the demolitions, significantly diminished its potential impact (Figure 5.5). In her final report, the anthropologist Doncel observes:

'*As the anthropological study was developed a posteriori of the fieldwork for cataloguing the 'material heritage' and when the neighbourhood no longer existed, the framework of this*

[53] Archaeological Department of the Museum of History of Barcelona.
[54] Conservation Department of Barcelona City Council.

investigation is reduced to the 'collective memory' of the protagonist of the evolution, survival, and disappearance of the neighbourhood […]' (Doncel, 1988, p.4).

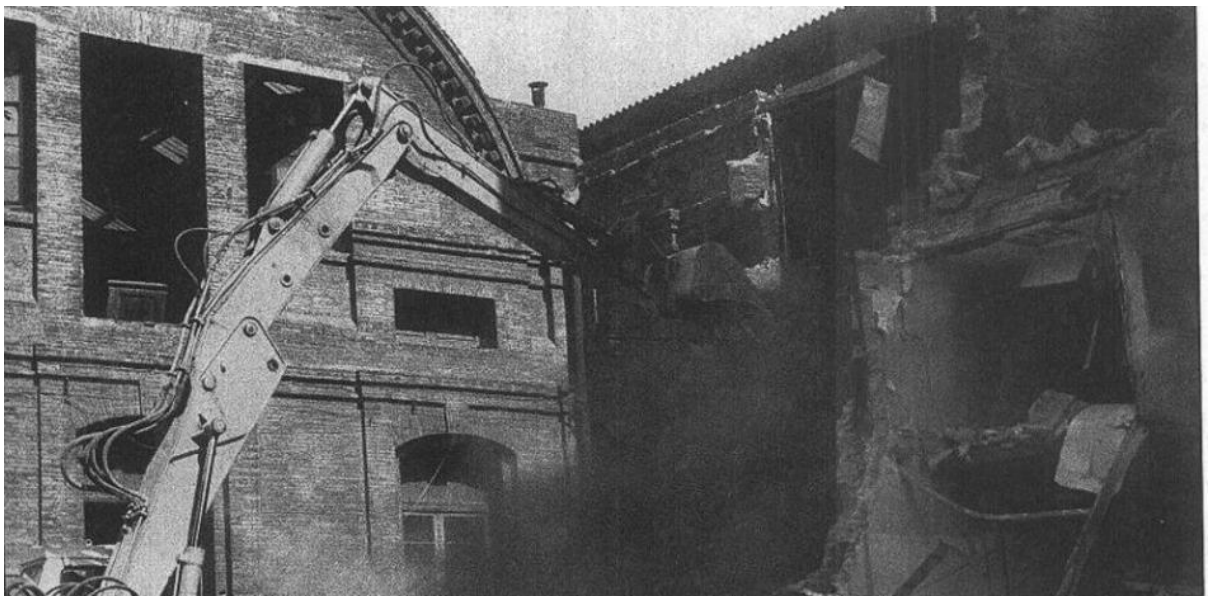


Figure 5.5: Manresa, K. (1987) Beginning of the demolition works in Icaria on the 3rdAugust 1987. The photograph taken in 1987 clearly indicates that some demolitions in the area had commenced prior to the commission in 1988 of the report of buildings slated for destruction by the Archaeological Department of the Museum of History of Barcelona-MUHBA (Source: *La Vanguardia* Newspaper Digital Archive). Available at 30 años de la destrucción del barrio de Icària, la actual Vila Olímpica (lavanguardia.com). (Accessed: 21 July 2020)

Alongside the documentation efforts, VOSA commissioned Clara Films S.A. to produce a video recording the demolition process. The film is introduced with the slogan '*Enderrocar per construir*', translating to 'Demolishing for building'. This choice of opening reveals deeper insights into the perception of the industrial past in the context of urban development, beyond the mere act of demolition. According to the analysis of the film I developed, I could conclude that, firstly, it signifies a complete renunciation of the past as an unavoidable step towards constructing the future. This perspective underscores a willingness to erase historical contexts in favour of new developments. Secondly, the film's structure, which frequently juxtaposes the final plans of new developments immediately following the depiction of the buildings they replace, leads to the objectification of these industrial structures. This editing technique abstracts the buildings from their historical and social significance, presenting them as obstacles to progress rather than as integral components of the neighbourhood's identity. Furthermore, the film places a strong emphasis on the valorisation of specific tangible elements deemed to possess 'high historical and artistic value'. This includes

showcasing production machinery and artefacts removed from their original settings, alongside a collection of horse sculptures that adhere to the classical aesthetic canon. This selective appreciation highlights a narrow perspective on what is considered valuable, focusing on individual items that fit a certain historical or artistic narrative while disregarding the broader context and heritage of the industrial landscape.

The subdued response from locals to the demolition activities in Icaria can be partly attributed to the normalization of the democratic system, which shifted political activism from the streets to public institutions (Capel, 2006). This transition, coupled with a political focus on constructing public amenities, including public spaces and, to a lesser extent, social housing (Tatjer, 1998), led to only marginal protests from locals and sporadic interventions by heritage professionals. As Casellas (2006) observes, citizen engagement in urban decision-making processes saw a significant decline, as the Olympic project was largely viewed as a chance to enhance the city's urban quality through new infrastructural developments.

Despite this general lack of awareness by people in the area, the local initiative *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou* stood out for its awareness of the potential impact of Icaria's demolition on Poblenou's identity. Comprising local residents and volunteer heritage professionals, the *Arxiu* aimed to document the urban politics of the area from its inception, including its history, evolution, and the demolition of its built heritage. This initiative also sought to highlight the overlooked protests of workers and residents. The culmination of their efforts was the publication of a book titled *Nou Viatge a Icaria*[55] (1990), which aimed to preserve and communicate the significance of the neighbourhood's heritage and identity amidst sweeping urban changes.

In 1988, Barcelona City Council implemented pivotal changes to the economic and urban governance structure of Villa Olímpica, profoundly influencing the city's urban planning strategies. This period marked the solidification of a new collaborative model between public institutions and private investors, epitomized by the establishment of Nova Icaria, S.A. company (NISA). NISA was tasked with overseeing the construction of residential buildings in

[55] In English: 'New Trip to Icaria'

the newly developed Icaria area, with public institutions contributing 40% of the total capital, while private developers provided the remaining 60%. By the late 1980s, this model became a template, leading to the formation of numerous other public-private agencies.

This new approach stipulated that the city council would supply public resources, whereas investors would furnish the capital, alongside managing and executing the projects (Casellas, 2006). The model spurred investor interest in Barcelona, particularly in Poblenou, which had become a focal point for urban transformation following the 1992 Olympic Games. However, this shift also led to a gradual reduction in social participation in the city's urban politics by public institutions. Additionally, it transformed the involvement of entities related to heritage and culture, moving towards a scenario where their participation in urban development was limited.

5.4.2. The Barcelona Mission

Taking inspiration from the French Government's DATAR mission, *Quaderns*, an architectural journal published by the Institute of Catalan Architects and directed by Josep Lluís Mateo, embarked on a parallel initiative in Barcelona called 'Barcelona Mission'. The project aimed to capture the comprehensive urban transformation of the city following its selection for hosting the 1992 Olympic Games. The methodological approach entailed a strategic segmentation of the city's territory, informed by an analysis of the social and geographical conditions of the metropolitan area. Photographers, some of whom had participated in the DATAR mission, were assigned to explore these delineated zones. Among them were Gabriele Basilico, who concentrated on the littoral and port areas, and Gilbert Fastenaekens, who documented the industrial landscape of Poblenou-Besòs (Figures 5.6, 5.7).

Willem Jan Neutelings introduces Fastenaekens' work, invoking Robert Smithson's concept of entropy to describe Poblenou as a "multi-patched" area where efforts to impose order only intensified disorder. Neutelings (1990) posits that the area's inherent 'chaos' harbours the potential for future quality, suggesting that "New fragments can be added to provoke new structures […] existing fragments can be awakened to absorb new functions in their old structures […]" He further speculates that Poblenou could exemplify a 'customized modern city' crafted through the individual assemblages of its inhabitants, thereby challenging

conventional urban planning paradigms. Despite the ambitious intentions behind it, the impact of Barcelona Mission was minimal. Contrary to expectations, the work was never exhibited, and the focus of the journal did not resonate widely with the general public. Nevertheless, this initiative marked the emergence of a *modus operandi* based on the use of photography that would persistently influence the appreciation and conceptualization of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou.

Figure 5.6: Fastenaekens, G. (1990a) Besòs Series (Source: *Arxiu Històric* COAC)

Figure 5.7: Fastenaekens, G. (1990b) Besòs Series (Source: *Arxiu Històric* COAC)

5.5. New economic forces and politicisation in the face of erasure: new ways of valuing post-industrial heritage (1993–2000)

The Catalan Cultural Heritage Act was approved on 30 September 1993, introducing significant changes to the region's heritage preservation model. The key modifications included transferring heritage management from the Cultural Department of the Catalan Regional Government to local administrations and utilising smaller-scale urban planning instruments called '*Plan Especiales*' (Special Plans), to guide interventions and protect heritage. Moreover, Article 34 of the Catalan Cultural Heritage Act, titled 'Authorization of Works', emphasizes that if the urban planning policies for the area containing heritage elements slated for transformation have not yet been conclusive, obtaining planning permission from the Culture Department in these areas could be deemed acceptable. However, this authorization remains provisional and was subjected to reassessment following the final approval of the urban regulation policies. These substantial changes in the management and protection of monuments and built heritage had a two-fold impact on the valuation of heritage, particularly in Barcelona.

Firstly, the decentralisation of heritage management resulted in a more thorough analysis and valuation process within the specific context of the heritage itself. Furthermore, as part of its decentralisation policies, Barcelona City Council decided to revise its heritage catalogue through the planning instrument of '*Planes Especiales*', coordinated and implemented independently by each urban district of the city.

In the Introduction of the *Plan Especial de Sant Martí*, Jordi Rogent, Head of the Catalogue Revision Office in Barcelona, delves into the valuation of industrial heritage. He stated:

'[…] *the elements themselves only hold significant value in relation to other similar ones, forming a cohesive entity that cannot be easily dismantled. It can even be argued that many items lose their meaning without the context that shaped their existence, even if this context is not notably remarkable*' (Hostench, 2012, p.164-165).

By recognising the role of post-industrial heritage within its environment, Rogent highlighted the value of such heritage as being conditional upon its surroundings. He posits that the

intrinsic value of these elements could be diminished or lost if the contextual landscape were removed.

While this aligns with a broader understanding of heritage, such a perspective becomes particularly alarming in light of the urban transformations that Poblenou began undergoing at that time. Within these changes, the prioritisation of urban planning objectives over heritage preservation efforts posed a significant threat to the survival of post-industrial heritage, highlighting the vulnerable situation of post-industrial heritage amidst evolving urban landscapes.

The incorporation of urban planning tools aimed for heritage management brought about new disputes within urban contexts. In Barcelona, the implementation of the '*Planes Especiales*' was often hindered by the overarching guidelines of the Metropolitan Master Plan (PGM), established in 1976. This conflict was particularly noticeable with the '*Plan Especial de Sant Martí*'. Consequently, this plan underwent a protracted revision process and was ultimately ratified in 2000, coinciding with the approval of the 22@ Plan, the current urban planning framework for the area.

5.5.1. The origin of 22@ Plan and the Plan Especial of Sant Martí

In 1996, architects C. Civici and C. Basso were tasked by private investors with the transformation of Vapor Llull, a former chemical industry site in Poblenou, into a mixed-use building featuring 18 'non-conventional' houses, office spaces, and workshops (Figure 5.8). This project received the Barcelona City Council Architectural and Urban Award in 1998. However, as Vilanova (2016) pointed out, it was soon discovered that the project contravened existing regulations. According to the Metropolitan Master Plan (PGM), the site was designated for industrial use, identified in the PGM by the marker '22', with this particular lot being labelled as '22@'.[56]

[56] XIX Jornadas Internacionales INCUNA (2016) Ponencia Antoni Vilanova i Omedas.
Available at: https://youtu.be/HQVQs3h5lTM?si=uKv4wQLwJveLe4dc (Accessed: 22 April 2021)

Figure 5.8: Vapor LLull, 133 (Source: the author, 2021)

In response, the city council established the *Sociedad Municipal 22@bcn*, initiating the process of reclassifying industrial lots in Poblenou designated as '@' in the Metropolitan Master Plan (PGM) defined for development into zones for knowledge and technology-based activities (including the tertiary sector). The sole exception was for buildings listed in the heritage catalogue, which could be adapted into 'non-conventional' housing or 'lofts'. This situation presents a dual interpretation: firstly, the reconversion of industrial sites for alternative uses was acknowledged; secondly, their aesthetic and spatial qualities were seen as appealing to medium/high-income private buyers and investors.

Furthermore, the reclassification added economic value to plots not listed in the catalogue, leading to the neglect and eventual demolition of industrial structures on these plots to ease their sale and redevelopment. Consequently, the industrial land's exchange value surged, and the final version of the *Plan Especial de Sant Martí* called for the protection of only certain industrial features, such as chimneys, allowing for the post-inventory demolition of buildings.

Some buildings previously included in catalogues, even in the initial *Plan Especial*, were omitted. As Salvador Claròs noted, this process seemed more akin to de-cataloguing than preservation.[57]

Amid these developments, a new societal appreciation for industrial heritage began to surface, spurred by the efforts of academics, experts, and neighbourhood associations. Following the Olympic Games' interventions and their minimal effect on Poblenou's everyday life quality, these groups staked a claim on what they perceived as their legacy, marking a shift towards a community-based valuation of industrial heritage.

5.5.2. The formation of El Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs

According to Marrero (2008), the path taken by the social valuing process linked to post-industrial heritage in Poblenou is evident in the epilogue of the proceedings book of the conference *El Futur de les Periferies Urbanes*[58] published in 1994 and written by Joan Roca, the current director of the MUHBA.[59] Roca states in this epilogue that 'recovering the industrial past should not be a work of composing the history of a place from fragmented elements and distorted memory, but rather a thoughtful exercise on the construction of an inclusive society that includes those immigrant workers who were often excluded from the History of Catalonia' (Roca 1994, cited in Marrero, 2008, p.66).

This conference, held in 1989 and organised by the students of the secondary school 'Barri Besòs' under the direction of Roca, gathered 1,000 participants, including individuals from the academy and public institutions (Sanchez, 1997). It served as the catalyst for the *Fòrum Ribera del Besòs*, a social platform that was launched in 1992 and is still active today. The founders defined it as a 'market of ideas and initiatives' where public education and urban transformation projects affecting the area of Poblenou and Barcelona as a whole could be

[57] According to the content of a semi-structured interview with Salvador Claròs conducted in 2018 by the author.
[58] In English: 'The Future of Urban Peripheries'.
[59] Museum of History of Barcelona (MUHBA).

discussed, including the role of industrial heritage in the construction of the city's identity (Zusman, 2004).

The *Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* meetings took the form of open assemblies, with no hierarchies and a democratic principle that gave equal weight to comments from all participants, whether related to the intellectual field or residents' daily-life experiences. The *Fòrum*'s assemblies included an average of more than 50 participants, such as neighbourhood associations, cultural centres, locals, artists, academic groups, and local residents.

'[...] *there, people can propose ideas, discuss them, express agreement or disagreement, and participate in decision-making* [...] *at the heart of this philosophy lies the common goal of transforming the city through critical thinking and consequent action. That is to say, the purpose is to favour the development of the social fabric, historical awareness, and democratic practices as ways to express not only the rights of citizens to the city, but also their rights to their future* [...]' (Fòrum Ribera del Besòs, 2004, cited in Claròs, 2016, p.32)

Parallel to this forum, another civic initiative played a fundamental role in the development of new meanings for post-industrial heritage in Poblenou and Barcelona. *Ciutat i Fàbrica* (City and Industry), a project launched in 1997, was created by a group of architects, engineers, geographers, archaeologists, and historians whose work was related to post-industrial heritage.[60] Their aim was to highlight the industrial past of Barcelona through public events and publications. Through primary research and inventory work, the first international conference and photographic exhibition on post-industrial heritage was held in Barcelona in 1998. Titled '*Ciutat i Fàbrica: Un Recorregut pel Patrimoni Industrial de Barcelona*' and held at the COAC,[61] the exhibition showcased 65 pictures by architects Xavier Basiana and Jaume Orpinell, featuring industries and warehouses, including 23 post-industrial sites in Poblenou.

[60] The group was formed by Joan Carles Alyo, Mercedes Arroyo, Xavier Basiana, Barbara Brollo, Francesc Caballé, Dolors Carbò, Martí Checa, Assumpciò Feliu, Magda Fernandez, Dolors Lopez, Jesús Martinez, Joan Olona, Susana Sanchez, Iolanda Serrano, Eduard Simò, Mercé Tatjer, Antoni Vilanova, and Josep María Vilanova (GPFRB, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b).

[61] The title of this international conference translates in English: 'City and Industry: a Tour across the Industrial Heritage of Barcelona'. COAC is the Institute of Architects of Catalunya.

The project *Ciutat i Fàbrica* extended its impact through the production of three key publications, each contributing significantly to the discourse on post-industrial heritage in Barcelona and Poblenou. These publications include *Barcelona, Ciutat de Fàbriques*[62] (Basiana et al. 2001), *Poblenou: la Fàbrica de Barcelona*[63] (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2002), and *La Ciutat de les Fàbriques: Itineraris Industrials de Sant Martí*[64] (Tatjer y Vilanova 2002). The latter is often heralded by scholars as the first tourist guide dedicated to Poblenou, marking a notable shift towards recognizing the area's industrial sites as points of cultural and historical interest.

Figure. 5.9: Basiana, X. (2000a) *MACOSA.* (Source: Basiana et al., 2001, *Barcelona, Ciutat de Fàbriques*)

[62] In English: 'Barcelona, a City of Factories'.
[63] In English: 'Poblenou, Barcelona's Factory'
[64] In English: 'The City of Factories: Industrial Itineraries of San Martí'

The initial publication, *Barcelona, Ciutat de Fàbriques*, drew considerable inspiration from the aesthetic perspective of the Barcelona Mission, particularly its focus on landscapes undergoing transformation (Figures 5.9, 5.10). It also echoed the social objectives of works from the 1970s by photojournalists like Pepe Encinas, who aimed to document and raise awareness of the changing urban environment and its implications for community life. Together, these publications played a crucial role in redefining the narrative around Barcelona's industrial past, offering new ways to appreciate and engage with the city's post-industrial spaces.

