# Towards a Social Archeological Conservation in Barcelona

## Hacia una conservación arqueológica social en Barcelona

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### Abstract

*This paper aims to explore the relationship between cultural policies and the inhanbitants that live surrounded by urban archaeological spaces in the centre of Barcelona, such as the area of Sotstinent Navarro. This study will focus on the concept of conservation on two perspectives. Firstly, how the role of conservation can be understood regarding heritage management. Secondly, how conservation itself can be discerned as a tool for social inclusion. I will also briefly analyse the Spanish state in relation to the concept of conservation and illustrate my analysis with examples of important archaeological urban landscapes of Barcelona.*
*Throughout this text, I will analyze whether participation is a useful tool in heritage and how it has had different uses through time, analyzing the position of the different stakeholders on these processes. The analysis will be driven on the basis of different research lines of studies in cultural heritage but also on Public and Community archaeology, bridging those disciplines with what several authors have defined as the search of a social sustainability applied on our case to urban archaeological sites. This article will serve to develop a theoretical frame of future community-driven conservation management methodologies, applied to archaeological urban heritage plans as a measure to increase social benefits for the inhabitants.*

**Key Words:** *Urban Archaeology, Barcelona, Community Conservation, Participation, Heritage Values, Gothic Neighbourhood.*

### Resumen

*Este artículo busca explorar la relación existente entre las políticas culturales aplicables y los habitantes de aquellos espacios urbanos del centro de Barcelona que cuentan con yacimientos arqueológicos, como la zona de Sotstinent Navarro. Este estudio enfocará el concepto de conservación en dos perspectivas. Por una parte el papel que desempeña la conservación entendida como gestión de patrimonio, por otra, cómo ella en sí misma se puede entender como una herramienta para la inclusión. También analizaré brevemente el estado de la cuestión en el Estado Español ilustrando mi análisis con ejemplos provenientes de distintos paisajes urbanos arqueológicos de Barcelona.*
*A través de este texto determinaremos cómo la participación es una herramienta poderosa y a la que se pueden aplicar distintos usos a lo largo del tiempo, analizando la posición de las distintas partes interesadas en estos procesos. Esta investigación estará basada en distintos trabajos y líneas de estudio de Patrimonio Cultural, pero también en la Arqueología Comunitaria; uniendo estas dos disciplinas dentro de lo que algunos autores han denominado "sostenibilidad social" o "autosostenibilidad", aplicada a paisajes arqueológicos urbanos. A lo largo de este texto se busca asentar un marco teórico para lo que creemos será el futuro de una conservación guiada por la comunidad, dando lugar a una metodología que debe ser considerada en los planes de gestión aplicados en la arqueología urbana, que permitan el incremento del beneficio social de los habitantes de estos espacios.*

**Palabras clave:** Arqueología Urbana, Barcelona, Conservación Comunitaria, Participación, Valores del Patrimonio, Barrio Gótico.

## 1. Introduction

> Cultural heritage, widely recognized to-day, cannot be preserved in isolation from its inherent links with communities and is being increasingly viewed as a vital ingredient to sustainable development, emerging from an active involvement of empowered communities.
> (Sharma 2014)

I inhabit a building situated in a densely populated, narrow, vivacious street at the centre of Barcelona, *carrer Escudellers*. From my balcony, I observe the everyday activities of the people of this neighbourhood. I live in one the most tourist places in the world: the Gothic Neighborhood (Cócola Gant 2011; Cócola Gant 2014). Inhabitants are mixed with masses of tourists. This particular district has been losing population during the past years, as can be seen from the maps developed and designed by Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012). The rising of touristic rentals and privatization of public spaces has become a social problem, constantly reported by associations like *Associació de Veïns del Casc Antic* (Neighbors association of Old Centre) *Barri Gòtic* and social space *La Negreta del Gótic*. New social movements have been born related these associations aiming to recover public spaces; an example is *Fem Plaça* '*We make Plaza*'. Events consists of a performance action of social encounters in different squares of the city –usually in central areas– or the recovering of popular major festivities like the St. Joan (**Fig. 1**).

More than ever, the gothic neighborhood is reacting; it is a breeding ground for newer self-management systems and it is learning the importance of participation. This fact is also related to a historical event that took place on the May 15th 2015, when local council elections were won by a bottom-up and anti-austerity's party, *Barcelona en Comú*. Lead by an activist fighting against evictions and ex leader of the Mortgage Victims Platform, Ada Colau, this party came to power announcing new "commonsense measures" (Kassam 2015; Murado 2015). It is in this framework where I exercise my research around the archaeological sites placed on this quarter, analyzing the synergies that exists between the monuments and



**Figure 1.** Poster of *Fem Plaça* (left), St. Joan's community Major Party organized by *La Negreta del Gótic* on 2014. Images by *Xarxa Ciutat Vella* (www.facebook.com/823643867689291/photos/pcb.94 2497935803883/942497559137254/?type=3&theater) and Ana Pastor.

the inhabitants, developing what experts call Archaeological ethnography (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Hamilakis 2011), with a purpose focused on preventive conservation and public investments in the cultural field.

I started my research around three years ago, as an archaeologist and archaeological conservator trying to develop a new focus on social-inclusive preventive conservation systems and build a theoretical frame that could help renew heritage management policies. This impulse to change the common historical/or social values applied to heritage, based on the study of multiple agents and social fabric, has driven me to discover new features about how we can start defining *social* or *community conservation*. This turns into a new way to apply financial investments in the field of conservation of archaeological heritage, taking into account not only society but also social fabric needs, and the social benefits it can acquire.

## 2. The role of participation on Heritage's Conservation

Rodney Harrison, based on the work of the historian Raphael Samuel and sociologist Stuart Hall, commented: "there are hidden and neglected aspects of history which relate to the long tradition of interactions between cultural groups that lie buried in the memories and mementoes of ordinary communities" (2010: 14). The author enhances those relationships between inhabitants and material things (from the past in the present) that are related with the social role that heritage plays in society, a *Heritage from Below* (*ibid.*).