Figure 5.10: Basiana, X. (2000b) *MACOSA* (Source: Basiana et al., 2001, *Barcelona, Ciutat de Fàbriques*)

The collaboration between the *Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* and *Ciutat I Fàbrica* catalysed a profound shift in the social recognition of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, especially through the organization of three seminars (June 2003, March 2004, and November 2004). These seminars took place within three 19th-century emblematic industrial settings of Poblenou: La Escocesa, Palo Alto, and Can Ricart factories. Titled 'Legacy and Innovation', the events aimed to define the broader meanings of post-industrial heritage and to identify strategies for its preservation in an inclusive and dialogical way.

Out of these seminars emerged *El Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs*,[65] a collective dedicated to challenging the catalogue of the official *Plan Especial de Sant Martí*, devised by the city council. The group's mission was not only to contest and provide alternatives to the established plans but also to uncover new heritage values that could inform future preservation efforts. Through these collaborative efforts, a significant impact was made on how post-industrial heritage was understood and valued within the community, highlighting the potential for legacy and innovation to coexist in the modern urban landscape.

5.6. The complexity and contestation of values (2000–2006)

The City Council of Barcelona, through the 22@bcn agency, defined two rationales for the creation of the 22@ Plan: first, the need for intervention in a district with a long and productive industrial tradition but under a clear decline process.[66] Second, the plan was a response to the explosion of information and communication technologies and the ongoing European debate about their deregulation. Regarding the protection of post-industrial heritage, the 22@ Plan acknowledged that the *Plan Especial of Sant Martí* had been highly criticised by industrial heritage expert groups and neighbourhood associations, as noted in the previous section. As a response, the 22@ Plan introduced new clauses concerning the protection of consolidated industrial buildings that had not been referenced in this catalogue. Clause 10, in particular, is of interest as it dealt with the 'Reuse of existing industrial buildings'.

[65] In English: 'The Heritage Group of the Besòs Riverbed Forum'

[66] In 1994, 32% of the enterprises established in Poblenou – and 49% of the land use – were industrial. However, by 2000, the tertiary sector accounted for 40% of the urban licences, with just 25% awarded to the industrial sector (Marrero, 2003)

In this clause, the city council established the possibility of substantially transforming the use and volume of those buildings whose total built floor area was less than 2.2 m^2 per square metre of land. This meant that the vast majority of buildings were affected, as the net average of the neighbourhood at that time was 2.0 m^2 per square metre of land, according to the 22@ report published in 2012. During the last real estate bubble in Spain, this clause contributed to the introduction of neoliberal urban development strategies, which contrasted with the common values that defined the character of the neighbourhood and its community through its industrial features (Claròs, 2016). In the words of Salva Claròs, it disrupted 'the continuity and discontinuity of the trajectory of a community'.[67] Furthermore, the 22@ Plan adopted the Cerdà grid as the morphological rule. However, due to Poblenou's industrial and rural past, more than 25% of its existing blocks did not conform to this pattern. Additionally, the city council was considering increasing the density of green areas, and the only way to preserve the traditional block, according to the 22@bcn agency, was to increase the total height of the new buildings. The neighbourhood association described the two urban issues compromising the identity of Poblenou in the following manner:

'[...] *The new buildings envisaged in the proposals of the new urban planning are intrusive and disrupt the urban landscape of Poblenou due to their excessive height – 9 buildings measuring 72m in height – and their placement within the plot. It is important to maintain a sensible arrangement for the newly built typology concerning the overall height (4 or 5 floors in total), volume, and location in the streets. Additionally, it is crucial to preserve the architectural and cultural heritage of Poblenou* [...]' (The Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou, 2001, cited in Marrero, 2003)

Following some controversial interventions, such as the reconversion of Can Gili Nou and Can Gili Vell, two 19th-century flour mills, into luxury lofts and flats where significant new volumes were added to the main structure and elements like chimneys were separated from the rest, the *Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* and the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou began to discuss for revisiting the 'Industrial Heritage' concept and its conservation

[67] According to the semi-structured interview with Salvador Claròs conducted by the author in 2016.

strategies within the heritage preservation regulations of the @22 Plan (Claròs, 2016). They also advocated for the consideration of urban elements such as historical axes and 'passatges' (narrow lanes), some with rural origins that provided access to the internal elements of the factories. Finally, they argued for the protection of significant housing complexes built during the industrial historical period, which were currently unrecognised by the planning regulations in force. Unfortunately, most of these dwellings had already disappeared or been severely damaged by the opening in 1999 of the extension of the Diagonal Avenue from Las Glories square to the sea. The Diagonal Avenue extension was designed as the main gateway to Poblenou from Cerdà's Eixample. Indeed, this large-scale urban intervention also marked the first step towards the following neoliberalist urbanism period of Barcelona: The Forum 2004. A vast industrial area of 180 ha. renewed through fragmented urbanism consisting of isolated urban projects mainly based on gated communities typology, that according to Montaner (2012) undermined the strength of the relationship between the former industrial urban fabric and the coastal strip.

Simultaneously with local initiatives, a pivotal moment occurred at the national level with the approval of the first national Industrial Heritage Plan in 2000. This plan aimed to harness industrial heritage as a catalyst for economic development and community integration in areas still bearing the material and immaterial remnants of a bygone industrial era (Requena 2010) While this marked a considerable advancement in recognizing such heritage, the plan's primary objective was to raise awareness of its existence rather than to lay down specific guidelines and methodologies for its preservation and protection. Moreover, the responsibility for overseeing heritage conservation practices and policies was delegated to regional governments, introducing a level of complexity in nationwide heritage management.

In 2003, the industrial heritage field witnessed another significant development with the adoption of the Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial Heritage by TICCIH. This charter broadened the definition of industrial heritage to include buildings and infrastructures related to production activities (Claròs, 2016; Capel 2014), setting a new theoretical benchmark. Inspired by these national and international frameworks, the *Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs*, along with the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou, spearheaded fresh debates and studies.

In 2005, the *Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* presented a report entitled 'Proposal for an Integral Plan for Barcelona's Industrial Heritage', which covered the whole of Barcelona's industrial heritage. The authors argued that the existing heritage policies were outdated because they only considered the physical remains of industrial heritage, neglecting the value of knowledge attached to the productive processes. They attributed this to the limited protection of architectural and urban elements and the lack of a comprehensive metropolitan vision. The *Grup* also criticized the marginalization of the heritage values, both cultural and social, by real estate market forces during urban transformation and deindustrialization processes. Additionally, they noted that the urban and technological modifications did not adequately consider the social cohesion provided by the industrial activities in the past. To address these issues, the *Grup* proposed five initiatives:
1. Action protocol: The *Grup* emphasized the need to transform obsolete structures, which may involve demolition. However, they advocated for thorough documentation, including records of oral testimonies by workers and responsible parties involved in the main processes conducted in these industrial buildings, prior to any demolition. In the case of Poblenou, they suggested that the *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou* (Historical Archive of Poblenou) could fulfil this role.

2. New urban heritage protection policies: This initiative aimed to revise the heritage catalogue of Barcelona, specifically identifying zones with homogeneous industrial heritage to expand the content of the document. The *Grup* also stressed the importance of updating the urban policy framework to include a masterplan for the preservation of industrial heritage of Poblenou. The assessment criteria for valuing industrial heritage would consider its significance in constructing collective memory, its role in the city's history, and its architectural and urban value. The *Grup* also proposed intervention criteria focused on preserving the integrity of the industrial complexes and the overall landscape of the area. Finally, they suggested that this masterplan could serve as a model for other industrial areas of Barcelona.

3. New regulations for productive uses: The *Grup* recognises the need for innovative industrial recycling policies that are compact, diverse, and sustainable. However, at that time, the policies resulted in small industries and workshops being relocated to other areas due to the

high land prices. They were replaced by third-sector activities, with the excuse that industrial production was outdated or unsuitable for urban life. This led to social and urban division. The text argues that Poblenou not only has architectural and landscape heritage but also a heritage of professional handcraft workshops and medium-sized enterprises that could bridge the area's past and future. Therefore, it is important to find solutions that allow the coexistence of the new and the old. To do this, the *Grup* suggested reevaluating the meaning of the '22@' designation used by the city council to designate industrial areas that can be transformed. The authors propose that it is not enough to simply create new uses; the citizens must also embrace the changes and give the place its identity. Finally, they argue that increased construction is not compatible with reusing old structures or maintaining the mixed-use character of the area.

4. Proposal for the creation of the Metropolitan Museum of Labour: This museum is proposed to preserve knowledge of the area's industrial heritage, serve as an interpretation centre for the metropolitan area, and act as a research laboratory for developing new productivity strategies for the future. The museum should focus not only on the collective memory and the past, but also on the continuity of the legacy through the natural changes of the city. The authors suggest Oliva Artés factory as the location for the museum, an old industrial space in the heart of the neighbourhood and within the core of the most industrialised area of Poblenou.

5. Educational plan: The text proposes the creation of training programmes that are connected to the new 22@ industrial district and to the traditional workshops in the area. It also suggests fostering relationships between educational centres in the area and local enterprises to promote the preservation of the industrial identity.

Two annexes were also attached to the document. The first one was 'The Inventory of Industrial Heritage in Poblenou', which included a map of the proposed new buildings and site to be protected. In 2006, as part of the 22@ Plan, 68 new industrial elements were included in the map, out of the 105 proposed by the *Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* (Figure 5.11). This was in addition to the 46 elements already catalogued in the catalogue of the *Plà Especial de Protecció del Patrimoni Arquitectònic, Històric i Artístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona*.[68] The new catalogue also changed the protection grades of some existing buildings.

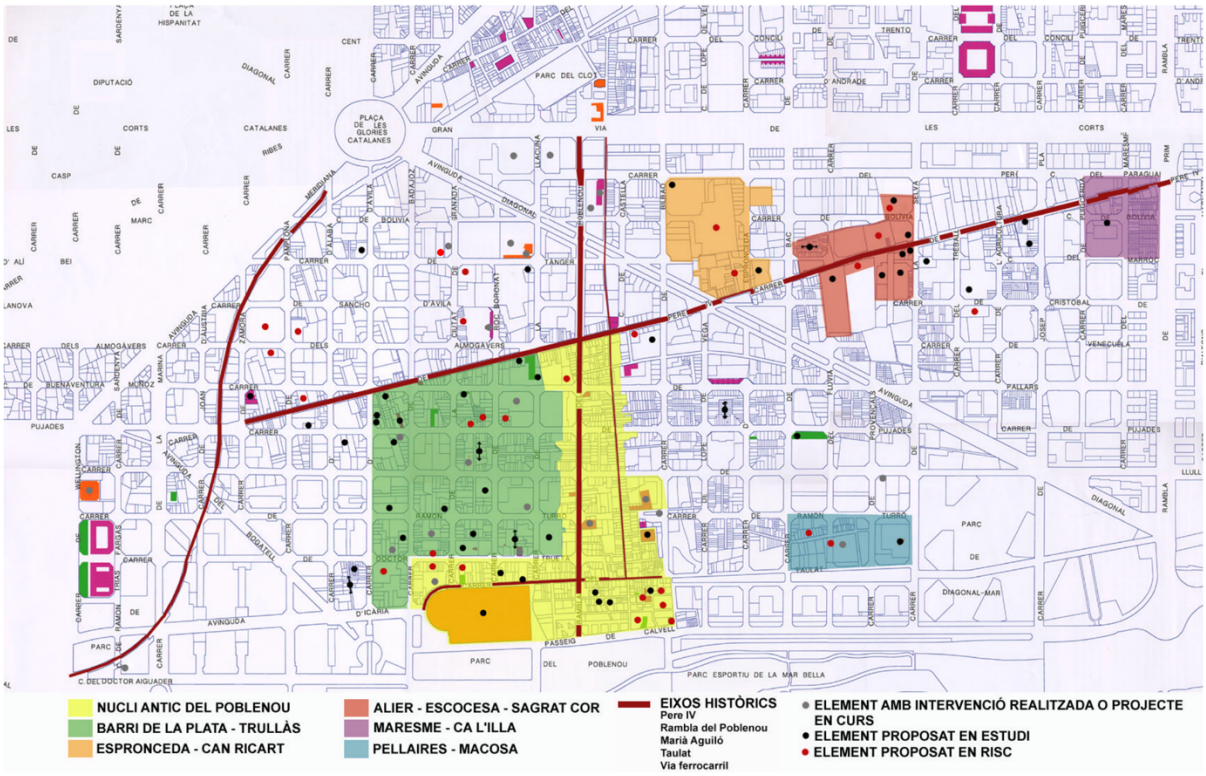


Figure 5.11: 'The Inventory of Industrial Heritage in Poblenou'. Proposal for integrating new industrial elements in the official heritage catalogue and in the 22@ Plan guidelines. The dots in black and red represent the new elements proposed and the dots in grey those already contemplated in the planning policies. (Source*: Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Forum Ribera Besòs*, 2005b). Available at: http://www.ub.es/geocrit/b3w-581.htm (Accessed: 18 October 2019)

[68] In English: 'Special Plan for the Protection of the Architectural, Historic, and Artistic Heritage of the City of Barcelona'

The new elements were assigned different grades of protection: nine were labelled as 'grade D', meaning they can be demolished after a historical and photographic report. 53 were given

a ‘grade C’, which allows for transformation but preserves their aesthetic value, primarily focusing on façade protection. Six were given a grade B, meaning modifications are allowed but the original volume and aesthetic values must be preserved. Any buildings or infrastructure that altered the original element could be removed.

The second annex was the preservation proposal for Can Ricart, an industrial complex that had become a symbol for citizens fighting against the aggressive urban planning policies of the 22@ Plan, which prioritised the real estate benefits on the detriment of the post-industrial heritage preservation. (Figure 5.12)

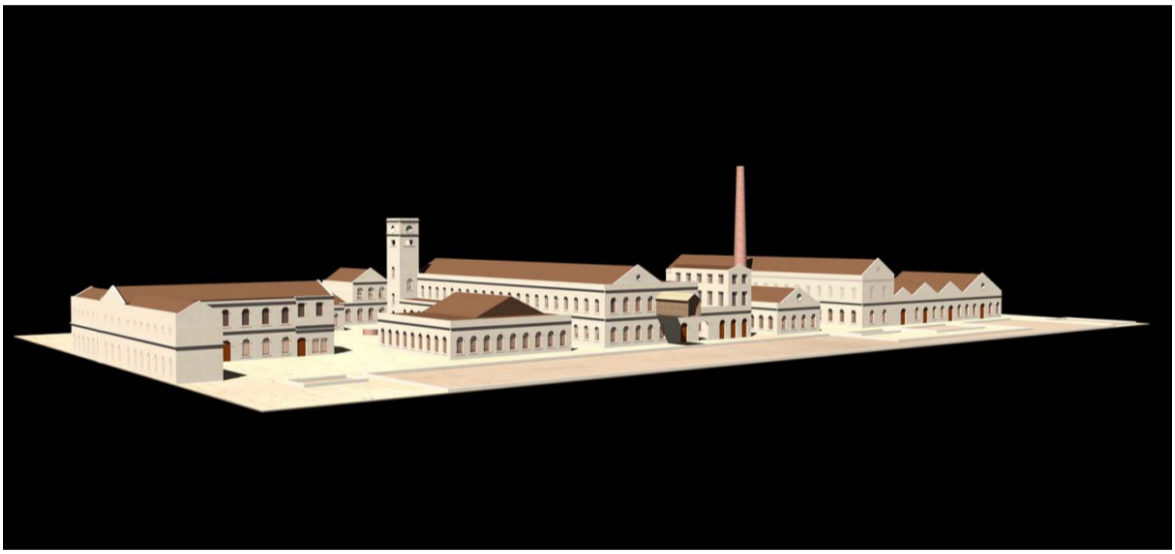


Figure 5.12: Preservation proposal for Can Ricart. (Source: Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Forum Ribera Besòs, 2005b). Available at: http://www.ub.es/geocrit/b3w-581.htm . (Accessed: 18 October 2019)

5.7. Can Ricart as a symbol of cultural, social, and historic post-industrial values

Denis Byrne (2008) explains that while heritage inventories and catalogues play a crucial role in heritage conservation, they can also contribute to the commodification of heritage values and hinder their protection. He attributes this to their tendency to focus on the physical aspects of places rather than their inherent values. According to Byrne, once a place is recorded in an inventory, there is a risk of treating the recording as equivalent to the place

itself. However, he emphasizes that once heritage values are included in an inventory, the places can easily lose their connection to the community context.

The Can Ricart factory complex was designated as protected heritage site in 2006 under the *Pla Especial de Protecció del Patrimoni Arquitectònic, Històric i Artístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona*.[69] The complex serves as an example of the evolution of industrial processes in Poblenou. It originated as a textile factory in the mid-19th century and later expanded to include activities related to soap and chemical production in 1922. After the Spanish Civil War in 1939, it was repurposed as a smelter company and eventually transformed into a hub for paper and graphics sector enterprises, consisting of small workshops and companies. A total of 67% of the complex was awarded a grade B, while the remaining portion received a grade D, indicating a low level of protection. The permitted interventions for the higher-grade section are as follows:

1. Restoration of the façade: removal of any additions made after the original design, recovery of the original architectural elements, and general maintenance of the original walls (including colours, textures, and openings).
2. Preservation of the chimney.
3. Adherence to the spatial structure defined in the original project.
4. Recovery and enhancement of the original inner and outer structural elements.

These actions primarily focus on physical aspects. However, the building's description in the document is limited to formal issues such as access, layout, and original elements. It provides a historical overview of the industry and includes historical maps. However, there is no explicit or implicit mention of its value, both in social or communal terms. This creates a gap in the comprehensive understanding of Can Ricart, including its role in the urban fabric of Poblenou and the identity of the neighbourhood. Additionally, with 33% of its area at risk of demolition or transformation, leading to significant urban changes in the surrounding vicinity (such as the design of the Parc Central by the internationally renowned French architect Jean Nouvel

[69] *Ibid.*

and the new extension of the Diagonal Avenue), the opportunity to preserve or restore its significance is limited.

Chambers (2006) suggests that heritage often serves more to address the complexities, inconsistencies, and uncertainties of the present rather than accurately reflecting the past. This notion finds clear resonance in the situation surrounding Can Ricart, where the conflict predates the 2006 catalogue. The controversy ignited when the owner of the factory complex, Mr. Ricart, Marquis of Saint Elisabeth, leveraging the approved urban planning policies that safeguarded only the basic urban layout without preserving the structures' volumes, notified the tenant businesses of their need to vacate within 30 days, offering minimal to no compensation, depending on their lease agreements. This led to the mobilization under the banner '*Salvem Can Ricart*' (Save Can Ricart), uniting a diverse coalition in defence of the site. This coalition included small to medium-sized enterprises operating within the complex, the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou, the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Fòrum de la Ribera del Besòs*, artists and squatter-artists from La Makabra, architects advocating for an alternative development plan for the site, members of youth associations, and representatives from MACBA and Fundació Tàpies, two prestigious contemporary art institutions of the city (Marrero, 2008).

At the point when the claims for Can Ricart's preservation were initiated, the local community began to recognise the site as 'heritage.' Before this movement, Can Ricart was not widely recognized by its name but merely as a collection of workshops located at *Passatge* (lane) of Marques de Santa Isabel, 40. Salva Claròs notes: '*Some people were aware of Can Ricart's existence due to personal connections with its workers or its distant prestige, yet they had never ventured beyond the iron gate that delineated the workspace from the city*'.[70] The emergence of these preservation efforts catalysed a transformation in the Poblenou neighbours' stance, effectively shifting from being 'passive inheritors of culture to active owners and modifiers of the culture' (Byrne, 2008, p.171).

[70] As part of the semi-structured interview with Salva Claròs conducted by the author in 2018.

This paradigm shift highlights how heritage landscapes and features are continually reshaped by successive generations, underscoring a dynamic interplay between the past and the present in crafting cultural identity and heritage.

From the outset of the claims, the neighbourhood association of Poblenou and the *Grup de Patrimoni Industrial del Forum de la Ribera del Besòs* have been instrumental in defending Can Ricart. Collaborating with the architect Josep Montaner, the Councillor of Sant Martí district, they developed an alternative plan for the factory's utilization. This proposal, presented on April 19, 2006 at the Fundació Tàpies, envisioned a future for Can Ricart that would preserve its heritage values, cater to the local community's needs, and resist the speculative pressures associated with the area. Can Ricart emerged as a symbol of the neighbourhood's industrial heritage and a counterforce to neoliberal urban strategies, highlighting the shortcomings of the 22@ Plan and those of the globally-acclaimed 'Barcelona Model.

'Likewise, a significant demonstration in defence of Can Ricart took place on April 28, 2006, featuring a manifesto read by journalist Josep Maria Huertas, representing the neighbourhood movement. In the manifesto, Huertas called for recognising Can Ricart as a key architectural asset from the 19th century, crucial to preserving the area's industrial legacy and halting the gentrification propelled by the 22@ Plan. He advocated for maintaining the site's small workshops and medium-sized enterprises to protect Poblenou's identity and proposed transforming Can Ricart into a heritage complex that continues its productive legacy while promoting its cultural significance to the public. Huertas's manifesto concluded with a call for a Poblenou that addresses its residents' needs and involves them in shaping the neighbourhood and city's economic, social, and cultural future.

In April 2008, amid the onset of the real estate bubble crisis, the Catalan Regional Government elevated the buildings of Can Ricart, previously categorized as ‘grade B’, to *Bé Cultural d’Interes Nacional*, the highest heritage protection status at the national level. Despite this recognition, part of Can Ricart was demolished later that year, leading to its partial recovery for social purposes but also to its evident degradation, with a comprehensive solution still pending. According to recent discussions with Salva Claròs (2018), significant

progress has been made in negotiations between concerned stakeholders over the past five years, yet a definitive resolution for Can Ricart's future remains in deliberation. (Figure 5.13)

Figure 5.13: Can Ricart in 2023 (source: the author)

5.8. Initial findings

In this chapter, my aim has been to reconstruct the factors that led to the recognition of post-industrial heritage in the area. Drawing on Lowenthal's argument (1985, 2015) that heritage is acknowledged when there is a perceived necessity to preserve it, regardless of whether it is tangible or intangible, I have explored the socio-spatial practices attached to this "need" in Poblenou, as well as the motivations that give rise to them and the socio-economic and cultural contexts in which they occur.

In the first part of the chapter, I have argued that the initial recognition of post-industrial heritage is linked to social demands for public facilities and housing that arose with the onset of democracy in the country. However, I have also discussed that while some initiatives, such as 'The Counterplan', recognised the post-industrial legacy of the area, its significance remains unclear. Nevertheless, 'The Counterplan' anticipated the dynamics of the valuation processes that would unfold in the coming years, particularly when the area began its urban transformation under the 'Barcelona Model' strategies to host the Olympic Games in 1992.

In my investigation, I have explored how the understanding of post-industrial areas as 'no-man's lands' characterized by their potential for significant morphological and topological changes (Bohigas et al., 1986, p.13), as contemplated in the Barcelona model, shaped the future of Poblenou's urban development and its post-industrial legacy. Aligned with this, I have argued that the demolition of a 40-hectare Icaria area, which included 40 industrial compounds and 147 workshops, in order to build the Olympic Village, marked a turning point in the social demands for the preservation of the post-industrial built legacy and its significance in the urban future of the area. From that point on, the value of this heritage would be determined by socio-spatial practices that emerged as counterforces to the urban planning decisions made by the city council, which were mostly guided by top-down neoliberal economic policies.

In the analysis of these social practices, the investigation has revealed that they were initially driven by isolated initiatives with limited impact. Examples include the work developed by the local archive, *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou*, and the *Barcelona Mission* (Quaderns, 1990) Later, organised groups emerged, which engaged in dialogical forums to develop strategies

for protecting their post-industrial heritage against aggressive urban policies. One such group is the '*Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs*', which actively opposed the urban planning policies of the 22@ Plan. The investigation has revealed several key aspects. Firstly, the 'forums' (participative meetings) organised by the group were open and inclusive. Secondly, the discussions and aims revolved around historical, cultural, urban, educational, social, and use values. Lastly, the analysis highlights the group's multi-scalar approach. While their focus was on Poblenou, they also recognized the significance of post-industrial heritage at the broader city's scale. In the examination of the case of Can Ricart, the emphasis on heritage as a construct that takes shape through the interactions between individuals and objects, as suggested by Harrison (2013), is further patent. Drawing on previous findings in Chapter 3, I have argued how photography has also played a significant role in highlighting the importance of post-industrial heritage values in the area. The work of photojournalists, like Pepe Encinas, has contributed to raising social awareness about the significance of post-industrial heritage within everyday life. Other photographic projects, such as the ones included in 'Barcelona Mission' and Xabier Basiana's, have explored the notions of sublimity and aesthetic value in relation to understanding post-industrial heritage in Poblenou. These latter works focus less on everyday life and more on presenting post-industrial heritage as a monument to be preserved.

In the next chapter, I will investigate how the global economic crisis of 2006, followed by the real estate burst in 2008, impacted the understanding of the value of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou. I will delve into four socio-spatial practices and analyse their impact on the regeneration of the area.

Figure 6.0: BiciClot, 2018 (Source: the author)

CHAPTER 6. REVALUING POST-INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

6.1. Introduction

Byrne (2008) underscores the evolving nature of heritage significance, arguing that the values people assign to heritage sites and landscapes are not static, but evolve over time due to intergenerational changes in perceptions and engagements. This evolution necessitates regular updates to heritage assessments to ensure they align with current societal values and interpretations. The scholar captures this notion by stating: '*An assessment of social significance carried out 20 years ago is an historical document, not a basis for determining the significance of a place in the present*' (Byrne, 2008, p.163).

Additionally, Byrne introduces the idea that the significance ascribed to heritage by each generation is formed through a transactional process. This process suggests a dynamic interaction between the present and the past, where both influence and reshape each other.

Building on Byrne's insights, this chapter aims to explore how the significance of heritage values in Poblenou is both inherited from past generations and continually reinvented by the current one. This dual process demonstrates how heritage values are not merely passed down through time but are actively reshaped to reflect contemporary perspectives and societal needs, illustrating a dynamic interaction between the historical legacy of Poblenou and its ongoing urban evolution. In understanding the interplay between these dynamics of value and post-industrial heritage, this chapter examines the period from the onset of the 2008 financial crisis up to 2018, presenting four examples of socio-spatial practices: Puigcerdà 127, the collectives of artists in Poblenou, the *Taula Eix Pere IV*, and Can Picò. These instances illustrate not only innovative models for preserving post-industrial heritage but also novel approaches to redefining Poblenou's urban landscape in opposition to prevailing capital-driven forces. Through these case studies, we see actions by local residents and collectives that showcase alternative ways of valuing and integrating post-industrial heritage into the fabric of Poblenou, challenging traditional preservation paradigms and fostering a more inclusive urban development narrative. Through their description and analysis, the objective is to elucidate the motivations behind the formation of certain resident groups and explore the intricacies linked to heritage values, their intersection with negotiation processes, and spatial aspects within the scope of preserving post-industrial architectural heritage in the area. Finally, through the presentation of these practices, I would like to strengthen the

argument underlying this Doctoral Thesis – namely, that 'heritage' is a process rather than a material or immaterial fact.

6.2. Setting the Context

In 2009, Spain's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) dropped as a consequence of the global financial crisis, exacerbated by the real estate market's overexpansion and the private sector's high levels of debt. Ruiz-Huerta et al. (2013) highlight that regions with economies heavily reliant on construction and the sectors were particularly hard-hit. Official figures from Spain's National Economic Institute reveal that Catalonia was among the regions most severely affected by the economic downturn in 2009. The collapse of the construction sector began to challenge the prevailing narrative of real estate as the main engine of urban growth and development in Barcelona. This shift prompted local community groups and public institutions to reconsider their urban development strategies, aiming for economic sustainability. Consequently, there was a recognized need to introduce new mechanisms for reclaiming land value to ensure a more equitable distribution of benefits.

Barcelona City Council began to embrace the concept of an open system, wherein physical spaces evolve through direct interaction with the community, leading to targeted practices that address local needs and aspirations. An illustrative case of this approach is the '*Pla Buits*' Program, initiated by the city council to repurpose vacant lots—left idle due to halted construction projects—by leasing them to civic groups for community benefit. This approach introduced a shift in the traditional planning paradigm, opening up novel avenues for local community groups to reclaim underutilized spaces and to innovate with 'bottom-up' regeneration strategies that foster collaborations with the public sector. Aligned with Harrison's (2013) arguments on how financial crises often prompt a re-evaluation of authenticity, with a growing emphasis on what is considered 'real' and valuable, in areas like Poblenou, this movement towards participatory urban development showed a particular interest in industrial heritage, prompting a rethink of its role and significance in contemporary urban contexts. The *'Pla Buits*' initiative, while innovative, encountered criticisms primarily due to its temporary approach and other issues, including the municipal policy of permitting only short-term activities on empty urban plots while awaiting decisions on their long-term applications. Additionally, concerns about safety, such as addressing structural integrity and

ensuring accessibility in abandoned industrial buildings, had to be addressed before any activity could commence. These prerequisites posed significant challenges, as many local collectives and social platforms found themselves unable to meet the financial demands associated with making these spaces safe and accessible. This made the practical implementation of the '*Pla Buits*' programme more complicated than anticipated, according to Barcelona City Council officer Carme Gual in a semi-structured interview conducted in 2016.[71]

Poblenou's urban and social landscapes are intricately complex. Although this study does not primarily focus on the area's gentrification, it acknowledges the significant impact of it, especially the impact of 'productive gentrification'. According to Dot et al. (2010) this form of gentrification saw traditional industrial activities replaced by sectors focused on technology, research, and education, marking a shift towards third-sector and knowledge-based economies as it has happened in Poblenou since the 22@ Plan entered into force. Furthermore, Mansilla (2015) notes that, distinctively in Poblenou, gentrification manifested not through the occupation of renovated industrial buildings by higher-income classes but rather through their residence in newly constructed spaces that once hosted industrial buildings. These two processes have dramatically altered Poblenou's social composition over the past 20 years.[72] The current population has surged, transitioning from a predominantly working-class community to a diverse mix of middle and high-income professionals, alongside with marginalised groups, including the area's original inhabitants. This evolution highlights the profound changes in Poblenou's social structure, which reflects broader trends in urban development and socio-economic patterns. Therefore, the significance of post-industrial heritage in the area today is influenced by various factors. The presence of artist groups, informal settlements by immigrants and squatters, the growth of social platforms, and the emergence of new solidarity networks will play important roles in safeguarding the area's post-industrial built legacy, as discussed in the following sections.

[71] Carme Gual was the coordinator of the '*Pla Buits*' programme.
[72] According to the *Departamento de Estadistica* (Statistics Department), there was a 13% increase between 1991 and 2017.

6.3 Carrer Puigçerdà, 127

In July 2013, Sant Martí District implemented a plan known as the 'Plan against Irregular Settlements'. This plan resulted in the eviction of 300 individuals who had illegally occupied the abandoned warehouses of Puigcerdà Street, 127. These warehouses were located in the northern part of Poblenou, an area characterized by a high number of vacant plots and abandoned factories. The majority of the community living there were Sub-Saharan immigrants. They had established an economically self-sufficient, microscale urban system by putting the abandoned industrial remains to use. The distribution of activities within the space was carefully adapted to the interior and exterior areas, as well as the main economic resources such as storage, recycling, and the trading of scrap metal.

Figure 6.1: Garcia, A. (2013) Puigcerdà 127 Eviction. (Source: EL PAIS digital newspaper). Available at: https://elpais.com/ccaa/2013/07/23/catalunya/1374608422_883547.html (Accessed: 7 June 2018)

The revitalized space included living areas, shops, workshops, bars, and public spaces where the community could carry out their daily lives. Although the permanent population consisted of only 300 people, the media (e.g. Baquero, 2013, in *EL PAIS*,; França 2014 in *El Diario.es*) and several academics (Callen, 2014; Porras et al, 2018) reported that up to 800 people per day utilized the area for various activities. An informal network of scrap metal collectors

salvaged metal from the previous system. After carefully selecting and recycling the pieces, they sold the metal in local and even international second-hand markets, primarily in their native countries in Africa.

The original textile factory originally located in Puigcerdà Street, 127 Street, '*Acabados, Tintes y Estampados S.A.*', underwent modifications throughout the 20th century, finally resulting in a 'U' shape. In the spatial and programmatic reuse of these warehouses by the immigrants, one side of the factory was dedicated to scrap activities, in a warehouse protected by the Industrial Heritage Catalogue of 2006. At the entrance of this warehouse, there was a spacious area for trucks that transported the scrap metal to second-hand markets. Towards the end of this initial section, there was another warehouse. Its ground floor housed shops that traded in clothing, art objects, shoes, household goods, and appliances, while the upper floor was used for residential purposes. In front of this building, there was an open space that functioned as a public square. Nearby, smaller stores served as a bar, a restaurant, and meeting places. The infrastructure forming the base of the 'U' shape contained housing on the first floor and scrap metal activities on the ground floor, which included a bike workshop. The complex's upper floors consisted of more housing, along with leisure spaces and a workshop on the lower floors. On one part of the ground floor, there were small, self-built barracks constructed from materials found on the street. These barracks provided housing and small warehouses for the scrap metal collectors (Callen, 2014).

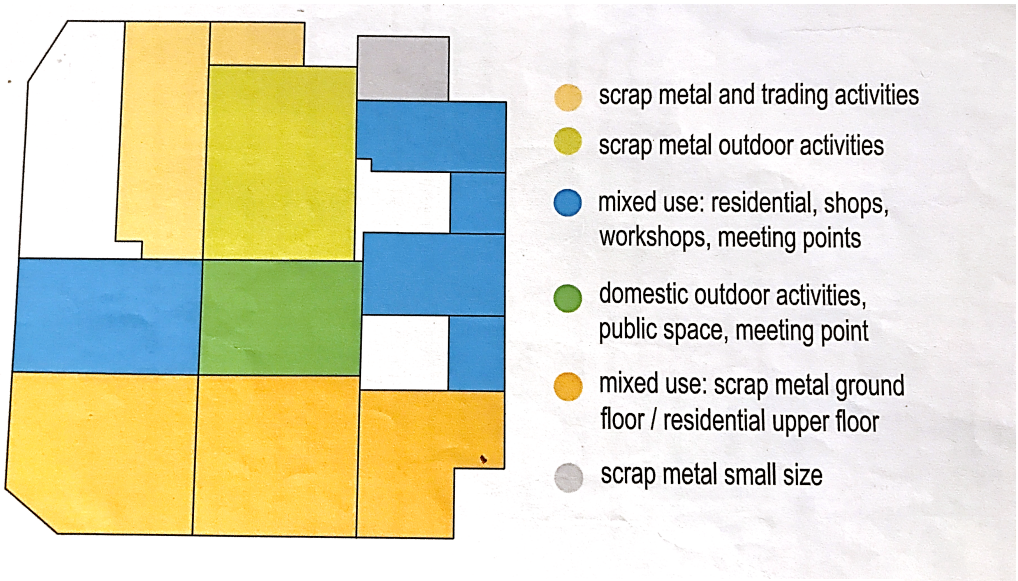


Figure 6.2: Callen, J. (2004) Carrer Puigcerdà 127 Spatial Interpretation Map. (Source: the author, 2018)

The 22@ Plan proposed land use for this 12,000 m^2 plot primarily focused on mixed-use, with private housing being the main emphasis. Additionally, some public facilities were included, with 10% specifically designated for social housing. It is worth noting that the concept of mixed-use, as defined by the 22@ Plan, encompassed 'economic activity'. According to Callen (2014), the substantial increase in housing prices by over 47% since the launch of 22@ Plan, along with a rise of 20 Euros per square metre in average private rental prices, clearly demonstrates the significant role that economic value played in the decision-making process for the redevelopment of this plot. Furthermore, the future project foreseen by the 22@ Plan was organised under a new ambitious urban scheme developed by the Urban Ecology Agency of Barcelona, coined as 'Super-Blocks' by the agency's Director Salvador Rueda.