These ideas are related to, as Harrison indicates, previous studies developed by anthropologists like Arjun Appadurai. He defines "locality" as a relational concept, as the space where you are connected, detaching the "local" from inherent, appealing to the development of a cultural work that creates this sense of locality (*ibid.*, 242). This collective memory could be attached to different spaces; as the author says "…heritage is used in everyday's construction of the local and the community, demonstrate the significant social role of heritage in society" (*ibid.* 273). This understanding of heritage was

also present in a wide number of international and European documents or recommendations. The starting point would be the Athens Chart of 1931 and the Venice Chart of 1964, being recaptured for the Nara Convention (1994), the European Landscape Convention (Florence 2000) or the Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003). In recent years, several studies have described the current situation and influence of the Burra Charter (1979-2013) or the Faro Convention of 2005 (Labadi 2007; Holtorf and Fairclough 2013). Furthermore, it is this memory and an immaterial "sense of belonging" (ICOMOS Australia 1979-2013) which can serve as a starting point for the development of studies that could improve the welfare model of our societies interacting between identities and heritage. The idea of *social value* initially brought the paradigm of heritage as a tool of social cohesion and the concept of landscape as a heritage with subjective connotations. The Council of Europe has developed a big number of studies about landscape and sustainability, where the social well-being (material and spiritual) has played a primal role.

> A landscape which reflects the ability of a society to create a quality of life which permits collective living is, first and foremost, a landscape where the social conflicts that can arise around access to resources and services are reduced by the visibility of the efforts made by the authorities to remedy them (2006: 42).

In addition to this works, the UNESCO has developed the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011), which has lead into some documents and training, with case studies applied on several cities over the world. As they mention, this is not "a tool to replace existing conservation approaches, but it is a tool to integrate policies and practices of conservation of the Built Environment"[1]. The aim of these documents is focused not only in assessing vulnerabilities, but also in improving the participatory decision-making processes between stakeholders and promoting a holistic approach clearly from the national to the local sphere (UNESCO 2008; Council of Europe 2012). It takes time to evaluate the sustainabil-

ity of these initiatives as recommended on the recent document *Culture 21 Actions* (UCLG 2015), which also does not clarify if those approaches would be bottom-up or top-down. For the case of Barcelona, the local administration made an effort and the results are being so visible with the implementation of the Urban Garden's Network[2] or the Superilles[3] Project (giving support to non-governmental needs). However, the fight against mass Tourism and the Barcelona Model has been timidly treated by the government institutions, mainly leading into actions driven by some groups of activists.

Going further, the particular subject of "community-driven conservation" that will be also addressed in this paper, has been one of the main topics on the 18th ICOMOS General Assembly that took place in Florencia in 2014 (Fusco Girard 2014). The text points out how the inclusion of citizens in decision-making processes would be a tool to define what "community heritage" is, or in words of the author, can be "recognized" (*Ibid.* 410). Here Luigi Fusco transforms the discourse of *tourism economy* into *economics of heritage*, defining it as a *multidimensional economy* attached to the intrinsic values embodied on the heritage itself and not on the instrumental use that tourism applies to it. The author promotes a *Participartory Budget* guided by the authorities, while at the same time, we should impulse new ways of self-financing proceedings like crowdfunding or people patronage. This need for integration requires also a new way to understand conservation because the cities are changing into living interactive museums and every place *heritagisated* needs to be treated as unique, in the sense that it must benefit a broader sector of society: inhabitants and tourist (Harrison 2013; Holtorf and Kristensen 2015).

In response to all the aforementioned issues, an increasing number of scholars have indicated the need to use diverse methodologies to choose and integrate different indicators by heritage managers. Because there is a wide literature and studies on this area, I will just suggest some recent works that include cultural values studies (Armitage and Irons 2013, de la Torre 2013), urban assessments (Veldpaus and Pereira Roders 2013a 2013b), or conservation (Heras *et al.* 2013) without ignoring an

economic dimension (Ashworth 2014). Evaluating the cultural and heritage actions from a community-based point of view means to mitigate the impact of a transformation related with preservation. As stated by Deóm and Thiffault, I agree that: "evaluations are typically carried out at key moments, either when a project to transform a place is born…or when it is accorded to a heritage designation" (2013: 63). The aim of this article is to explore, from an interdisciplinary perspective, how preventive conservation itself has an important role in the heritage management and its implications with the community.

## 2.1. The Spanish context

In Spain, the framework has gradually evolved among the last years due to studies developed in different universities, research centers and the celebration of some international congress (Castillo Mena 2013; Querol and Castillo 2013; Querol 2010). This evolution is linked with an impulse of heritage studies after the Bologna's Plan that has resulted in a big number of projects made by these new experts in cultural management –and the proliferation of publications on the subject– (Almansa Sánchez 2011, 2014; Querol Fernández 2011). Throughout his vastly varied and interesting book, *Arqueológicas. Hacia una arqueología aplicada*, David Barreiro also points at what was has been applied in our country during the beginning of the 21st century, related to sustainable development (2013: 136) and knowledge transmission linked with archaeological heritage (2013: 197). Barreiro appeals for an immediate action in the present (2013: 149 and 179) and as he says, the archaeological heritage turns into "… *cultural resource* for training individuals and its socialization"[4] (2013: 150). I also agree with this author when he says that archaeology is "a techno-science for heritage socialization[5] (2013: 171). Archaeology started to play a proactive role in different sectors of society with a, sometimes unclear, purpose based on an improvement of our cultural capital. With the economic crisis, a big number of technical archaeologists started to apply for didactic workshops in different organizations (interpretation centers or museums) as a new way

to generate inputs and new business, added to a number of previous pioneers that have been working on our country for more than 25 years (Cardona Gomez 2015). These activities have clearly revitalized this cultural proposition but usually act as isolated actions with no impact on a long-term basis, due to a lack of communication between institutions, academic departments and research groups, that push us to re-shape and re-direct to a new way of knowledge exchange and appliance –despite extensive and expensive European Projects-.