These 'Super-Blocks' were conceived as 'new self-sufficient urban cells' as part of an ambitious plan to regenerate the rest of the Poblenou neighbourhood. The strategy behind this concept involved implementing solar panels on roofs, mixed uses, collective heating systems for the neighbourhood, water-recycling systems, and the promotion of electric vehicles, among other similar proposals. According to the city council, these pre-existing 'abandoned' blocks had the potential to be renovated under this new scheme, thereby increasing their environmental value, and reinventing their content and meaning. The 'small city with its own character', as Rueda (2012, p.19) describes these new 'Super-Blocks', was in the implementation phase at that time, although they were later demolished and replaced by another updated model that did not ultimately succeed due to a lack of economic resources. Therefore, the Puigcerdà, 127 plot – like other industrial remains in the area – was valued as a setting for the new 'eco' and 'smart city' strategies proposed by the 22@ Plan. At the same time, it was valued by the scrap-metal workers and groups of immigrants for its spatial flexibility, which provided living and working space and improved social cohesion between the group and the rest of the neighbourhood (Torrego, 2017). Today, although the single warehouse protected by the catalogue remains on the plot, the other industrial elements have been demolished and the plot in Puigcerdà, 127 has been abandoned once again (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Puigcerdà, 127 in 2020 (Source: the author)

Although the eviction of the Puigcerdà industrial site was not the first to occur in Poblenou, it represented a significant moment in the history of the neighbourhood. This was partly due to the size of the complex in terms of population and occupied space, but also because it shed light on the need for a transformation of the productive model and the implementation of new means of social inclusion. These changes were prompted by the significant shifts in the social profile of the neighbourhood. The demographic statistics evidenced this shift, with immigrants comprising only 0.7% of the total population in 1991, compared to 16.2% at the time of the eviction. (Barcelona City Council, 2013)

This event also emphasized the role of industrial features within this ongoing process. Since then, numerous populations residing in occupied warehouses and industrial complexes have faced eviction. However, the urban dynamic is complex: as soon as one location is cleared, other spaces are occupied. The accompanying map (Figure 6.4) illustrates the different places (highlighted in brown) that have been occupied in the last decade. It also reveals how these

different movements contribute to an intriguing urban dynamic, with a clear informal network of abandoned industrial spaces being temporarily reactivated by these informal practices. Although these activations are transitory, the network connecting them has the potential to evolve and remain a significant presence in the neighbourhood, resulting in a constantly changing industrial landscape. Moreover, the informal scrap spaces interact with the formal spaces through activity exchange. Torrego (2017) suggests that the concept of the 'Unresolved Places' is an inherent characteristic of Poblenou and an integral part of its identity. However, this uncertainty precisely confirms that post-industrial heritage can adapt over time in response to the ongoing urban transformations.

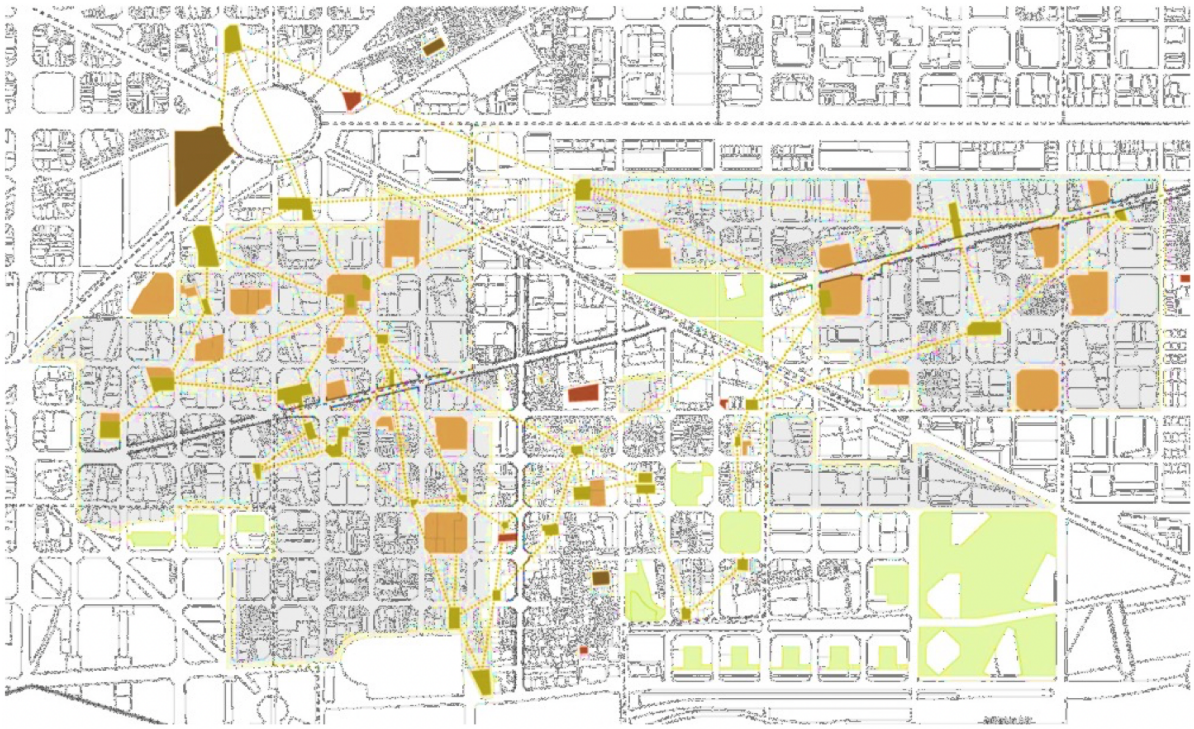


Figure 6.4: Kobeaga, P. (2016) *Scrap Spaces in the Last* Decade *in Poblenou* (Source: Torrego, 2017)

6.4 The collectives of artists in Poblenou

In 1987, the contemporary art entrepreneur Pierre Roca established 'Palo Alto', a space for hosting emerging artists within an old textile factory dating back to 1875. Originally known as the Gal I Puigsech factory, this location was selected as the headquarters for Roca & Associats, a company devoted to events infrastructures. This move marked the inception of the first artist cluster in pre-Olympic Poblenou. Prominent early members of this artistic enclave, such

as the designer Josep M. Morera, reflected on the initial seclusion of the site, with Morera stating: '*Coming here was akin to arriving at the edge of the world*' (Sesé, 2018). As Poblenou gained recognition as a potential Olympic venues area, Palo Alto garnered the attention of the city council, resulting in a 20-year agreement with the artist community that eventually evolved into a foundation (Oliveira, 2015).

Despite the success of Palo Alto, the arrival of artists to Poblenou and its industrial sites did not occur gradually, but rather in distinct waves, influenced by economic shifts. According to Martí and Pradel (2012), this progression followed three primary phases: the initial surge of artists after the Olympic Games, a period of departure around 2000, and a notable resurgence coinciding with the onset of the global financial crisis in 2008. This pattern underscores the adaptable and transient nature of the relationship between artists and the post-industrial landscape of Poblenou.

6.4.1 The arrival of the artists to the area after the Olympic Games

Following the 1992 Olympics, Barcelona faced an economic downturn, which significantly impacted real estate values. In Poblenou, property prices fell by 21.4% and rental costs by 17% compared to the rest of the city (Casellas et al., 2016). This devaluation led artists originally based in Ciutat Vella (the historic city centre of Barcelona)—where substantial restructuring had occurred in preparation for the Olympics—to seek out Poblenou's obsolete industrial spaces and workshops for their affordability and space. Despite these shifts, according to Claròs (2016), the artistic presence in the San Martí district remained relatively limited during this period. Nonetheless, this economic context facilitated two significant developments that recontextualized the post-industrial heritage of Poblenou.

The first key development was the foundation of Hangar (Figure 6.5), a space for visual artists in the 19th-century textile factory complex of Can Ricart. In 1996, the Association of Visual Artists of Catalonia (AAVC) rented two warehouses, marking the beginning of Hangar's contribution to a later relevant project named '*Fàbriques de Creació*'[73] still in force all over

[73] In English: 'Factories of Creativity'

Barcelona. Launched in 2007 by the city council and the Generalitat of Catalunya (the Regional Government of Catalonia) as part of the '*Plà Estratègic de Cultura – Nous Accents 06*'[74] Plan, this ambitious initiative aimed to convert at least one old factory in each city's district into an artistic hub. The purpose of this was to enhance the economic activities and social dynamics within those areas by infusing obsolete industrial sites with new symbolic and spatial values, effectively creating a new typology of cultural infrastructure in Barcelona. Hangar played a pivotal role as the first factory included in the '*Fàbriques de Creació*' project, serving as an exemplary model for research and innovation in artistic production.

Figure 6.5: Hangar headquarters in Can Ricart, 2021 (Source: the author)

[74] In English: 'Cultural Strategic Plan, New Accents 06'

Since the implementation of the '*Fàbriques de Creació*' project, several other post-industrial spaces in Poblenou have been integrated into the program. One such example is the inclusion of three workshops in La Escocesa (Figure 6.6), an 1885 textile factory that had been occupied by a group of artists since 1999. Additionally, in 2016, the Sala Beckett, a space devoted to alternative performing arts, was incorporated into the program. This space is located in '*Pau i Justícia*'[75] building in Poblenou, a workers' cooperative built at the beginning of the 20th century. However, spaces like Hangar and La Escocesa have undergone several threats of closure due to the pressures of real estate speculation. In these instances, the concerted efforts of citizens and the city council's mediating role were crucial in preserving these artistic communities, ensuring their ongoing contribution to the vibrancy and cultural richness of Poblenou.

Figure 6.6: La Escocesa, 2021 (Source: the author)

[75] In English: 'Peace and Justice'

The second significant artist-led initiative that contributed to the re-evaluation of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou was the *Tallers Oberts del Poblenou*[76] (TOP), initiated in 1996. This self-organised effort, spearheaded by a cohort of artists relocating to the area, pursued a dual objective: firstly, to open artist studios to the public, showcasing their creations to residents (Figure 6.7); and secondly, to foster collaborative engagements with other community groups, including the local neighbourhood association. The timing of TOP's launch, aligning with the local '*Festa Major*' (festival), symbolically underscored the collective's affection for the neighbourhood, as articulated on its website.[77]

According to Martí and Pradel (2012), the inaugural TOP event saw participation from 115 workshops, a figure that dwindled to 55 by 2002. By 2003, the event was temporarily halted, a casualty of the swift erosion of these creative spaces in the face of escalating real estate speculation. However, in 2006, the initiative was revived, underscored by a pressing need to rejuvenate the collective's role in the communal fabric of the neighbourhood:

'*The loss of available square metres for artistic activity in the neighbourhood for some time has resulted in the displacement of many artists to other neighbourhoods and, increasingly, leads to the abandonment of the city in an attempt to find more affordable spaces. It is important to note that, when you lose large areas of industrial space, the direct consequences are the loss of collective dynamics of organization and creation, as well as the capacity to create new culturally independent proposals*' (Marrero, 2003)

A decade after its launch in 2008, TOP had seen its participation shrink to seven workshops. Nevertheless, this figure has been on an upward trajectory; by its most recent iteration in 2019, the event boasted 24 open studios involving over 150 artists (Martí and Pradel, 2012). Recognizing the initiative's contribution to the preservation and re-evaluation of the area's industrial legacy, the *Arxiu Històric del Poblenou* has systematically documented all promotional materials related to TOP, including leaflets and posters. According to an informal conversation I had with a member of the *Arxiu* in February 2016, this meticulous archival work

[76] In English: 'Open Workshops of Poblenou'
[77] Available at: https://www.tallersobertspoblenou.com (Accessed 14 June 2016)

serves to chronicle Poblenou's ongoing evolution. Furthermore, according to her,[78] this initiative underscores the community-driven efforts to imbue the area's industrial sites with new cultural and social significance.

Figure 6.7: *TOP in 2020*. Available at: https://www.tallersobertspoblenou.com (Accessed: 14 June 2016)

6.4.2 The Gradual Abandonment of Poblenou (2000–2007)

When the 22@ Plan was approved in 2000, it marked a turning point for the artists in Poblenou. The plan had two significant consequences for the collective: the proposed new land uses which favoured housing over everything else, and the disregard for existing activities, as well as the increase in rental prices. The first consequence made large spaces like La Escocesa and Can Ricart more vulnerable to speculative landowners. According to Martí and Pradel (2012), not only were the uses of these spaces affected by the 22@ plan,

[78] In this sentence, 'her' is employed as a generic pronoun to keep the anonymity of the source.

but also the new values associated with collective dynamics and creativity, such as networking, resource sharing, and, in the case of Poblenou, the preservation of the industrial heritage.

The second consequence was linked to the gentrification process that was already underway in the area due to the real estate boom. Rental prices in the Sant Martí district increased rapidly, doubling in less than 10 years. This had a significant impact on small manufacturers and workshops. A study conducted by the Catalonian Association of Visual Artists found that by 2008, 12,770 square metres dedicated to artistic and creative activities in Poblenou had been lost. (Catalonian Association of Visual Artists, 2008, p.7)

6.4.3 The economic crisis and the return of the artists after 2010

From 2010, and with a rapid increase from 2012 onwards, a wave of new artists utilizing innovative technology, audio-visual tools, architecture, and design started to settle in Poblenou. Many industrial spaces that had been undergoing development had been abandoned since 2008, leading to a significant drop in the economic value of the land. In comparison to other areas of Barcelona, such as Les Corts, a middle-class residential area, prices in Poblenou were 15% lower (Casellas et.al, 2016). Over time, the group of artists occupying most of the space gradually made way for individual artists and small companies. Unlike sculptors and painters, these artists did not require large studios and only needed sufficient space for an office and their commercial activities. Additionally, the social transformations brought new ecological and sustainability concerns to the forefront, influencing the conservation of the industrial remnants (Costa and Pradel, 2012). This shift in the occupation model resulted in relative flexibility, which further stimulated urban transformation in Poblenou, evident in the emergence of new networks and forms of association. These new networks aimed to capture the essence of the 'local spirit' while embracing an international and multicultural connection. Currently, the most significant local artist network is the 'Poblenou Urban District', which, according to its website description comprises: *'Creative clusters, cultural and commercial spaces that share innovative proposals and adapt to the future of the neighbourhood, without disregarding its industrial past.'* (Poblenou Urban District, 2018)

In one of the network's presentation videos accessible online,[79] one of the members explains that the artists chose the area because, despite the economic crisis, it provided the perfect place and context to establish new creative dynamics. They were drawn to the contradictory qualities of this physical context - the blend of new buildings developed under the 22@ Plan initiative, the mix of new and traditional housing, and the remnants of old industry. This diverse context created an inspiring atmosphere where many possibilities could be explored. It is worth noting that, while in the two phases discussed previously, artists were primarily attracted to the industrial buildings themselves, in this phase, the collective became appealed by the everyday life of the area and its diverse landscape. Their goals also became more ambitious, as they aimed to contribute to the creation of a local identity by promoting the area as the '*new artistic and creative district of Barcelona*'. (Poblenou Urban District, 2018)

While some may perceive this as the first step towards gentrification of the area, as we illustrated at the beginning of this chapter and elsewhere, the urban dynamics of Poblenou are more intricate. According to Claròs (2006) the alliance established between the artists and the local community from the start has been crucial for the collectives of artists' positive impact of the area. The artists' network works closely with the neighbourhood association and other social platforms, organising events and releasing manifestos to ensure the preservation of the industrial heritage within the new historical and social context of Poblenou. Additionally, the Poblenou urban district publishes a map every three months showcasing all the workshops and cultural spaces within the network, highlighting its increasing impact on the regeneration of obsolete spaces and everyday life.

[79] Available at: https://www.facebook.com/poblenou.ud/videos/1662744187180623/ (Accessed: 14 June 2020)

6.5 Taula Eix Pere IV and Can Picò

'*The post-industrial heritage and its social capital are the main resources for reinventing our reality.*'

(Interview with Salvador Claròs. December 2018)

Various scholars (e.g. Bandarin et.al 2019; Pereira, 2019; Byrne, 2008; Harrison, 2013) agree that the concept of heritage is increasingly influenced by social values and concerns. They emphasize the important role of public involvement in making decisions about conservation. This engagement enables a more comprehensive understanding of the interactions and processes among different stakeholders, as Pereira (2019) highlights. Accordingly, Bandarin et al.(2019) suggest that modern heritage conservation is based on two core principles. Firstly, for heritage to be recognized and valued, it must be central to the life of a community. Secondly, the active participation of the community is essential for effective preservation. Building upon this and expanding on Harrison's dialogical approach to the construction of heritage, as well as the understanding of that as a social action proposed by Byrne (2008), this section delves into two distinct yet interrelated socio-spatial practices that underscore the community's collaborative efforts to reevaluate the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou: *Taula Eix Pere IV* and Can Picò. While the former concentrates on the revitalization of Pere IV, the primary historical industrial axis of Poblenou, the latter raises inquiries regarding intangible elements associated with post-industrial structures, such as the workforce, in order to shape the ongoing urban transformation of Poblenou.

6.5.1 The Taula Eix Pere IV

6.5.1.1 Introduction

During the mid-19th century and well before Cerdà Plan development in the area, Eix Pere IV in Poblenou emerged as the central hub for Barcelona's most significant factories, leveraging its historical role as a key connection to Mataró—a main industrial centre since the early 1800s—and to France until the 1970s. María Aguiló Street and Eix Pere IV were among Poblenou's earliest pre-industrial established roads. The subsequent implementation of Plà Cerdà, envisioning a diagonal cut across its characteristic grid of octagonal urban blocks, echoes a layout first etched in 1763 by military engineers, which preserved both María Aguiló

and Eix Pere IV streets for their connective utility (Figure 6.8). Preserving these previous urban structures contributed to softening the political challenges associated with implementing the new urban plan in the area, as depicted in Chapter 4.

Figure 6.8: Poblenou plan with Eix Pere IV and Maria Aguilò highlighted in red (Source: Keskin, 2010)

Eix Pere IV thus ascended as Barcelona's primary industrial axis during the nascent stages of industrialisation, presenting a 3.10 km stretch that encapsulates four distinct areas of industrial and urban evolution (Keskin, 2010) (Figure 6.9)

The first segment, spanning from Marina Avenue to Badajoz Street (Figure 6.9, highlighted in orange), showcases a blend of active workshops and repurposed spaces, now bustling pubs and leisure spots, revealing a dynamic transformation from day to night. This section also bears remnants of Poblenou's agrarian origins, evident in the *passatges* (lanes) Trullàs and Iglesias, both holding a pre-industrial rural origin.

Moving on, the stretch between Badajoz Street and María Aguiló Street (Figure 6.9, highlighted in green) is characterized by a more residential atmosphere, with smaller buildings hosting a mix of uses, reflecting a densely local population.

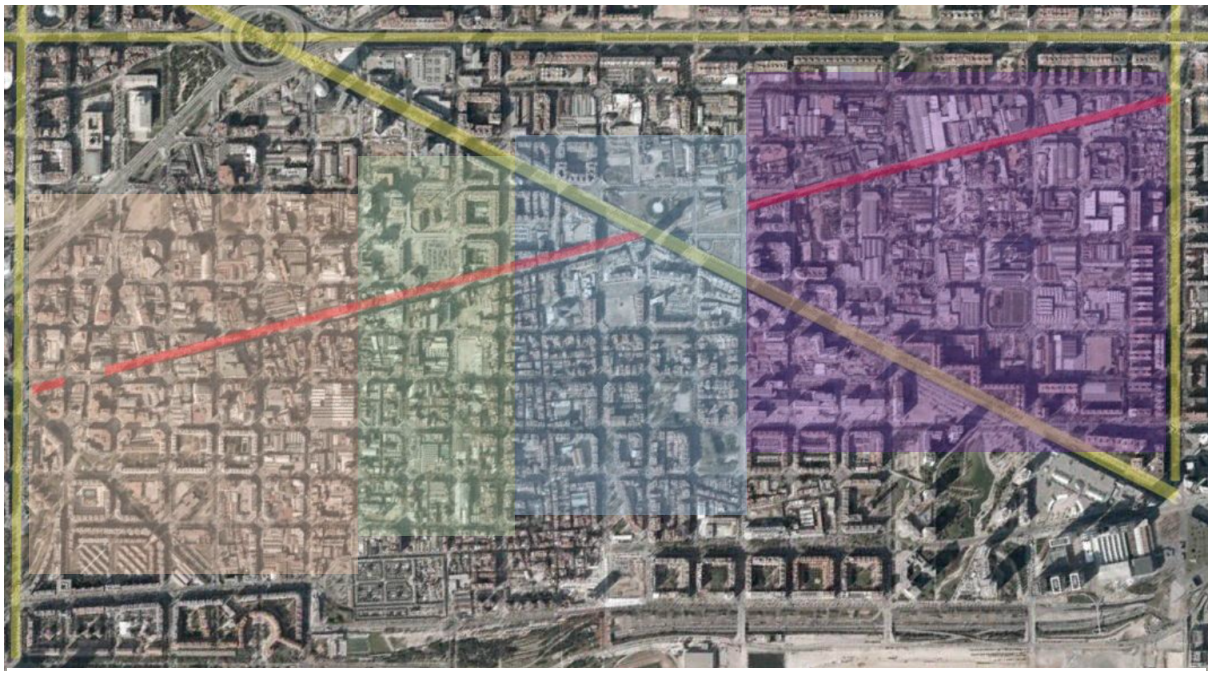


Figure 6.9: Eix Pere IV sectors: Carrer Marina-Carrer Badajoz (orange), Carrer Badajoz- Maria Aguilò (green), Maria Aguilò -Parc Central del Poblenou (blue)-Rambla de Prim (purple). (Source: Keskin, 2010. Redrawn by the author, 2021)

The most transformative changes have occurred in the section leading up to the Diagonal extension opened in 1999 and the Parc Central del Poblenou, designed by Jean Nouvel and launched in 2008 (Figure 6.9, highlighted in blue). This part illustrates the clash of interests and the evolving values associated with urban and industrial heritage, as discussed previously. Notably, it houses Can Ricart, emblematic of the area's heritage controversies.

The final section leading to Rambla de Prim (Figure 6.9, highlighted in purple) preserves its industrial character, showcasing remnants of substantial 19th and early 20th-century industrial complexes, including La Escocesa and Puigçerdà, 127. While these sites have been partially repurposed by various groups, their large-scale condition underscores the entropic state of Poblenou's urban landscape. Echoing Smithson's concept of ‘Ruins in Reverse’ (1996, p.355), these voids and series of urban fragmentations reflect the varied cycles of use and transformation that this industrial heritage has undergone, highlighting the ongoing dialogue between past industrial functions and their current or potential future roles within the urban fabric.

Some sections of the Eix (axis) Pere IV, especially those near the Poblenou core, are in a degraded and fragmented state. According to *Taula Eix Pere IV* (2017), in 2015 there were 380 vacant workshops and 75 urban voids (Taula Eix Pere IV, 2017). The regeneration of the Eix Pere IV is seen as crucial by 22@ Plan, as it is a significant axis in Barcelona and particularly in structuring the urban fabric of Poblenou. However, the generic design proposal included in the 22@ Plan did not take into account the heritage values or the potential for promoting sustainable urban change in the area. While some factories along Pere IV, such as La Escocesa and Can Ricart, have had their level of protection upgraded by the '*Pla Especial de Protecció del Patrimoni Arquitectònic, Històric i Artístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona*'[80] over the past decade, the council did not comprehensively consider protecting the Eix Pere IV as an industrial cultural landscape.

6.5.1.2 The creation of the *Taula Eix Pere IV*

Recognising the absence of a comprehensive strategy for the conservation of Eix Pere IV within the 22@ Plan, the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou created the *Taula Eix Pere IV* social platform in May 2014.[81] This collaborative effort brought together local associations, cooperatives, and scholars with expertise in heritage conservation and urban renewal. The *Taula*, which means 'roundtable' in Catalan, focused on devising strategies for the recovery of post-industrial heritage that would address social, cultural, and economic dimensions, aiming to safeguard and revitalise the axis. Within a dialogical framework, these strategies were designed as a counterpoint to the capitalist trajectory the area had followed until the onset of the economic recession and the subsequent decline of the neighbourhood.

The interventions conceived by the Taula were organized around three core principles. The first principle emphasized the social potential of heritage, particularly along the Eix Pere IV, exploring its connection to the area's historical evolution before its segmentation into two different areas in 2005 due to new urban policies, and its significance to the diverse

[80] In English: 'Special Plan for the Protection of the Architectural, Historic, and Artistic Heritage of the City of Barcelona'.

[81] The author is one of the founding members of the *Taula*, under the umbrella of the European research project EMUVE funded by the European Commission-UE and hosted at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University. As a founding member, I was involved in the initial definition of the *Taula*'s principles.

contemporary population of Poblenou. The second principle focused on addressing local needs, while the third advocated for adopting a circular economy model.

United by a commitment to the social aspects of urban and architectural design, these principles foreground values such as cooperation, innovation, communication, solidarity, and care. These values underpin the *Taula*'s vision for fostering a novel approach to urban development, aiming to construct a cityscape that is both socially vibrant and sustainably designed. Since the creation of the *Taula*, different activities have been undertaken within former factories and related infrastructures.

The first significant event was an exhibition called *'Interrogar l'Eix de Pere IV'* (Figure. 6.10) held in September 2015 at the MUHBA.[82] The exhibition aimed to explore the potential of the area through debates, workshops for citizens, and the contributions of different collectives, architects, and artists. It went beyond just focusing on the industrial complexes in the vicinity and studied the diverse elements that make up the heterogeneous landscape. The relationship between these elements and the people was examined, highlighting what the MUHBA Museum Director Joan Roca referred to as the 'ordinary landscape values'.

Figure 6.10: Interrogar l'Eix Pere IV (2015). Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/els-sabers-del-muhba/muhba-butlleti-31/interrogar-leix-de-pere-iv (Accessed: 10 September 2014)

[82] Museum of Urban History of Barcelona (MUHBA)

As previously outlined, one of the core principles of the *Taula* is the importance of community participation in the actions to be taken. However, the *Taula* recognised the complex range of emotions that this form of heritage evokes. Building on the spirit of the exhibition and taking the next step towards finding proposals for the regeneration of Pere IV, the *Taula* initiated a citizen participation process in late 2015. The objectives of this process were twofold: to understand the constellation of values attached to post-industrial heritage within the local community and to further engage the community as active stakeholders in the development of strategies for the new vision of the *Eix*. The participatory process was designed in three phases. The first phase, which took place from January to April 2016, involved the launch of a neighbourhood survey called '*Enquesta Veïnal*' (Figure 6.11) coordinated by '300.000 Km/s' architecture studio, specialised in urban surveys and visual data analysis. The survey was distributed online and through 38 local shops to ensure accessibility. Additionally, the local primary school, Bogatell, and the secondary school, Quatre Cantons, assisted in distributing the survey to students and their families.

Figure 6.11: Encuesta Veïnal Eix Pere IV (2015). Available at: https://eixpereiv.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Diagnosi_resultats_Enquesta_TaulaEixPereIV.pdf. (Accessed: 10 November 2015)

The survey included four key questions: What do you think is worth preserving in *Pere IV*?; What do you think could be changed in *Pere IV*?; What is your proposal for the urban voids in your area?; What do you think about recovering the section of *Pere IV* in the *Parc Central*?

According to the final report developed by the '300.000 Km/s' practice team (Martínez & Santamaria, 2015), there were ultimately 1,302 participants, from a potential population of 33,586 hab., meaning a 4% response rate, which was relatively low. However, the survey brought to light interesting issues such as the negative perceptions of the new buildings developed under the umbrella of the 22@ Plan, the importance of keeping the physical and visual continuity of the axis (currently compromised by the *Parc Central*), and the need for daily activity to preserve the social fabric. There were also interesting findings regarding how people perceived and valued the role of the industrial buildings in the preservation of the *Eix* as well as related to its role within the regeneration of the area. Those who had arrived in Poblenou after the real-estate crisis of 2008 were clearly attracted by the industrial identity of the area and the sublimity of the industrial remains and architectural singularity. However, those who had arrived during the real-estate bubble at the end of the 1990s and in the first years of the 2000s generally said that the neighbourhood's industrial past was not something that they had considered when moving to Poblenou, having been drawn instead by the facilities offered at that time, following the Olympic Games. Furthermore, they did not consider the industrial past to be relevant to the modern development of the neighbourhood. Finally, those who had been born and grown up in Poblenou strongly asserted the importance of preserving the industrial history of the *Eix*, though they generally separated the intangible values inherited from their history from the physical objects, noting that the abandoned factories and voids caused by the deindustrialisation had had a strongly negative impact on the area. This group defined the industrial remains as *'obsolete and ugly objects'* (Enquesta Veïnal, 2015)

In the same survey document, there was an interactive section[83] to better understand how citizens interacted at the spatial scale with the axis in their daily lives. The findings of the

[83] Available at: http://300000kms.net/_pereiv/ (Accessed: 5 December 2015)

different flows were translated into a plan. Its analysis indicated that people aged 35-44 years tended to make more use of the Eix Pere IV central section, which has undergone significant changes in the last two decades. However, the results raised that the elderly usually walk along Pere IV to reach other parts of the area, highlighting the lack of accessibility.

During the second phase, from May to July 2016, the *Taula* promoted discussion groups to debate the main results from the survey and to discuss how they could be translated in terms of heritage value. These discussions were attended by members of the *Taula* and representatives of *Habitat Urbà*,[84] including Josep María Montaner, the Councillor of Sant Martì District where Poblenou neighbourhood is included, and institutions such as the Universitat de Barcelona (UB), which was planning to extend its campus to Pere IV, specifically to Can Ricart.

In the third phase, between September and October 2016, the data obtained from the previous phases, and their conclusions were presented to locals. With the participation of 220 people (online) and a further 62 in formal meetings, a document detailing 20 general urban proposals for the axis was developed. The proposals were divided into two groups: 'Heritage and Historical Value' and 'Uses and Urban Opportunities'. Despite this division, both groups shared a common approach: the emphasis on social aspects of heritage. The majority of the proposals were interconnected, with communal 'Use Value' being the dominant concern. To preserve the urban historical value of the axis, the *Taula* proposed two specific interventions: informative panels with historical images along the *Eix* and the preservation of the original urban traces prior to the Plà Cerdà had been implemented. The document also detailed a new economic model based on fostering local commerce and solidarity projects.

To date, other key initiatives have been undertaken by the *Taula* (Figure 6.12). The *Taula*, with the aim of promoting social inclusion and supporting economic solidarity projects, oversees different spaces provided by the city council. These spaces are situated in three key

[84] Commission for Urban Habitat and Environment of Barcelona City Council. The equivalent of the Urban Planning Department.

locations along the *Eix*, which, according to the *Taula* (2015), could contribute to the revitalization of the area. The first node, *Passatge Trullàs*, is located in the eastern part of the axis. Originally a pre-industrial rural path, it has been transformed into a public space for temporary activities related to tactical urbanism and citizen participation. In the same node, the *Taula*, in collaboration with the artists association *P9Artiu i Fundiciò del Poblenou*, manages a space in the *Canela i Puig del lívol* factory. This space, known locally as Can Tiana, has been a site for textile machinery production since the late 19th century. This space was identified for its connection to the artistic heritage of the neighbourhood and its potential for fostering collaboration between local residents and artists (Rosello et al 2018). Additionally, two other spaces within this old industrial complex have been revitalised: one for a private nursery and the other belonging to the University of Barcelona.

The second node is Can Ricart, which symbolizes the social and cultural heritage of the area and serves as the physical centrepiece of the axis. Since 2015, the *Taula* has managed a space in Can Ricart provided by the city council, as well as a second renovated space dedicated to the youth of the area, managed by La Xemeneia, a local youth association. These two spaces, along with the warehouses previously occupied by Hangar, have hosted diverse activities aimed at raising awareness about the industrial heritage of the area, particularly focusing on Pere IV. The goal is to enhance social cohesion and public urban life. However, these spaces provided to the *Taula* account for only 10% of the entire Can Ricart complex, which is mostly abandoned and undergoing continuous degradation. Furthermore, a private and unprotected section of the complex is currently undergoing construction and will eventually be occupied by office towers, posing a threat to the interpretation of the old industrial heritage.

Lastly, the third node managed by the *Taula* since September 2017 is located in the western part of the axis. This node serves as an intergenerational hub for neighbourhood activities, including workshops and cultural events, aimed at supporting new projects linked to the social and solidarity economy. The current space, known as Casal de Ca l'Isidret, occupies a plot that was previously home to a 19th-century textile complex called Ca l'Isidret. This complex was demolished when the Gran Vía de Les Corts Catalanes was constructed in the 1960s. Although the design of the new building is generic, the original name of the old complex was preserved to honour the collective memory of the place's history.

Figure 6.12: *Eix Pere IV, Recovered Spaces by the Taula*, 2021 (Source: EMUVE, redrawn by the author)

6.5.2 Can Picó

6.5.2.1 Introduction

The cooperative movement has played a significant role in shaping the urban landscape of Poblenou since the late 19th century. Its roots can be traced back to the inauguration of the first cooperative, L'Artesana, in 1876. By 1930, Poblenou had 17 cooperatives, with six of them situated in Pere IV (Figure 6.13). Initially, the cooperatives primarily served as spaces to meet the basic needs of striking workers. However, over time, their programmes evolved to include the promotion of social housing and public amenities. Today, the cooperative models and their associated values continue to influence and transform the neighbourhood. Different types of cooperatives have emerged, focusing on specific activities and offering alternative solutions for rejuvenating obsolete industrial buildings and wider urban contexts, such as the Eix Pere IV. Can Picó, an industrial complex situated on the western end of the *Eix*, is one such example (Figure 6.14). It has been reclaimed and managed by Biciclot, a founding member of the *Taula Eix Pere IV*.

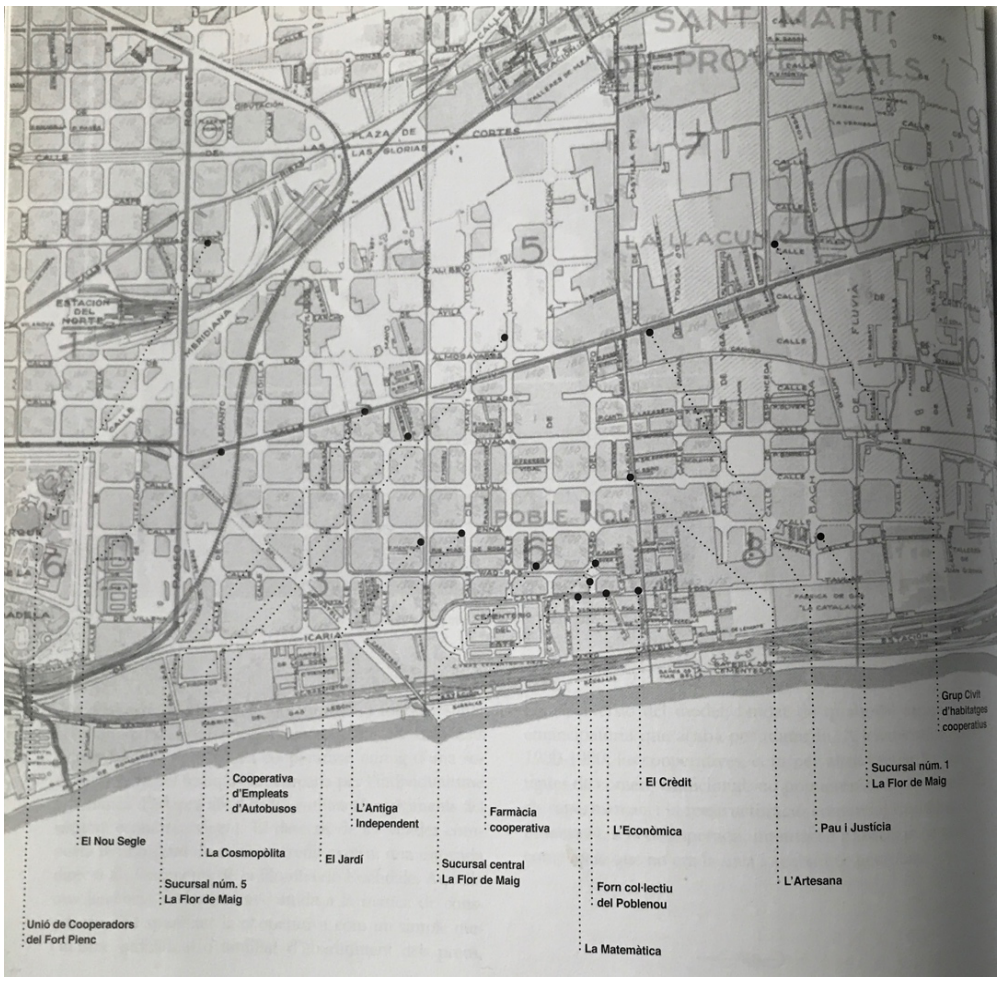


Figure 6.13: The Cooperatives of Poblenou, 1930 (Source: *Arxiu Històric Poblenou*)

Figure 6.14: Can Picò in 2020, before the conservation works to host BiciHub. (Source: the author)

6.5.2.2 The dialectics with the space

Biciclot, established in 1994, is a dedicated organization focused on promoting sustainable mobility and cycling. Initially located in an old industrial facility in the Clot neighbourhood, the company made a strategic decision to relocate to Poblenou in search of alternative urban initiatives during the economic crisis. With a team of ten partners, Biciclot's work is articulated around two main areas: the *Rebiciclem* programme, which provides training in bike mechanics and welding to individuals at risk of social exclusion, and a programme aimed at promoting the use of bicycles as a means of urban transportation. Biciclot offers workshops to schools and private companies, emphasizing their belief in the value of both individuals and labour. Xavi Pratt, one of the leaders at Biciclot, summarizes their focus as follows: '*Biciclot embodies two core ideological principles: one centred on fostering self-employment and productivity, and the other focused on promoting bicycles at all levels*'.[85] (Prat, 2018)

In 2016, the cooperative commissioned the Can Picó conservation project to Som Habitat, a design office in Barcelona specialising in providing technical advice to communities seeking innovative models of housing that promote social equity and reinforce neighbourhood networks through participatory design processes. The conservation works were divided into two phases: the first focused on restoring the warehouse to accommodate the Biciclot activity, and the second involved the conservation of the rest of the complex. According to the architect Daniel Molina, the project followed conservation principles designed to preserve the unique elements mentioned in the catalogue, such as the decorations in the entrance lobby, the main staircase, and the masonry stucco on the facades, which was commonly used in early 20th-century warehouses as a cost-effective method of enhancing humble structures. The design project also included the consolidation of the original timber and metallic structure, as well as the recovery of any salvageable concrete elements. The industrial spatiality defined by its flexibility and the vertical physical and visual connections was retained and enhanced. According to Xavi Pratt, this not only restored the original space as indicated in the industrial heritage catalogue but also reclaimed the value of communal work and

[85] According to the semi-structured interview with Xavi Pratt conducted by the author in 2018.

cooperation. Another objective was to enhance the value of reusing objects and materials, which connected to the area's more recent industrial history when, in the 1980s, many workshops and warehouses, including Can Picó, were dedicated to recycling scrap metal.
The conservation project also emphasised the interaction with Pere IV and emphasised the building's public value. To achieve this, the main entrance was enlarged, and the street pavement was extended to the warehouse entrance, creating a new public space known as 'Bikes Square'. The first phase of the work was co-funded by the city council, covering 40% of the total cost.[86] Biciclot contributed 37% of the funding, and the remaining 23% was covered by a financial services cooperative.