One of the short-term results of this period has been the continuous development of studies about Public Archaeology in Spain. Experts started with rural case studies (Ayán Vila, González Veiga and Rodríguez Martínez 2012; Moya-Maleno 2013) but with a projection on urban spaces (León Muñoz and Vaquerizo Gil 2012; Vaquerizo Gil and Ruiz Osuna 2013). I want to point out the work developed by Paula Jardón (University of Valencia) at the Prehistoric site of El Salt (Alcoi, Alicante). For Jardón the issues attached to community archaeology projects in Spain are based on the way we build up the spaces for scientific communication, overlooking the citizen's role for scientific development, as we will be commented on the next paragraph (2016: 187). Those works have matured in parallel with the development of Didactics of Archaeological Heritage, especially after the Council of Europe's Faro Convention of 2005 that indicates how we must encourage society to participate in Cultural Heritage projects (Holtorf 2013, 2015; González Marcén and Roda Gilabert 2012). These actions that are immersed in relevant studies dealing with the process of education itself, have revealed that learning through heritage, in practice, could improve the citizenships experience (Harrison 2010; Cardona Gómez 2012; Rojo Ariza and Cardona Gómez 2014). From the point of view of participation, I would like to point out two current projects that have resulted into a series of studies and publications. The one lead by Alicia Castillo from the Complutense University of Madrid is called *La dimensión arqueológica en ciudades patrimonio mundial: avances para la gestión patrimonial en Alcalá de henares, Puebla y La Habana* (HAR2013-46735-R)[6] and the one

lead by Cristina Sánchez-Carretero from the INCIPIT (Santiago, Galizia), is called *ParticiPat* (HAR2014-54869-R)[7]. These initiatives (oriented to case studies) reveal that Spain is living a good moment, enhancing citizenship's participative experiences. Having said that, from my perspective, I think we are still filling a gap related with the "Mediterranization" of an Anglo-Saxon methodological frame.

## 3. A new Archaeological Landscape for Barcelona

For my study, I will analyze archaeological remains that are inserted on the urban landscape and that I see as a dynamic and living entity. This broader vision about a multi-layered and multi-temporal (faceted) archaeology, specifically in the context of heritage, is not focused on particular time periods, but as a continuous process attached to the production of an intimate present and future, is also reclaimed by authors like Rodney Harrison (2013: 51).

In 2004, the "Law of Neighborhoods" was implemented in Catalonia. This law aimed to improve the life quality of the inhabitants (García Ferrando 2008). The effect of these urban renewal policies has been carefully studied from an holistic point of view that includes the analysis of participation in terms of consultation, decision or citizen control (Bonet Martí 2011; Martí-Costa *et al.* 2009; Pares, Bonet-Martí, and Martí-Costa 2012). But it was during the 80's –inside what was called the Barcelona Model– that some PERI (Special Plans of Interior Reform) took place in the adjacent neighborhoods of *Raval* and *La Ribera*; a model of "city beautification*"* that turned into housing affordability instead of renewing the areas; un-targeting the sources of depravation (Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli 2012; Rius and Sánchez-Befando 2015). In these plans that run simultaneously with the Barcelona experience, we can find the purposes of "introduction of cultural values and symbols on the landscape… the inclusion of large sections of citizenry in the project of urban renovation" (*ibid*. p. 291). This matter has become more evident in the past years, thanks to new-born collaborative projects and associations at local and national level like
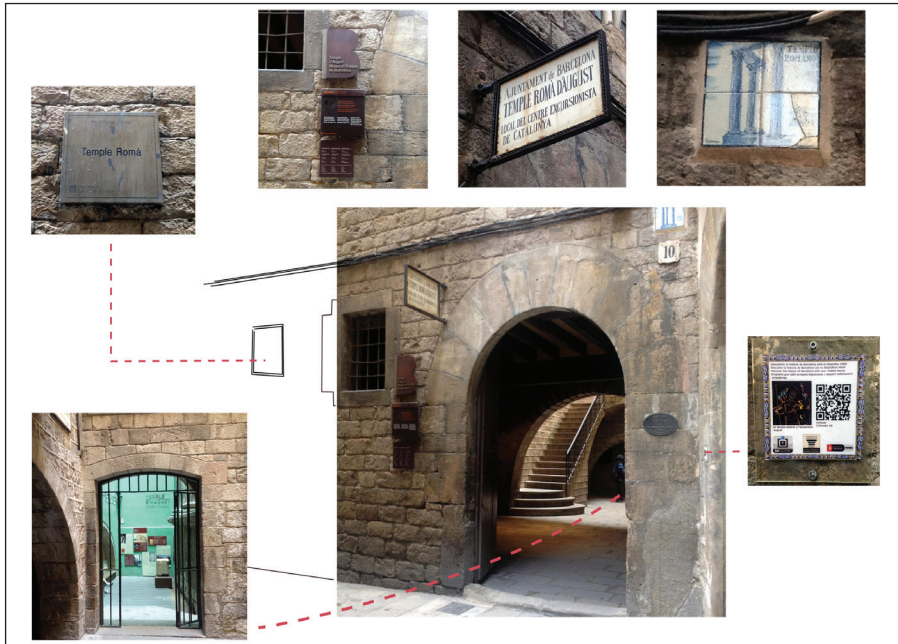
**Figure 2.** The Temple of August is also the headquarters of the Barcelona Excursionists Centre. Ana Pastor.
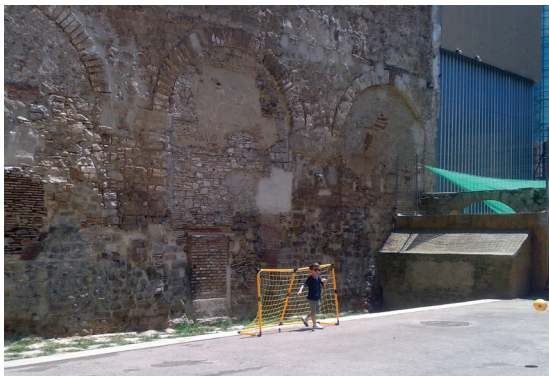


**Figure 3.** A boy playing football on the step made on the square for separating the monumental area from the playground and square-purpose area. Ana Pastor.