The second phase of the project was approached differently from the beginning, with Biciclot acting as the client with its own specific needs. In this phase, the project seek input from the public to determine the final distribution of uses and circulation within the house-office building. This phase was implemented under a new project called 'BiciHub', expanding on the cooperative's concepts and values and influencing the future occupation of the industrial complex.

6.5.2.3 BiciHub

In 2016, Biciclot recognized the limitations of its size and embarked on a new and more ambitious project called 'BiciHub'. BiciHub is an association consisting of 23 cooperatives and social entities, such as the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou and the *Taula Eix Pere IV*. Located in Can Picó, BiciHub aims to serve as a think-tank, actively seeking out new projects and proposals that promote sustainable mobility, foster cooperative movement, and support the social fabric of Poblenou. BiciHub framework document outlines the role of Can Picó in this initiative and the values that it symbolizes. According to the text, as well as my conversations with Xavi Pratt during my fieldwork in Poblenou, Can Picó has been selected as

[86] *Ibid.* Funding was provided by the Commissioner for the Cooperative, Social and Solidarity Economy Department of Barcelona City Council.

the host for BiciHub for two primary reasons. Firstly, Can Picó is not just an ordinary space; it holds significant historical significance for Barcelona, and its cultural heritage can greatly enhance the visibility of the project. Furthermore, it can serve as a platform to showcase the sustainable socio-economic model that the city needs. Secondly, this heritage site reflects the cooperative values that BiciHub aims to promote, making its restoration crucial to the development of a new way of urban living. The framework document emphasizes various values that Can Picó represents, including inclusivity, equality, the common good, knowledge, reduction, co-responsibility, and self-management. The BiciHub project was implemented in four phases. The first phase entailed the development of the framework document and the design of the participatory process for phase 2. This phase was led by Biciclot and Barabara Educaciò S.Coop., a cooperative specialising in assisting women and young people in accessing the labour market. The participatory process consisted of five sessions, with at least 7 representatives from various associations and 5 experts and representatives from public institutions.[87] The purpose of these sessions was to discuss strategic lines, the use and distribution of Can Picó, the management model, financing, and initial ideas for future actions. These topics were divided into three categories: sustainable mobility, territory, and the social and solidarity economy. The proposals that emerged from these discussions were required to be measurable, affordable, achievable, and in line with the project's values.[88]

For discussions related to the territorial scale, the Neighbourhood Association of Poblenou and Copenhagenize,[89] a multidisciplinary design office specialising in bicycle culture and planning, organised monthly meetings. These meetings were aimed at analysing the urban impact, both locally and globally, of the implementation of BiciHub network in Can Picó. As an underlying premise, the rehabilitation of the building was considered a piloting experience model that could be replicated in other areas along the Eix Pere IV and other post-industrial

[87] Namely, *Districte Sant Martí, Diputació de Barcelona, Ayuntament Barcelona-Regidoría de Participació, Institut de Salut Global de Barcelona,* and *Area Metropolitana de Barcelona*.
[88] According to the interview with Xavi Pratt (2018).
[89] Copenhagenize Design Co. is based in Copenhagen, Montreal and Barcelona.
and currently collaborating with the *Generalitat de Catalunya* in the forthcoming National Bicycle Strategy of Catalonia. Available at: https://copenhagenize.eu/#home-body-section. (Accessed 15 December 2018)

areas of Barcelona. These meetings also aimed to explore the optimization and distribution of the space within Can Picó. Key questions included: What potential uses could this space have? How do you envision it? Who would you use it and why?

Based on these discussions, three types of spaces were identified: multi-purpose spaces available for public use under a rental agreement, workspaces (Figure 6.15), and community spaces. The community spaces, located on the entrance floor, symbolize the public value of Biciclot and have longer operating hours compared to other activities in the building. They also feature a public documentation centre focused on bicycles, cooperatives, and the social-solidarity economic model. By emphasising transparency and communal work values, these spaces help clarify the vertical layout of the building from the entrance.[90]

During the third phase, meetings were also opened up to the local community with the objective of completing the document defining the BiciHub network. The final report on this participatory process indicates that 75% of the individuals, entities, and institutions involved remained engaged until the end, suggesting a successful outcome (Biciclot, 2018). Finally, in the fourth stage, BiciHub was publicly unveiled on October 20, 2018, during an open event. The impact on the neighbourhood has been significant, both in terms of the building's transformation into a public facility and the inclusive activities and workshops organised by BiciHub. As part of the programme '*Bici Sense Edat*',[91] an alternative transportation network was conceived and implemented. This network, operated by 48 volunteers who transport on tricycles local residents with special needs and elderly individuals, fosters intergenerational connections and contributes to the revival of the neighbourhood's historical sites and community spaces. BiciHub has also launched the '*Bicibarris*' programme, offering guided tours that showcase the neighbourhood's alternative cultural, social, and historical values, in opposition to the economic and speculative strategies promoted by the 22@ Plan during its initial implementation. This programme has expanded to other areas of Barcelona as well as other regions in Spain and internationally, including Madrid, the Basque Country, Santander, and Seoul in South Korea. (Biciclot, 2018)

[90] According to the interview with Xavi Pratt (2018).
[91] In English: 'Bikes Without Age'

At the neighbourhood level, the recovery model implemented in Can Picó serves as a milestone in a holistic urban transformation that places equal importance on the social fabric and cooperative values, while also recognizing the significance of the area's industrial heritage.

Figure 6.15: BiciHub Bike workshop (Source: the author, 2017)

6.6 The Social Map of Poblenou

In 2018, the *Taula Eix Pere IV* provided a map of the cooperatives and associations in Poblenou (Figure 6.15). There was a total of 82 entities included, with 46 occupying post-industrial buildings and other spaces related to the neighbourhood's industrial legacy. By 2019, the number of organisations had increased to 150, including 66 located in post-industrial spaces.

These spaces primarily consisted of three types: old workshops, warehouses, and large complexes such as Can Picó, Can Ricart, or Can Tiana -all of which housed different cooperatives and associations, thereby promoting new urban hubs. These clusters sometimes also accommodate other institutions. For example, Can Jaumandreu is home to the campus of human and social sciences of the University of Barcelona (UB), along with nine cooperatives of Poblenou's social network. There are also a small number of vacant plots resulting from the demolition of industrial infrastructures that have been repurposed by local food-growing cooperatives. This Social Map of Poblenou produced by the *Taula* illustrates the significant territorial impact of these alternative forms of labour and trade, informing with new values this obsolete post-industrial area.

On July 11, 2019, 'The Manifesto for a Cooperative Poblenou' was launched. The document was spearheaded by the *Taula Eix Pere IV*, the Solidarity Economy Network of Catalonia, the Cooperative Ateneos of Barcelona, and the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Barcelona, along with more than 100 other cooperatives. The manifesto highlights how the 2008 economic recession and the failure of the 22@ Plan have affected the area. It argues for the right of citizens to regain control of their neighbourhoods and create new economic and urban models for the benefit of the locals, and environmentally sustainable. The text defines the three key points of the solidarity and social economy model. In summary, the first point emphasizes the need to foster labour cooperatives that generate employment and promote interactions with the productive structure of the area.

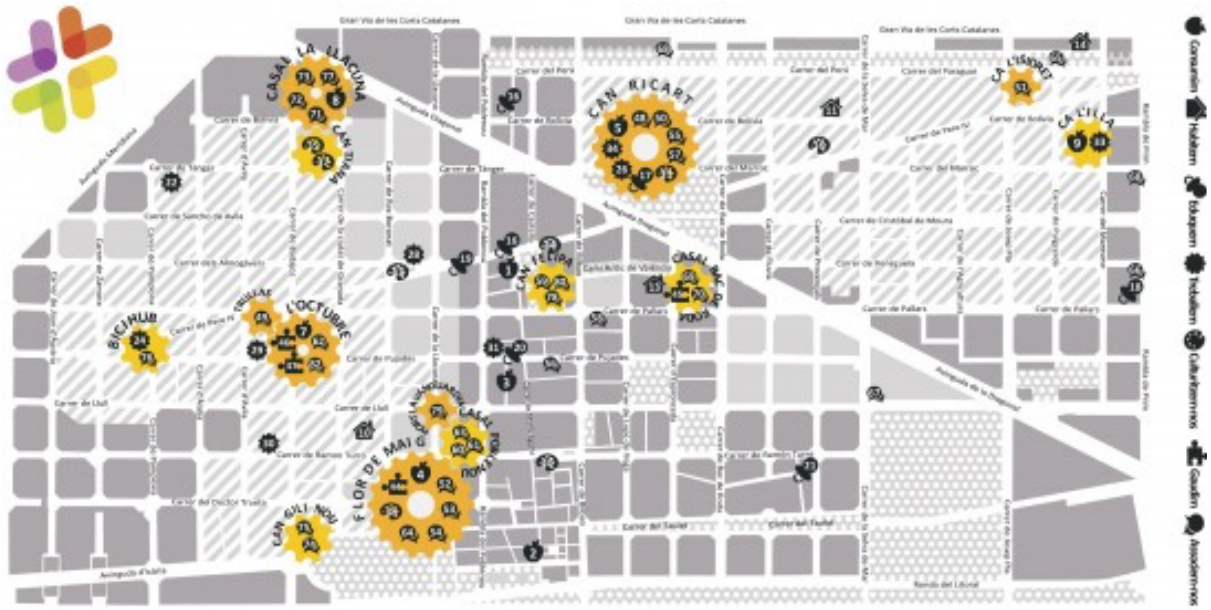


Figure 6.16: The Social Map of Poblenou, 2018 (Source: Taula Eix Pere IV). Available at: https://eixpereiv.org/mapa-social-del-poblenou/ (Accessed: 3 December 2018)

The second point addresses the question of industrial buildings and their reuse. Finally, the third point argues for a departure from traditional planning methods that impose clusters of land use for organising the city and its extended metropolitan area. It stresses the need for new planning models based on territory and the value of 'proximity', which includes other values, such as sustainability and care.

6.7 Initial findings

The global crisis of 2006, followed by the real estate burst in 2008, not only caused a deep economic wound in Barcelona but also paved the way for a new understanding of the importance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou and its role in the area's urban development. Furthermore, as discussed in this chapter, the crisis also brought about a change in the city council's urban policy paradigm derived from a change in the political municipal government after the local elections of 2009, fostering closer collaboration between the institution and local residents. Through my research, I have explored various initiatives undertaken by different groups, driven by different motivations, that have emerged in the area. However, as revealed in this chapter, they all share a common characteristic - the reuse of post-industrial buildings.

This chapter began by examining how the social fabric of the area has evolved in the past two decades due to the implementation of knowledge-based economies introduced by the 22@ Plan. This exploration has clarified the recent diverse social landscape of the area, comprising of long-time residents, middle- and high-income professionals, as well as a proportion of marginalised groups. As discussed further in this chapter, this changing profile has influenced the range of socio-spatial practices centered around post-industrial heritage and the values associated with it.

In Section 6.3., the analysis of the informal settlement in Puigcerdà 127 and its final eviction, established by a collective of Sub-Saharan immigrants, has demonstrated how post-industrial buildings can serve as catalysts for economically self-sufficient, small-scale urban systems. Through this 'Social Action' (Byrne, 2008, p. 162), it has been illustrated how these structures integrate the collective into the daily life of the area, providing not only a place for economic activities but also a place to reside. Unfortunately, the lack of dialogue and consensus with the city council, alongside other urban priorities held by the institution, led to the eviction of the collective. Nonetheless, as this investigation has shown (Figures 6.4, 6.17), Puigcerdà 127 was part of a broader network of former industrial buildings occupied by scrap activity. Despite their temporary nature, their impact on the urban fabric is significant, as evidenced by Figures 6.4 and 6.17

In the following Section 6.5 this chapter has examined the role of the collectives of artists operating in Poblenou and its relationship with the urban development of the area since the arrival of the first group after the Olympic games and their occupation of *Gal i Puig,* an old textile factory from the 19th century. Despite the fluctuating presence of these collectives in Poblenou that was influenced by the unstable economic context, this chapter explores the transition in the way these artists work and collaborate, from the initial informal approaches of artist associations to an increasingly structured collaboration with local communities and public institutions. These partnerships have resulted in a fresh approach to repurposing industrial spaces for cultural purposes, thereby expanding their impact.

Crucial to this process has been the integration of artistic practices into the everyday life of the area, as demonstrated by projects such as *Tallers Oberts del Poblenou*, Hangar, and *Fàbriques de Creació*, as well as the recent initiative of Poblenou Urban District.

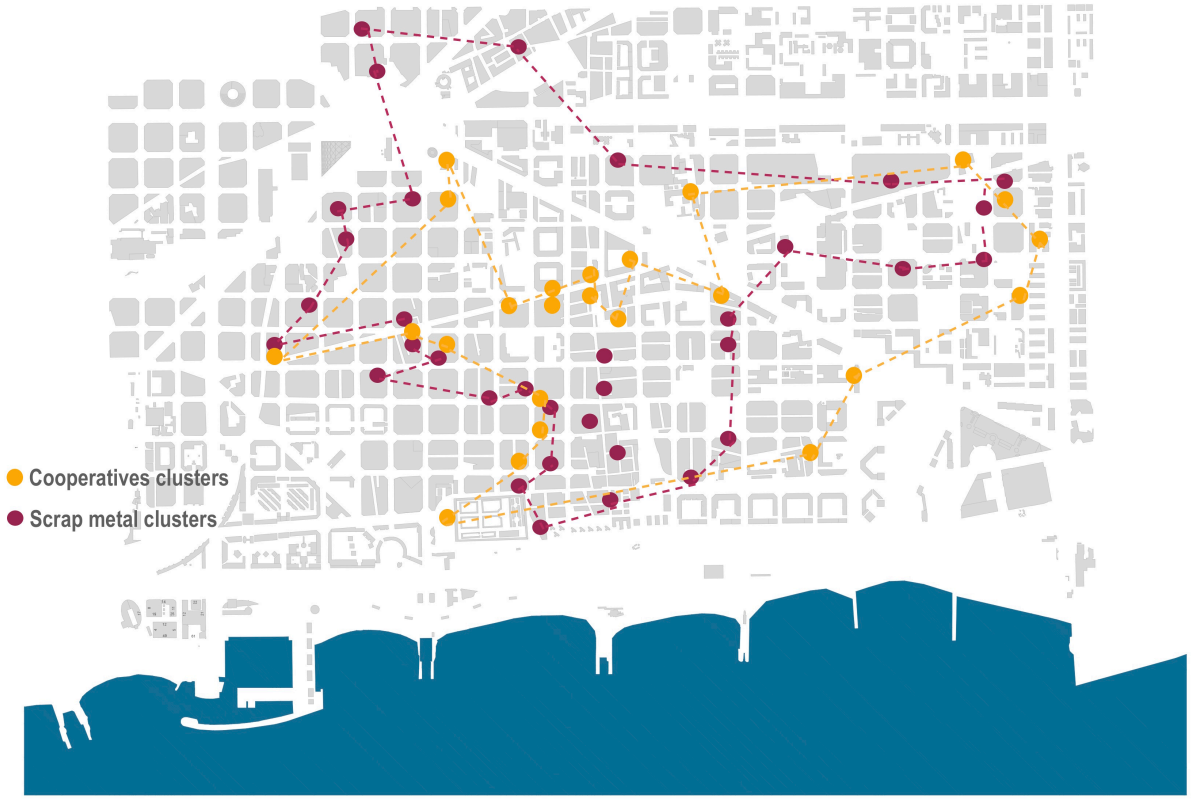


Figure 6.17: Alternative Post-Industrial Regeneration Urban Networks map (Source: the author, 2018)

Finally, the chapter examines how the global crisis has presented new opportunities for neighbourhood associations and local groups. These opportunities have allowed them not only to advocate for the preservation of their post-industrial built legacy against aggressive urban policies such as those initially implemented by the 22@ Plan, but also to assert their right to shape and manage these former industrial places. Through my research, I have uncovered the operations of Taula Eix Pere IV and Can Picò, which operate on different scales within the area for the regeneration and reuse of post-industrial heritage. From a dialogical approach, where materiality is a part of the process by hosting and triggering debates, both initiatives have established new uses in various post-industrial buildings and spaces. They have adopted social economy models and cooperative values. The final section of the chapter has revealed how the model is expanding to other post-industrial spaces in the area by

establishing new alliances with networks like the Solidarity Economy Network of Catalonia. This development is depicted in Figure 6.17 and demonstrates a new landscape and a vision for a more inclusive urban development of Poblenou.

Fig.7.1 Discovering Poblenou 2018, Melina Guirnaldos

7. IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This doctoral research aimed to explore the origins and evolution of heritage values and their spatial implications, specifically focusing on post-industrial heritage. The objective was to uncover the complex nature of tangibility within heritage discourse and its practical implications for conservation initiatives. At the heart of this study was the recognition that heritage and its associated values are the result of social construction processes. Furthermore, this investigation was based on the premise that heritage values are not fixed or inherently tied to the physical characteristics of historical structures and urban environments. Instead, these values are dynamic, influenced by present-day circumstances, and inherently political, subject to continuous negotiation and discourse.