**Figure 4.** Playground and terrace. Behind it, we can see some remains of older constructions and the wood structure of a vertical garden placed on the backside of an administrative building. Ana Pastor.

LA COL[8], *Colectiu*[9] *Punt 6* or *Paisaje Transversal*[10]. It is in this Barcelona where I want to place my regard –now as a neighbor– discussing about the participative process that is currently taking place on a plot situated in the border of the Gothic neighborhood and the *Born*: *Sotstinent Navarro*, analyzed in the case-study section of this paper.

In Barcelona several archaeological elements and historical places coexist and have been enhanced and altered during different periods. This multi-temporal background could act as a *laboratory of experiences* for applying new inclusive and participative actions (Ruiz Martínez and Pastor Pérez 2015). When we analyze sets like some of the Roman archaeological remains of Barcelona, we can perceive

**Figure 5.** View of the archaeological remains took from one of the crystal fences that surround the Roman Funeral Way. Ana Pastor.



**Figure 6.** Image provided during one of my interviews to local residents and now accessible to everyone in the Blog: *Barrinant la Plaça*[1]. Roman Funeral Way in the 90's.

how they have been "used" by the authorities to create values (Alonso 2015: 30). In the case of the Temple of August, a simple view of its façade situates us in a multi-value experience. The different labels frame this monument at different times when the structure was enhanced, leaving the façade with an institutional *horror vacui*. Its official recognition as Place of Cultural Interest co-exists with an old tile or a new QR code, implemented by the guild of traders (**Fig. 2**).

The concept of multilayer heritage (ICOMOS 1994, Harrison 2013; Turner and Tomer 2013) is a key point to analyze the role of archaeological remains in public spaces. We have an excellent example to visualize these conceptions in the urban Barcelona landscape at *Plaça Vuit de Març*[11] (**Fig. 3** and **4**).

As can be seen in the above pictures, the main cultural attraction of this square lays in the Roman aqueduct embodied on the building and discovered on 1988 (Servei d'Arqueologia de la Ciutat de Barcelona 1991), and the future elevated garden attached to *Ca la Dona*[12] that is now under rehabilitation works thanks to the refurbishing plans started on 2006 (Fontova 2006a, 2006b). This place was inaugurated in 2011 and in the past, it had a main use as a motorbike parking. But *Vuit de Març* is a family-friendly area that has a children's park, where a bar with a deck is that allows parents to enjoy a drink while monitoring their kids as

we will see in our case study this is a relevant fact for the inhabitants.

During my MA dissertation fieldwork (Pastor Pérez 2014) I realized that local inhabitant's perceptions about archaeological spaces have been changing during the last years due, in a certain way, to the development of works attached to the enhancement of these cultural spaces. For example, in the case of the *Roman Funeral Way* the neighbors expressed ambivalent feelings towards the archaeological remain (**Fig. 5**).

In order to better understand the relationship between inhabitants and these archaeological spaces, we must place ourselves in the middle of the anthropological fieldwork and an "archaeological ethnography" where interactions are centered on materiality and temporality (Hamilakis and Theou 2013: 182); we would analyze common ordinariness.

A comprehensive research on different periods was done trying to point out community needs from an holistic perspective; an ethnographic research that encompasses several administrative and society levels (Barreiro and Criado 2015; Castillo Mena 2015) regarding that "there is no single story of places and there are subsequent steps on the biography of places" (de Nardi 2014: 6). After carrying out some interviews, I discovered that on the one hand, neighbors overtly acknowledge that the remains (Roman tombs) are now part of their own per-

**Figure 7.** On the left, we can see the main entrance on Canuda Street; there is no readable schedule placed outside the park like also happens with the interpretation centre. On the right, we watch a homeless sleeping inside the closed park. Ana Pastor.

sonal history and they feel close to them, enjoying even a sense of place and privilege (aesthetic, symbolic and unique value) above other inhabitants in Barcelona. On the other hand, problems of insecurity in the past and a long period of works in the square, which have lasted more than ten years, had also impacted on their view of heritage, rising feelings of rejection towards the remains, and expressing a clear desire to see them transferred to the museum.

A remarkable aspect is that the neighbors, by the very fact of being active participants of my research, became more aware of the value of the history of the *Plaça Vila de Madrid* (where the Roman Funeral Way is located). After our first meetings, participants began to recover and share historical documentation of the neighborhood, increasing in this manner their "sense of belonging", which may have a positive impact on the long-term preservation of these spaces (**Fig. 6**).

This square was immersed on a participatory process about its refurbishment, and nowadays participants still question the fact of installing fences with controlled opening hours. The feelings around this square may have varied during

the past decade, and also during our recent times. It is frequent to walk in Canuda Street and find the door closed with people sleeping inside (**Fig. 7**).

What we have experienced during the past three years is that the opening hours of the site have been reduced and it is common to see the park closed several hours a day. Inhabitants can observe the archaeological remains but the panel is at the opposite side of the square and the interpretation center opens only during the mornings three days a week. Only the walkway erases the feeling of an imprisoned heritage (**Fig. 8**).