By using a combination of historical and qualitative research methods, this investigation focused on Poblenou, a post-industrial area in the northeast of Barcelona. Poblenou serves as a paradigmatic example of different approaches to valuing post-industrial heritage since the 1970s, when its transformation towards a tertiary sector economic model and Franco's dictatorship was coming to an end. The research had four main objectives, namely: (1) to clarify the concept of 'value' within the context of heritage, both in theory and in practice; (2) to trace the development of values associated with the post-industrial built legacy over time, as well as the social-spatial practices[92] that contribute to their formation; (3) to understand the complexities of the relationship between value and post-industrial heritage in Poblenou; and finally, (4) to investigate the conservation and urban implications of the socio-spatial dynamics that have shaped the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou over time.

The intellectual basis for this research was established by reviewing the academic work conducted over the past two decades on the social construction of heritage and its values. Additionally, recent debates on this topic within the context of post-industrial heritage were

[92] Drawing on Lefebvre's socio-spatial theories, by ‘Spatial Practices’ I refer to the way in which people interact with, use, and perceive the physical space around them. (Lefebvre, 1991, p.39).

analysed. To further enhance the research framework, the significance of post-industrial heritage over time was also examined.

This Doctoral Thesis has diverged from the common focus on mapping recognised forms of heritage, which is emphasized in many studies on the spatiality of heritage values (e.g. Avrami, 2019; Bandarin, 2016). Furthermore, most of these studies, including those related to Poblenou, tend to start from the de-industrialization period onwards (e.g. Tatjer, 2006, 2012; Montaner, 2012, Claròs, 2016)). However, this research takes a broader historical approach, considering the flourishing of the industrialization process from the 18th century to the present day. The aim of this approach is twofold: to comprehensively understand the urban historical evolution of the area through the lens of post-industrial heritage value, and to contribute to a thorough comprehension of the socio-spatial practices associated with the construction of this heritage form in the area.

In the initial section of this chapter, the findings and pertinent conclusions of this doctoral research will be defined in detail and organized according to the aims specified at the outset of the study. Subsequently, the key contributions to knowledge of this doctoral research are summarised, alongside potential directions for future research.

7.2 Research findings

7.2.1 The social construction of Heritage Values

Clarifying the concept of "Value" within the context of heritage, involved unpacking the diverse ways in which value is attributed to, understood, and acted upon in heritage settings. In the heritage research field and conservation practice, ‘Value’ is a multifaceted notion that encompasses various dimensions and perspectives, reflecting the complex relationships people have with heritage objects, places, and practices. To accomplish the first objective of this investigation, I firstly tracked the evolution of the understanding of 'Value' in heritage conservation, both theoretically and practically.

The investigation conducted in Chapter 1 traces back to the 19th century the origins of the use of value within the conservation field. In 1903 Alois Riegl introduced for the first time a value system which aimed to establish a formal framework for assessing and understanding the

significance of cultural artifacts and historical monuments. Since then, this investigation has demonstrated that values have remained a fundamental concept in the understanding and evaluation of heritage. However, their interpretation and application have undergone significant changes, particularly in the last two decades, marked by discussions regarding the Western dominance in heritage assessment (e.g., Byrne, 1991; Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013), especially following the 1979 Burra Charter's emphasis on cultural significance which provoked a new understanding of heritage and its values as a social construction rather than an outcome.

However, this shift introduced a dual conflict in the field of conservation practice that remains unresolved: firstly, despite a broad theoretical recognition of the intangible nature of heritage values, their practical application still relies heavily on materialistic interpretations. As Mason (2019) and Clark (2019) have emphasized, values, whether tangible or not, are often seen as inherent to an object rather than as the result of a social construction process. The second conflict is the role of materiality in constructing the significance of heritage, which remains ambiguous.

In exploring the different discourses around how the significance of heritage is constructed, this research has shed light on three distinct dominant approaches. The first approach regards heritage as the result of a dialectic process (Smith, 2016), recognizing it as a process marked by continuous negotiations and conflicts between various interests and perspectives. The second approach shifts the focus towards the creation of heritage significance through its active use. This suggests that the true value of heritage lies in its integration into daily life and its adaptability to contemporary needs. Finally, the third approach, advocated by Professor Harrison (2013), proposes that heritage and its associated values are the result of dialogical processes. This model suggests that heritage value is co-created through discussions that encompass socio-cultural, political, and economic dimensions, as well as considerations of scale, making the construction of heritage a dynamic and collective endeavour.

While the first approach contemplates materiality serving merely as a vehicle for intangible processes, the second and third approaches consider materiality in different forms. It can be seen as an element that acquires value through one action or a group of actions over time or

as a participant in the different interactions within a dialogical process. Nevertheless, the gap between these theoretical understandings of how the significance of value emerges in heritage and how this occurs at the practical level still needs further clarification.

Furthermore, the empirical investigation conducted in Chapters 5 and 6 sheds light on a complex landscape of value creation that goes beyond the frameworks described by these theoretical approaches. While some valuation processes in the area closely align with one of the three above-mentioned identified methodologies, the investigation has revealed that most of these processes are not limited to a single approach. Instead, they embody a combination of these different models, intertwined with additional dynamics that are specific to the context of Poblenou. This complexity emphasizes the importance of a more nuanced understanding of heritage value construction, which will be further discussed in the contributions section of this research at the end of this chapter.

7.2.2 The value of Post-Industrial heritage over time

The examination of post-industrial heritage's significance over time has revealed a range of values derived from various cultural and socio-economic contexts. The exploration developed in Chapter 3 also demonstrated that art, photography, and community initiatives are social practices associated with the construction of post-industrial heritage significance. Through these practices, individuals have represented and constructed their memories, as well as their ambitions, showcasing industrial heritage as a dynamic and lived process.

By delving into the analysis of these practices the investigation unfolded certain recurring themes in their approach. First, they emphasized that post-industrial heritage is part of a larger-scale process and territory. This concept emerged from early picturesque experiences and is manifested in different forms throughout other practices. It is seen through its connection to specific landscapes, its emphasis on industrial activity as a catalyst for urban/landscape regeneration (as seen in investigated practices developed after WWI and WWII), or its focus on obsolescence as a catalyst for transformation (as demonstrated by Smithson's work in Passaic and his vision of it as an ‘Entropic Landscape’). Lastly, discussions about the decay and use of post-industrial heritage have revealed that the significance of these structures is closely tied to their locations. Scholars like Mah (2014), Edensor (2005),

and Smith et al. (2011) argue that post-industrial heritage can highlight how market forces marginalize certain areas of the city while contributing to the community's sense of place attachment. In urban contexts, scholars like Rodwell (2018) advocate for considering post-industrial heritage as a historical urban landscape, while Overmann and Mieg (2015) stress the need to incorporate urban development discourse into the assessment of post-industrial heritage.

Furthermore, the investigation has revealed that the cultural shift in the Western world that began in the 1960s, along with the onset of de-industrialization, has resulted in a renewed appreciation for industrial infrastructures by communities. This observation is particularly evident in my investigation of Poblenou, where the importance of post-industrial heritage is intricately connected to the ongoing urban transformation of the area, as envisioned by both local and public institutions over time.

Secondly, the significance of Post-Industrial heritage is deeply intertwined with its integration into daily life, marked within the practices analysed in three distinct yet related ways. Firstly, it encompasses the seamless blending of these places into the urban fabric and landscape, as observed in initiatives like the DATAR Mission with its focus on peripheral and ordinary landscapes. Secondly, it is depicted through its connection to daily life activities, notably showcased in Sheeler and Strand's (1921) film *Manhatta*, which beautifully captures the rhythm of life amidst industrial settings. Lastly, the significance is amplified by the profound place attachment local communities develop towards these sites, often perceiving them as 'home' despite the visible marks of industrial decline.

The third common approach underscores that post-industrial heritage is fundamentally a place of practice, shaped and defined by a series of socio-spatial actions. This perspective is vividly illustrated in the title of the event '*New Topographics, Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape*', which itself can be interpreted as an articulation of this principle. The investigation reveals that the value of post-industrial heritage emerges not just from its physical presence or historical significance, but from the myriad of human activities and interventions that have interacted with these spaces over time. This understanding highlights the dynamic nature of post-industrial heritage as an active participant in the ongoing

narrative of human engagement with the built environment, where every alteration, adaptation, and use contributes to its evolving significance.

In addition to these common approaches, the investigation in Chapter 3 has put into manifest two interesting aspects linked to the construction of the significance of heritage over time: the relevance of materiality in this process, and its particular relationship with sublimity understood as an aesthetic experience within the frame of a social-spatial practice.

Regarding the first aspect, the investigation showcases the pivotal role that tangible manifestations of industrialization and their portrayal have played in shaping the practices associated with the construction of this type of heritage. These material manifestations encompass dilapidated ruins and outdated landscapes, which have been examined and approached from various perspectives since the onset of the de-industrialization process, as expounded upon in the preceding paragraph. The materiality of post-industrial heritage has also underpinned its political significance over time. Post-industrial heritage is intricately linked to the representation of diverse forms of power, as espoused by Nye (1994) in his analysis of the social construction of technology. For instance, industrial infrastructures associated with Fordist models imposed a new way of life dictated by capitalist forces. Additionally, post-industrial elements played a crucial role in empowering (former) workers at the outset of the de-industrialization process, as elucidated by Smith (2011), who emphasises that post-industrial heritage is a concern of the working class. Similarly, the scholar and ex-miner Wray (2011) provides an account of the Herrington Miners Banner Partnership and its utilization of its 'Physical Reality' in the 1980s to challenge the heritage policies introduced by Thatcherism in the UK. The term 'Physical Reality'[93] coined by Wray to refer to the mine infrastructures and the objects that comprised the daily lives of the miners.

As outlined, the analysis of the investigation conducted in Chapter 3 also revealed how sublimity is a specific characteristic associated with post-industrial heritage throughout time,

[93] Term coined by Wray to designate the mine infrastructure and miners' daily life objects.

where aesthetic, historical, and social values are intertwined. However, the discourse surrounding sublimity is currently controversial. On the one hand, some scholars (e.g. Gyure, 2012; Cowie et al., 2013) argue that the practices associated with sublimity, particularly de-industrial sublimity, diminish the social values of this form of heritage. On the other hand, scholars such as Edensor (2005) and Apel (2015) suggest that this experience and its associated practices help establish a narrative between the past, present, and future of obsolete spaces and landscapes. Nevertheless, the investigation shows that the discourse on sublimity is only partially considered in post-industrial conservation debates (e.g. Oevermann and Mieg, 2015; Rodwell, 2018) and is not adequately addressed in international guidelines for conservation practices (e.g. Nizhny Tagil Charter, 2003; Dublin Principles, 2011)

Finally, the investigation has brought into light the pivotal role of art and photography in symbolizing and inspiring reflections on the ambitions and challenges of industrialization across various eras, as highlighted through the work of Turner, and the contributions by Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand in the aftermath of World War I in America.

Furthermore, these creative practices have been instrumental in creating value, exemplified by Gilpin's early picturesque endeavours, modern architects' pursuit of design principles epitomized by Sullivan in 1896 as ‘form follows function’, and subsequent explorations by Smithson and the New Topographers. A shared perspective on engaging with industrial infrastructures within the rhythms of daily life became apparent through these analyses. These artistic and photographic endeavours were crafted to reshape and enhance societal engagement with the everyday built environment, as demonstrated by the influence of Gilpin's works on the elite of his time and how Smithson's concepts provided inspiration for the New Topographers. This, in turn, catalysed the DATAR mission, aimed at safeguarding quotidian landscapes threatened by the processes of deindustrialization.

7.2.3 The value of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou

The third objective of this investigation was to comprehend the essence of the connection between value and post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, spanning from the onset of the deindustrialisation process to the post-2006 global economic crisis. This exploration aimed to

clarify the specific values associated with post-industrial heritage in the area, examine where these values are rooted, and understand the ways in which they are interconnected.

The analysis presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 demonstrates that the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou has been closely linked to urban politics since the late 19th century, coinciding with Barcelona's initiation of the industrial model. This connection is evident not only in the physical transformations triggered by political decisions but also in the economic and political ramifications that followed. Through this exploration, it becomes clear how deeply the evolution of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou is entwined with the broader narrative of the city's industrial and post-industrial development, reflecting a complex interplay of spatial, economic, and political dynamics.

Post-industrial heritage in Poblenou has historically served as a political counter site. This is exemplified by how the industrial urban fabric of Poblenou was utilized by the City Council of *Sant Martí* to obstruct the implementation of the *Çerdà* Plan. It is also reflected in the emergence of cooperative buildings in the early 19th century and the collectivization of factories during the Spanish Civil War. Furthermore, it has acted as a bulwark against capital-driven urban planning, particularly evident in the response to the aggressive urban policies initiated for the Olympic Games in the late 1980s and later developments under the 22@ plan. Thus, while Poblenou's trajectory has been marked by cycles of surplus rooted in contentious urban planning endeavors, alternative narratives towards the value of post-industrial heritage grounded in social principles have simultaneously emerged. Furthermore they will emerge in form of alternative economic models rooted in social values, during the industrialisation period and after the 2006 global economic context.

In further detail, the investigation in Chapter 4 reveals how the Industrial Revolution allowed Barcelona to be recognised as a European capital. This led to a latent nationalism led by the new industrial bourgeoisie, who sought to control the means of manufacturing. Industrial elements and infrastructures represented not only the progress of the 'new nation', but also a declaration of intent against its past dominated by military forces. Chapter 4 also explains how social conflicts resulting from the workers' poor working and living conditions spilled over from industrial sites to public spaces, creating an alternative built legacy in the form of

facilities rooted in cooperative values. In response, facilities associated with the upper classes also emerged, shaping a landscape marked by social and political tensions.

The significance of post-industrial heritage is also linked to the political tensions brought on by the Spanish Civil War, during which industrial buildings were used to support the Republic against Franco's military uprising, and later to support democracy by emphasizing their social use.

The investigation in Chapter 4 has also shown how the transformation of the territory was driven by a global desire to turn Barcelona into an industrial city. It demonstrated how industrial development was envisioned by functional urbanism beyond its functional purpose, as exemplified by the *Plà Macià* developed by the GATCPAC group and Le Corbusier. This plan introduced cooperative values within residential areas in order to preserve the industrial identity.

The analysis in Chapter 5 revealed how the social protests against urban political decisions shaped the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, both conceptually and practically. Theoretical significance is connected to the political demands linked to the end of the dictatorial era and the workers' mobilizations at the beginning of the de-industrialization period. In this regard, the urban planning strategies of the '*Contraplà*' (Counterplan), which countered the La Rivera urban Plan promoted by the Francoist city council, and the works of the photojournalists of this period like Pepe Encinas, highlighted how post-industrial elements represented the identity of the area. The subsequent actions taken by the *El Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* against the first Catalogue of Industrial Elements of the Special Plan of Sant Martí in the area developed in 2000, also reinforced the recognition of their historical value by public institutions. Finally, the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou was strengthened by the Can Ricart conflict prior to the 2006 global economic crisis.

Lastly, the practices analysed in Chapter 6 reflect how the value of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou is also connected to the quest for new economic models in opposition to the dominant capital forces that have marginalized certain collectives and areas within the city,

as examined in the case of Puigcerdà 127 and *Taula Eix Pere IV*. The analysis in this chapter also demonstrates how these different practices consider the urban scale as an area for intervention or expansion of their activities. This concern for the urban scale is also evident in the arguments put forth by the *Taula Eix Pere IV* regarding the appropriateness of the values included in the current catalogue for the urban scale.

The significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou is deeply connected to its role in everyday life. It is not only a host to industrial activities, but also an integral part of the area's social dynamics and urban fabric. This is notably seen through the continuous presence of small-scale industrial activity and workshops, as well as the number of public facilities that have emerged from the implementation of the Fordist model in the area or resulted from the regeneration of post-industrial buildings during the democratic era, such as the MUHBA. Additionally, it provides a framework for addressing social needs and fostering new community endeavours. This is evidenced by the early development of cooperative movements and the establishment of practices like Puigcerdà 127, *Taula Eix Pere IV*, and Can Picó.

This link of the significance of post-industrial heritage with daily life also unveils another significant finding from the research: the concept of ‘Use Value’ consistently emerges as a central theme within the socio-spatial practices that arose in response to the various speculative cycles throughout history. Nonetheless, this conclusion presents a nuanced distinction; while the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrates how use value is expressed through its interplay with social values, Chapter 6 associates it with a new economic model underpinned by cooperative principles.

Building on the analysis in Chapter 3, it is evident that photography played a crucial role in shaping the perception of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou too. Photojournalists like Pepe Encinas have played a significant part in increasing public awareness about the importance of post-industrial heritage in our daily lives. Additionally, projects such as 'Barcelona Mission' and Xabier Basiana's work in ‘*Ciutat de Fàbriques*’ have delved into the concepts of sublimity and aesthetic value, providing insights into the understanding of post-industrial heritage in

Poblenou. These works, in contrast to focusing on everyday life, aim to present post-industrial heritage as a revered monument that should be safeguarded for future generations.

7.2.4 Spatial implications and valuing processes

The fourth aim of this research was to investigate the conservation and urban implications of the socio-spatial dynamics that have shaped the understanding of post-industrial heritage among locals and place-based communities in Poblenou over time.

The analysis conducted in Chapters 5 and 6 reveals the gradual impact provoked by the socio-spatial dynamics analysed in the preservation of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou. This process started with isolated practices linked to the demolition of *Icaria* urban area in the mid-80s and culminated in the inclusion of more protected post-industrial sites in the Special Plan of Sant Martí, driven by a contestation process led by *El Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* against the 22@ Plan preservation policies.

The transformation effects on the urban fabric, however, became more evident after the real estate crisis in 2008, which allowed other groups to manage post-industrial sites through alternative economic strategies, both formal and informal, as in the case of Puigçerdà 127. Therefore, the spatial and conservation consequences triggered by the various socio-spatial practices analysed are closely linked to how the significance of post-industrial heritage is connected to its use value, social value, and political manifestos against dominant urban planning policies or capital economic models.

Furthermore, based on the examination conducted in Chapters 5 and 6, the primary findings indicate that the impact on the preservation of post-industrial-built legacy at the architectural and urban levels is significant under the following circumstances:

1. Drawing upon Bandarin's (2012) assertion that contemporary perspectives on urban heritage revolve around the adaptability of small-scale processes rather than seeking timeless solutions, the investigation demonstrates how the practices associated with the construction of post-industrial value are flexible interventions at a small scale, aligned with a medium- and large-scale territorial development visions. This is demonstrated by the analysis of the

activities of *Taula Eix Pere IV* and Can Picò, as well as some artist initiatives in the neighbourhood.

2. These practices are fostered and developed within a robust community group structure, resulting most of the time from the alliance of other networks. The use value of post-industrial spaces constitutes a fundamental shared principle. This ensures reduced expenditure on materials on one hand, while also mitigating safeguarding costs on the other.

3. Within the discourses linked to the socio-spatial practices analysed, three aspects associated with the value of post-industrial heritage often emerge: permeability, new economic models, and contemporary interpretations of historical values. The first aspect pertains to the openness towards cultural and functional value in its broadest sense, including physical, visual, and theoretical dimensions. The second aspect explores alternative economic models, which diverge from the global capital market, where qualitative aspects of value, particularly the social dimension, influence the quantitative ones: exchange value. Finally, the third aspect focuses on how historical values are interpreted within the context of '[…] our lives, our own imagination, desires, and ambitions […]' (Byrne, 2008). Additionally, the investigation unfolded how these values were interpreted within these practices by considering a holistic spatial vision of the territory.

4. Finally, the analysis of the social-spatial practices associated with the preservation of post-industrial heritage and urban impact in Poblenou, as outlined in Chapter 6, has shown that there is no single pattern followed by these practices when considering the different theories of value analysed in Chapter 1. This investigation has revealed how the significance of heritage in these practices is connected to the understanding of heritage as a social action, as proposed by Byrne (2008) and further developed by Mosler (2013) in their arguments on the value of heritage lying in the relationship established through everyday actions. This connection can be observed in practices such as the preservation processes of Puigcerda 127 or Can Ricart. Additionally, it was observed that forums such as *El Grup de Patrimoni del Fòrum Ribera del Besòs* or *Taula Eix Pere IV*, which align with the dialogical process suggested by Harrison, constructed the significance of post-industrial heritage within particular contexts of economic

model transition. However, in many cases, these models were blended into the same practice, as seen in the case of Can Picò, where dialogue and actions were carried out together.

7.3 Contributions of this thesis and propositions

7.3.1 Towards a new theory of value

Through this thesis, I intended to explore the origin and evolution of heritage values, with a specific emphasis on the post-industrial built legacy. The preceding section highlights the diverse understandings of this form of heritage. It not only confirms that the importance of post-industrial heritage and the associated values are not static, but it also illustrates how certain dimensions, including the political, together with multi-scalar interactions, and everyday activities, consistently intertwine with its significance. These factors are encapsulated in the emphasis on use value and its multiple interactions with other values, such as social, economic, and aesthetic.

In the construction of the narrative of how post-industrial heritage has been valued over time, either as a general form of heritage or contextualised in Poblenou, the investigation also highlights the importance of materiality in the construction of the significance of post-industrial heritage. This is evident in dialogical processes, as demonstrated by the initiatives developed by *Taula Eix Pere IV*, and in socio-spatial practices where actions undertaken by people contribute to the recognition of key places as heritage worth preserving. Furthermore, this investigation emphasizes how the loss of materiality, as the demolition process of Icaria urban area, has led to socio-spatial practices that result in the preservation of other post-industrial elements.

Although the findings of the present investigation suggest that the significance of post-industrial-built heritage relates to questions of relationality where different actors, including different values and material manifestations, engage in its construction, the nature of these relations is varied and does not merely correspond to specific models investigated in the development of the research framework of this thesis. However, this thesis has outlined how alliances and negotiations have been critical in the preservation of this form of heritage as well as in recognising new urban futures for post-industrial landscapes in transformation.

Finally, this thesis has constructed three different narratives that can contribute to a better understanding of the issue of value within heritage, and in particular post-industrial heritage, and its spatial implications, as follows:

1. The first narrative discusses the evolution of value theories, shedding light on the identification of similarities and interactions. This allows for the exploration of new models. This need for new modes is emphasised by the findings on the relational nature of socio-spatial practices in Poblenou.
2. Additionally, the thesis examines post-industrial heritage through the lens of the construction of value which, to the best of my knowledge, is still underexplored from a historical approach.
3. Finally, this research explores the social construction of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou by linking significance, context, and spatial implications, responding to the need of providing a more holistic approach to the field of heritage studies, in order to contribute to fulfilling the gap between value theories and the application of heritage values at the practical level.

The motivation behind this thesis stems from a desire to deepen the understanding of the relationship between people and heritage. As a practitioner, researcher and also former member of the *Taula Eix Pere IV* in Poblenou, my goal was to contribute to a more democratic regeneration process in the area. By examining the spatial implications of different methods and identifying procedures and mistakes, this thesis offers valuable insights for future practices.

Another contribution of this thesis is the reinterpretation of the history of Poblenou through the lens of the social construction of its post-industrial built heritage. By establishing connections between value, context, and spatiality, it provides a perspective on the history of Poblenou.

7.3.2 Future propositions

In addition to the further explorations suggested in previous sections, this Doctoral Thesis proposes a main area for further research: a deep investigation into the subject of value interactions at the theoretical and practical level with built heritage, and specifically with post-industrial heritage. The first area to investigate is the principles that define these

interactions within post-industrial heritage decision-making processes. In this regard, it would be beneficial to further consider contemporary discourses around sublimity and other relevant aspects of heritage, such as place attachment and social cohesion. Additionally, there is a need to develop a further understanding of how these interactions relate to 'Use Value' on different scales.

Aligned with some voices within the Critical Heritage Study field that advocate for the search for new empirically grounded methodologies to overcome conflicts in conservation practice caused by the understanding of heritage as a process, a second follow-up suggested for this study is to focus on the search for new analytical methodologies based on design methods. These methodologies can help investigate the correlations between the social construction of heritage values and the urban implications associated with it.

This thesis also raises a new question about how historical landscapes can be read and represented through the lens of 'Value' over time. This could contribute to informing conservation practices and the new interventions at urban and architectural levels that will shape the next generation of built legacy.

Within the frame of Poblenou, this thesis proposes an analysis that juxtaposes the findings regarding the value of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, confronted with current 22@ Plan urban policies. This comparison can contribute to shed light on the necessary criteria for a potential revision of the 22@ Plan along these lines. Additionally, it calls for further exploration of the role of art and photographic practices in shaping the significance of post-industrial heritage in Poblenou, to deepen understanding of how these creative expressions contribute to the heritage's value construction.

Throughout this investigation, Poblenou has undergone changes. Initiatives such as the 'Social Map of Poblenou' have expanded, and new spatial practices that provide further insight into the value of post-industrial heritage in the area have been raised. However, it is important to give further consideration to recent gentrification and touristification processes in the area. To address this, the thesis suggests exploring how other design strategies and policies could be advanced by focusing on understanding the construction of the significance of our built legacy, particularly in post-industrial heritage.

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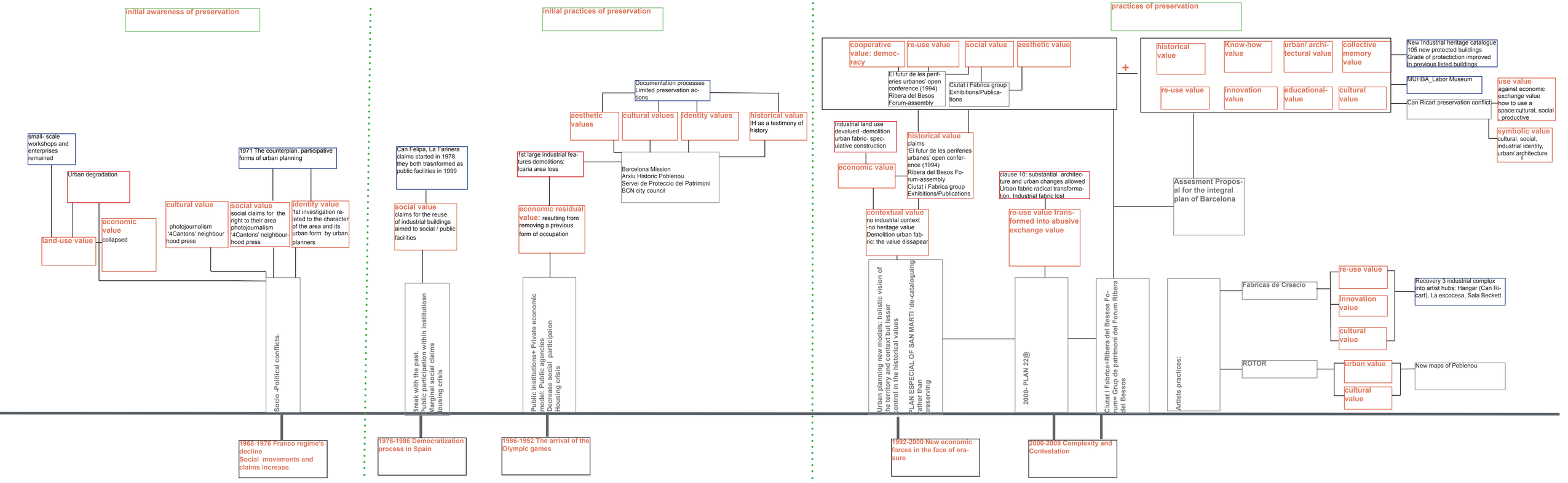
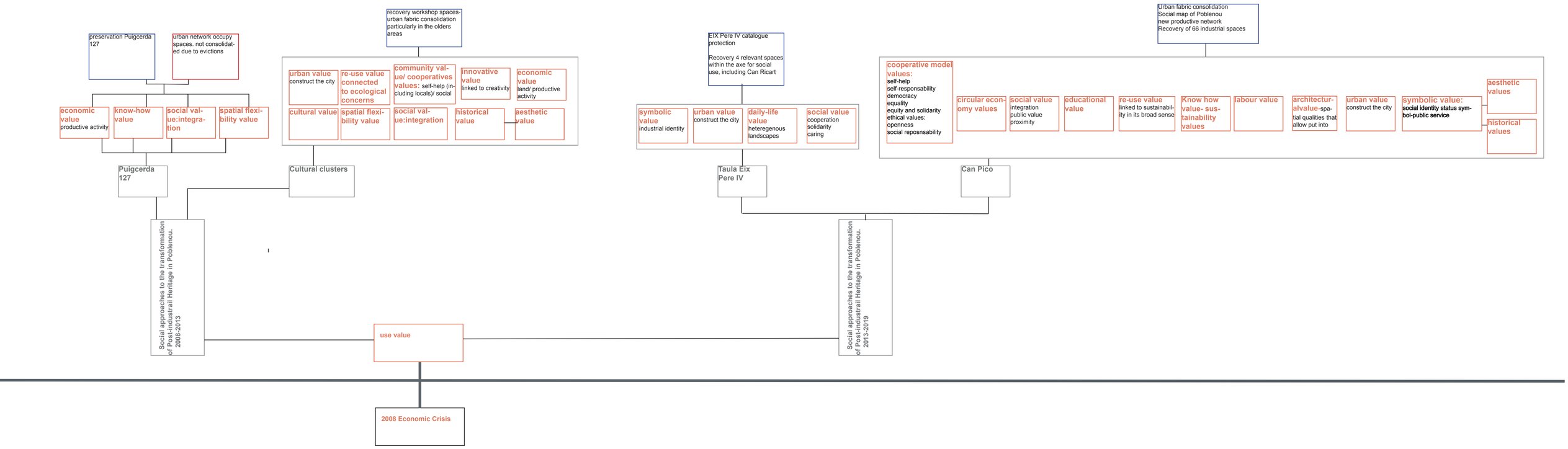
APPENDIX: Chart 1, Chart 2, Chart 3


Mapping of Values_ Chapter 4
historical values before need to preserve
Architectural/Urban Territorial implications
Significant events
Values
Historic context
Prats Indianas
1848 First railway train Barcelona-Mataro. Firts big industrial complex
urban fabric consolidation
enviromental value from the territory resources
Know-how value
labour value labour practice as a form for constructing the city
Initial awareness Re-use value transform preexisting industrial setings within the city centers-workshops.. Re use space need no idea of preserving. no concious
urban fabric consolidation:Rambla Poblenou/ Maria Aguilo
new urban facilities
Cooperative values: equity, solidarity , collective
symbolic value: social identity status symbol
urban fabric consolidation
economic value surplus land value
land use value industrial identity of the area
environmental and energetic resources transformation into means of livelihood by machinery manufacturing
1846_law banned factories construction BCN city center 1st Relocation (zoning)
1860 demographic dramatic growth-housing stock crisis : social/ spatial needs
Expansion big industries complexes: conflictual social class relationship
1897 St Marti annexed to Barcelona Political conflict Implementation Pla Cerda
clusters spatial division
urban fabric SW expansion : Plata area
Know-how value
re-use value linked with the idea of spatial flexibility new modes mechanization
economic value sharing energetic costs
labour value as a form of identity labour especialitation
Cooperative values: equity, solidarity , collective
industries converted into new public facilities
social value believe in the reuse of tindustrial spaces for solving social
re-use value linked with the idea of spatial flexibility for hosting new uses such as bomb shelter
Introduction Electricity, Mechanization. New industrial sectors
Postwar crisis: colonies lost New trading networks and new industrial sectors
Industries collectivization Self-goverment economy model
focus on the industrial areas no industrial land use in the neighbourhoodof lack of planning-degradation+ pollution+ housing crisis
textile big industries complex spatial division and conversion into enterprises and workshops
relative expansion new industries
new workers facilities linked to the new industries.
design implications in the industrial complexes- facade name of the brand rather than the owner's name complex designed improve productivity
land-use value linked to the new economic model
economic value capital exchange based on the industrial monoculture and rapid manufacturing
re-use value linked with the idea of flexibility. Spatial division big industries according to new manufacturing
Know-how value
modernist movement values: functionalism indutrial sublimity-practice
symbolic value: The new economic model identity.
capital labour value capital intensity of a firm
New manufacturing models. Fordist model as a form for re-constructing the city after the civil war 1953 Industrial land-use is setteld for the firts time through the Plan Comarcal (Local-Urban planning document)
aesthetic value deindustrialization sublime photojournalists
cultural value photojournalist
social value social claims for public facilities photojournalist
small- scale workshops and enterprises remained
entropic landscapes
Urban degradation
land-use value
economic value collapsed
1963 zoning : zona Franca-1st industrial state in BCN close to the port
end XVIIIC from BCN to Poblenou 1st
1st Industrial revolution 1847-1860
Consolidation 1861-1897
New modes of production & trading 1898-1936
Spanish Civil war 1936-1939
New industrial development 1940-1962
Deindustrialization begins 1963


initial awareness of preservation
small- scale workshops and enterprises remained
Urban degradation
land-use value
economic value
collapsed
cultural value
photojournalism '4Cantons' neighbourhood press
social value
social claims for the right to their area photojournalism '4Cantons' neighbourhood press
1971 The counterplan. participative forms of urban planning
identity value
1st investigation related to the character of the area and its urban form by urban planners
Socio -Political conflicts.
1968-1976 Franco regime's decline
Social movements and claims increase.
initial practices of preservation
Can Felipa, La Farinera claims started in 1978. they both trasnformed as public facilities in 1999
social value
claims for the reuse of industrial buildings aimed to social / public facilities
Break with the past.
Public participation within institutiosn
Marginal social claims
Housing crisis
1976-1986 Democratization process in Spain
Documentation processes
Limited preservation actions
aesthetic values
cultural values
identity values
historical value
IH as a testimony of history
Barcelona Mission
Arxiu Historic Poblenou
Servei de Proteccio del Patrimoni
BCN city council
1st large industrial features demolitions:
Icaria area loss
economic residual value: resulting from removing a previous form of occupation
Public institutions+ Private economic model: Public agencies
Decrease social participaion
Housing crisis
1986-1992 The arrival of the Olympic games
practices of preservation
cooperative value: democracy
re-use value
social value
aesthetic value
El futur de les periferies urbanes' open conference (1994)
Ribera del Besos Forum-assembly
Ciutat i Fabrica group
Exhibitions/Publications
Industrial land use devalued -demolition urban fabric- speculative construction
economic value
historical value
claims
'El futur de les periferies urbanes' open conference (1994)
Ribera del Besos Forum-assembly
Ciutat i Fabrica group
Exhibitions/Publications
contextual value
no industrial context
-no heritage value
Demolition urban fabric: the value dissapear
Urban planning new models: holistic vision of the territory and context but lesser control in the historical values
PLAN ESPECIAL OF SAN MARTI 'de-cataloguing rather than preserving
1992-2000 New economic forces in the face of erasure
clause 10: substantial architecture and urban changes allowed
Urban fabric radical transformation. Industrial fabric lost
re-use value transformed into abusive exchange value
2000- PLAN 22@
2000-2008 Complexity and Contestation
+
historical value
Know-how value
urban/ architectural value
collective memory value
New Industrial heritage catalogue
105 new protected buildings
Grade of protectiction improved in previous listed buildings
re-use value
innovation value
educational-value
cultural value
MUHBA_Labor Museum
Can Ricart preservation conflict
use value
against economic exchange value
how to use a space:cultural, social , productive
symbolic value
cultural, social, industrial identity, urban/ architecture
Assesment Proposal for the integral plan of Barcelona
Ciutat i Fabrica+Ribera del Bessos Forum= Grup de patrimoni del Forum Ribera del Bessos
Artists practices:
Fabricas de Creacio
re-use value
innovation value
cultural value
Recovery 3 industrial complex into artist hubs: Hangar (Can Ricart), La escocesa, Sala Beckett
ROTOR
urban value
cultural value
New maps of Poblenou


preservation Puigcerda 127
urban network occupy spaces. not consolidat-ed due to evictions
economic value
productive activity
know-how value
social val-ue:integra-tion
spatial flexi-bility value
Puigcerda 127
recovery workshop spaces-urban fabric consolidation particularly in the olders areas
urban value
construct the city
re-use value connected to ecological concerns
community val-ue/ cooperatives values: self-help (in-cluding locals)/ social
innovative value
linked to creativity
economic value
land/ productive activity
cultural value
spatial flexi-bility value
social val-ue:integration
historical value
aesthetic value
Cultural clusters
EIX Pere IV catalogue protection
Recovery 4 relevant spaces within the axe for social use, including Can Ricart
symbolic value
industrial identity
urban value
construct the city
daily-life value
heteregenous landscapes
social value
cooperation
solidarity
caring
Taula Eix Pere IV
Urban fabric consolidation
Social map of Poblenou
new productive network
Recovery of 66 industrial spaces
cooperative model values:
self-help
self-responsability
democracy
equality
equity and solidarity
ethical values:
openness
social reposnsability
circular econ-omy values
social value
integration
public value
proximity
educational value
re-use value
linked to sustainabil-ity in its broad sense
Know how value- sus-tainability values
labour value
architectur-alvalue-spa-tial qualities that allow put into
urban value
construct the city
symbolic value:
social identity status sym-bol-public service
aesthetic values
historical values
Can Pico
Social approaches to the transformation of Post-industrail Heritage in Poblenou. 2008-2013
Social approaches to the transformation of Post-industrail Heritage in Poblenou. 2013-2019
use value
2008 Economic Crisis