## 4. Case Study: *Sotstinent Navarro*

Our case study is focused on the street *Sotstinent Navarro*, in the Gothic neighborhood (**Fig. 9**). In 2012, works began to discover new sections of a Roman wall, but the project appeared in the public media in 2009 (Montañés 2009, 2012). This decision would imply two entire buildings being demolished. One belonged to the administration but the other one had inhab-

**Figure 8.** Pictures taken on the east side of the square where the informative stand is placed. Ana Pastor.

itants who were expropriated during the spring of 2010. Using the press as main source for the information regarding these interventions, we discovered that in 2012, there was a clear intention to demolish the surrounding buildings, one from a religious order and the other one privately owned, in order to enhance and include the Roman walls into the tourist circuit (Tarin and Angulo 2012).

In front of this plot there is an old primary school *Escola Angel Baixeras* that lacks a courtyard for the students, who need to practice sports in a near public sports center among, other problems derived from this issue. They have been asking for a courtyard since 1944, after they lost their yard that used to be a particular parcel, due to political and property market –this happened during Franco's dictatorship. These studies had been developed by an active teacher of the school, Mercè Garcés, who is constantly developing open activities about the history of the school with her students and the public.

The relation between archaeological heritage and pupils started being visible on 2008 when educational programs like *Patrimonia'm* of the MUHBA (Museum of History of Barcelona)

took place (Garcés, Liz, and Terrado 2009). The kids also made a documentary the following year in the frame of another project linked to the CCCB (Contemporary Cultural Center of Barcelona) and the association *A Bao A Qu*[14] during the celebration of *Any Cerdá* (Cerdá's Year) about the Roman Wall. If we check the documentary, we can find how these combined activities not only made the students enjoy but it also increased their sense of belonging or sense of place to these archaeological remains.

In order to approach the different impacts that interventions could have had on the past years, I have created this chronological chart or *short-term biography of the site* (Nardi 2014) based on my own research. Regarding this time line and images we can see the different moments that have affected this plot (**Fig. 10**).

What the community has seen, especially during the past three years has been a series of intermittent actions that took place on the plot. The dimension of use and de-use of this area during different stages of archaeological works developed a lack of sense of belonging on inhabitants that could hardly attach any kind of cultural value, due to the lack of information in place. The process, that was seen as "nor-
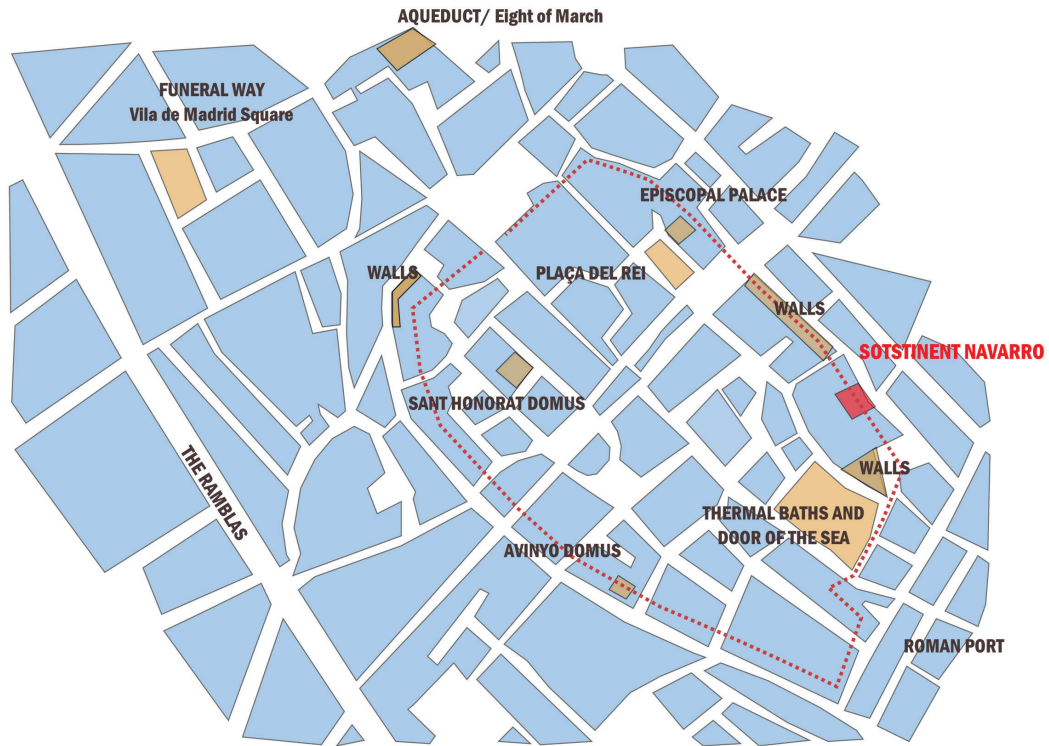
**Figure 9.** Marked on red color, the *Sotstinent Navarro's* plot. Ana Pastor.

mal" for the administration (that has to deal with budgets and permissions) was perceived as "very slow" by the inhabitants. This was not the first time that the administration had to deal with the use or disuse of archaeological remains. The case of El Born *Centre Cultural* raised lots of opinions, and the inhabitants mobilized for the construction of a Popular Athenaeum[15], were a fight against gentrification was taking place (Hernández Cordero 2015).

I first encountered this space in January 2013 and have studied its evolution closely from then until now. On July of 2013, a drone flew over the space in order to record some images to create a photogrammetric map of the Roman Walls. The appointment was also enjoyed by some private investors invited and the press was during an institutional visit. In January 2014, the archaeological remains discovered during the summer remained visible, but we still missed an information stand explaining the age or essence of the remains. Only a big panel at the backside (impossible to read from the street fence) was standing there.

We can find information about all these interventions on the website of the Archaeological Service of Barcelona[16], but not at the place. None of the visible remains looked visually as a Roman Wall (or what citizens imagine as Roman Walls) like the superposed walls at the other site of the street Baixada Caçador. In January 2015 the archaeological works were nearly finished. In the meantime the inhabitants' mobilization had started and crystallized in February with the beginning of actions lead by members of the AMPA Baixeras (Parent Association of the Primary School Angel Baixeras), placed at the opposite block. In May 2015, the *AMPA Baixeras* made a visualizing action on the space deployment a mural with their faces –from French artist JR– naming this action *Vivim Aqui* (We Live Here). They also wrote a short story (in Catalan) where they explained how they felt about the *Pla Bàrcino* and the touristification of the neighborhood on a reivindicative, storytelling language[17]. Their poster written in English, targeting tourists, read the following:

**Figure 10.** Chronological chart that summarizes different moments during the years 2013-2015. Ana Pastor.

"Dear Tourist: The neighbors of *Ciutat Vella* and the Educational Community of *Angel Baixeras* School are claiming this plot, in the response to the lack of a school yard. We are claiming this for our kids to play, families and neighbors, who need common spaces to come together. This is NOT JUST a tourist district. Thanks to #INSIDEOUTPROJECT to help us visualize our demands. WE'RE LIVING HERE. VIVIM AQUI! @vivim_aqui."

This action had been performed for giving and promoting the development of a participative urbanization project on the plot; taking into account the needs of the educational community and the neighbors (**Fig. 11**). As can be seen in the graph above, the same month the public enjoyed some free tours on the Night of Museums (event that has taken place also this year of 2016). This is maybe the first action that is rapidly documented –and spread on social media– in the area, but not the first in the case of this neighborhood that dealt in the past with the urbanization of another archaeological square: *Plaça de la Vila de Madrid*; placed at the upper side of the Gothic (Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Roca i Albert 2013; Beltrán de

Heredia 2002). For this case the neighbors created a specific association that was called *Assemblea de Veïns de la Vila de Madrid*, which made proposals of monitoring the inhabitants needs (Hernández and Andrés 2013).

At the beginning of December 2015, the participative process of urbanization of this space started, partly attached to the takeover of the new bottom-up political party: *Barcelona en Comú*. The purpose of this action was called *Decidim la urbanització del Carrer de Sotstinent Navarro*[18]. The workshop was lead by a group of architects (LA COL[19]) in collaboration with the mayor of Barcelona, other administrations like the Archaeological Service and the Yellow Comission of *AMPA Baixeras*. Every neighbor who would participate was invited, as it was an open session without a need of previous inscription and designed also for the Baixeras School's children. The main purpose was to decide what were the advantages and disadvantages designing a public square, a school courtyard or an ambivalent space. Following workshops were scheduled for the middle of December and the beginning of January, according to the school calendar. After that, a revenue workshop was planned on February.

**F**igure 11. *Sotstinent Navarro* plot after the 4th may when the *AMPA Baixeras* and Gothic neigh-borhood association organized a *Fem Plaça* action with the creation of the mural inside "In&Out" project of French artist JR. Image from BCNDistricte11.com and Apen Ruiz (http://bcndistricte11. com/2015/05/09/lescola-baixeras-i-lassociacio-de-veins-volen-participar-en-el-redisseny-urbanistic-de-ciutat-vella/#jp-carousel-989.) [Accesed 12/16/2015].

We can follow some of the participant's impressions on the blog site of the Yellow Comission from the *AMPA Baixeras*[20]. Here we can see different ways of expression and desires about what they ended calling: private, public and common space. We find a deep criticism to the touristic purpose attached to the project to make the "Promenade of the Walls" designed by the architect Josep Llinàs and developed by the Cultural Institute (helped by Archaeological Service) and the Urban Habitat Department of Barcelona. The inhabitants enjoyed this process not only of design but also for voicing a public criticism to past interventions and their rejection about the future use of this place as touristic attraction. On this case, participation turns into building up, not a common project (because of personal or different group interests), but a common voice of protest against the past unidirectional purposes coming from the administration. These actions became clearer during and after the second session when the neighbors met the images that the architects brought about the "Promenade of the Walls" where the plot was planned as an aisle space, far away from any kind of communal space.

It was amazing to listen how so many participants wanted the implementation of a bar to enjoy a drink while looking after their children playing–a bar is a well-know relational space on our culture. We will have to wait until next year to check how the different stakeholders arrive to create a new space. Lucia Vecchi, inhabitant and member of the *AMPA Baixeras*, explained to me in a personal interview that they (representatives for the permanent project commission) are very excited with the process and happy with the architect's design.

What we have not been able to find at the current date of July 2016 is the final report of this process except for tweets belonging to different people or associations (**Fig. 12**). Will that be a sign of the opacity of these kind of processes in the end? Does it mean that there is still a visible limit for open participation processes? Who is really participating? And… Why in the works that the administration is developing around the *displayed* Roman Walls placed on the Avenue of the Cathedral, there is no advertising about this wide project?During the first works that are taking place for the "Promenade of the Walls" inserted on the *Pla*

**Figure 12.** Tweet from the Yellow Commission from AMPA Baixeras with the date of 21st of June (Source, Twitter).



**Figure 13.** Laborers working on the construction of a "podium" to enhance the Roman Walls of Barcelona, street Tapineria, on May 2016. Ana Pastor.

*Barcino* we do not see again any kind of panel that explains the purpose of these works. We could just read "re-urbanization of the Avenue of the Cathedral". Here, after doing some fieldwork with my colleague Apen Ruiz, we discovered that the archaeologists that work close to the workers, where the only sources of information about the archaeological remains (**Fig. 13**). The small businesse of the area have no idea about what the works are for, and some of them explained their dissatisfaction with the continuous works on the area –the past year the main square of Ramon Berenguer was remodeled.

Reflecting about the concept of *built environment* and what could be the reasons to preserve a place like this, justifying the demolition of entire buildings to discover archaeological remains, we find several works and publications. The work of the psychologist and anthropologist Setha Low about this subject, and how she links it with social sustainability was pioneering and inspiring (2003). For Low, the key to a sustainable management is to develop Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure (REAP) that includes facts like "Physical Traces Mapping" or "Behavioral Maps" among other methods to collect data among community and stakeholders on a daily basis (2003: 53-59). There is a social sustainability, which embodies the needs and values of the inhabitants, that needs to be supported; meanwhile,

we preserve the qualities of the heritage site (*ibid.* 53). Conservation sometimes may disturb the "formal expressions" of local population and that is why before starting a heritage management process of conservation or enhancement we should analyze different facts or values, and study how the management decision may affect these values (de la Torre 2014). This will be one of the bases to develop that I call a *Community Conservation* that arises with the impulse of social and community value studies applied to heritage (Carver 1996; Pastor Pérez 2014). The *Sotstinent Navarro* case reveals a lack of ethnographic research that ends in a very small part of the society participating on its urbanization process. Taking into account *wide community's priorities* (not *minority*) or needs, we could create better projects for the advantage of this kind of cultural sites. We should ask ourselves if some of the actions taken were closer to a participative urbanism –promoted mainly by architects and urban planners–, which could consign the idea of a real participation in heritage conservation to a second place.

Without dismissing the role of alternatives on heritage management –that could include urbanism studies– the other pillar of our proposal would be based on Community Archaeology as a tool to implement community-participative conservation, as we will see in the paragraphs that follow.

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## 5. Proposals and conclusions: a reference frame for a participative conservation

Since the beginning of the new millennium, authors have claimed the role of archaeology attached to heritage value. Katsuyuki Okamura said that archaeologists (among other experts) "have the unique talent to extract information from heritage contexts, interpret that material and present it in its broader context, thus adding values to the things they are investigating for the public in the modern concept" (2010: 58). The distance between the archaeological experts and the public needs, is a gap that we try to fill from several disciplines (archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, sociology…), some of them converging to what we call "heritage management"; especially after the Valetta's Convention of 1992 (Council of Europe). This "public awareness" mentioned on the article 9 of this document could be attached to newer meanings of Public Archaeology that experts describe as a research field where we explore the role of archaeology in society and point out its no-isolation from the rest of society's matters (Guttormsen and Hedeager 2015: 190). On their recent study, L. Richardson and J. Almansa review the different steps and evolution of Public Archaeology, since the seventies until our days (2015) explaining how this subject has had an impact and transformed the discipline.

The non-expert public or community is receiving more and more options to participate on archaeological projects, but like the authors' say, we need to consider what our audiences are and what they expect about this archaeological practice and experience (*ibid.* 2015: 200). Likewise, Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith described how professionals, policymakers and scholars repeated their schemas in order to take the ownership on a continue misrecognition of a wide range of stakeholders that does not fit with a romantic sense of community (2010: 5). For those authors, the way we have conceived "community" in the heritage management field is an ill-conceived one. I completely agree with them in the sense that when we (scholars) discuss about heritage matters we avoid addressing ourselves to a wide debate regarding social classes; instead of that, we take part of a continuous process of cultural commoditization using the terms of "vulnerable" or "risky population" to justify our power-driven actions on heritage (Smith 2004, 2006). This phenomenon could be related, like Laurent Olivier mentions, with the establishment of the preventive archaeology (2013: 35) –called on the past commercial archaeology–, that has spread its branches accordingly with the cultural heritage management development, lead by the power of governmental apparatuses. The conservation (as a technical science) plays here her executioner role, materializing this power on its highest expression. We conserve archaeological remains for communities and not with the community and "we *feel* good about the work we do" (Waterton and Smith 2010: 7-8). The idea of conserving archaeological remains to keep a handful of identity values and (re)create a sense of belonging or sense of place inside a community, should be surpassed, helped by new action-based methods that can collect a real reflection about community wellbeing needs (Pastor Pérez 2014). These conservation needs could be identified through extensive processes of ethnographical archaeology and interdisciplinary projects that, in my point of view, could start analyzing the access, function and usability of these archaeological goods based on a community-values approach, that could reveal new conservation treatments that may increase society's short-term benefits (Pastor Pérez and Ruiz Martínez 2016).

For the case of Barcelona, community inhabitants from different neighborhoods (*La Sagrera*, *Sant Antoni*, *Gòtic*, *Born*) have experienced archaeology as a series of isolated actions and interventions related to administrative works. The arrival of the Archaeological Chart of Barcelona (Miró i Alaix 2013, 2016) tried to mind this gap conceiving a tool for the wide public to provide them access to reports and interventions; but in currently, when we walk and encounter an ongoing excavation, there is no visible mention to this chart (**Fig. 14**). Those spaces are frequently socialized on special or extraordinary dates, like the Festivity of the Light or Night of the Museums, included on free tours lead by the Archaeological Service of Barcelona and the Museum of History

**Figure 14.** Works on the Bastion of Noon placed on the frontier between the neighbors of *Barceloneta* and *La Ribera* during 2014-2015. Ana Pastor.

of Barcelona (*MUHBA*); during the rest of the year they cohabit with the community (Ruiz Martínez and Pastor Pérez 2015, Pastor Pérez and Ruiz Martínez 2016). Academics, Almansa and Richardson said, "Sharing your findings with the public is not Public Archaeology by itself" (2015: 202) but maybe adding some better signaling to these ongoing excavations would provide a starting point of engaging with community –among other expensive actions-.

Regarding that conservation is frequently described as the last step on several archaeological management projects, from my point of view: digging and preserving are two actions that must go together since the very beginning and during project planning stages. This union

is challenging if we realize that usually digging and preserving are executed by separate administration apparatuses, projects, teams or budgets lines. In urban sites a greater sense of community managed to reduce the crime rate and a relapse for inclusion, was established. In contrast, in the rural sites it had more educational value, a primacy and knowledge about the history of the site, probably because of a longer-considered established sense of community that was lacking urban areas (Simpson 2008: 9). Each project had different objectives and therein lies part of the versatile nature of this discipline.

Following a Faye Simpson's schema (2008: 12), we have attached to the case of the Goth-

| VALUES/DIMENSIONS | DESIRED ACTIONS |
|---|---|
| SOCIAL | To proactively promote the participation of the local community identifying and increasing the public desire to excavate, conserve and restore structures used in the past generating positive externalities. |
| EDUCATIONAL | To increase the knowledge and awareness about archeology and the actions carried out by the *Archaeological Service of Barcelona* and the *MUHBA* participating in research actions on site and dissemination of knowledge strategies, promoting the role of preventive conservation. |
| ECONOMIC | To promote responsible "cultural tourism policies" in these and other nearby archaeological sites (*Born, Raval, Sant Antoni*), saving conservation costs that are paid by the citizenship. |
| POLITIC | To raise political awareness in the field of archeology, increasing support and funding; spreading the importance of the urban archaeological heritage in use. |

**Table 1.** This chart helps us in communicating stakeholders and investors about this type of projects. Ana Pastor inspired by Faye Simpson (2008).

ic Neighborhood (that could be extrapolated to several cases) some general values applied to heritage and the desired actions that those could have generated in the hypothetic case of appliance (**Table 1**).

This aims reflect the spirit of the international documents that we have mentioned at the beginning of this paper. There is a key point that I want to remark about the relationship between community and public powers: visibility. The international institutions that we mentioned at the beginning of this study have been working deeply to provide local and supra-local governments with tools regarding public policies driven to raise the well-being of citizens. Processes of abandoning or the unclean aspect of archaeological sites, are perceived by a wide part of the community as neglecting actions (of conservation). The same happens with the intermittent ongoing works that could disturb the neighbors during long periods. Those are usually the motor of bottom-up processes (that may end in a general dissatisfaction) were a lack of "visibilization" in addition with a lack of communication by the administrations, would contaminate the efforts made on international principles and guidelines. The local power sphere would gain reliability as guardian of culture and welfare if the citizens would recognize themselves as recipients on the dayto day actions, not only on selected moments –like local festivities or inaugurations.

## 6. Epilogue

The centre of Barcelona, *Ciutat Vella*, where those archaeological sites are placed, could be identified as a reference for production and consumption (consumer city) since the Roman age; this constructs a social landscape where migrants from different places could arrive to identify themselves (Smith 2014). Through the use of an archaeological methodology we can analyze our present-day make-up, a human manipulation of spaces, and how these changes caused by manipulation are experienced by the people who reside there (*ibid.*). Analyzing their effect on community and the relationship that exists between their status of conservation, integrity and use, we can develop new plans of preventive

conservation based on society's needs. What we have pointed out here is, that these efforts to make our heritage more enjoyable by society should enhance its multi-temporal dimension with a perspective based more on individuals than on institutions (Council of Europe 2012). Some archaeological spaces, especially on our study area, and even more in public squares, already have this multi-layer scheme on their surfaces: *Plaça de la Vila de Madrid*, *Plaça del Vuit de Març* or the also mentioned here *Plaça de Ramón Berenguer*. The studies that encompass the use of the public space and heritage conservation (Taylor 2015) would be the key to improve coming public (or private) investments for these relational spaces in the long-term.

Questioning the way we participate and how community-based decisions are taken; as archaeologist, conservators or heritage managers, we should start with the regular application of ethnographic research that could not only be focused on heritage. There is only a small part of society that participates in the way we describe participative process, usually well educated or positioned citizens that have a high cultural capital. As we saw in the last part of this study, the arrival of these practices of community-participative conservation could generate benefits on four principal dimensions: social, educational, economic and political. Those actions, related to a proper previous background study would make the terms "inclusion" and "empowerment" more realistic. It is not a coincidence that in the last part of the process that we showed here at *Sotstinent Navarro*, the final group of stakeholders after the participative process has 80% of its members that come from the administration scene, as we learnt from interviews and a social media tool: Twitter. In the meantime, the rest of the neighbors will change their patterns for making courses, tourists will think that these works are related to gas supplies, pavements or urgent breakdowns, and we will observe these changes as a learning opportunity. I appeal here, as Public Archaeologists say, let us not only share our findings, represented in the final work, but also share the processes, explaining the importance and role that our present "layers of history" play as meanwhile, we work to achieve better participation mechanisms and visibility.

## Acknowledgements

## Notes

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2. http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ecologiaurbana/es/servicios/la-ciudad-funciona/mantenimien-to-del-espacio-publico/gestion-del-verde-y-biodiversidad/huertos-urbanos. Accessed 11/02/2016.

3. http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/superilles/es. Accessed 11/02/2016.

4. Author's translation. On the original "…*recurso cultural* para el desarrollo formativo de la persona y para su socialización".

5. Author's translation. On the original "la arqueología es una tecnociencia para la socialización del patrimonio".

6. The archaeological dimensión in World Heritage cities: Heritage Management advances in Alcalá de Henares, Puebla and La Habana. http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/parquecipamu/?q=en/node/1. Accessed 07/02/2016.

7. http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/116297. Accessed 07/02/2016.

8. www.lacol.coop. Accessed 12/14/2015.

9. http://punt6.org. Accessed 12/14/2015.

10. http://paisajetransversal.es. Accessed 12/14/2015.

11. In English: Eight of March Square. In Spanish: Plaza del Ocho de Marzo.

12. This is a feminist center whose story starts in the middle of the 80's and its presence in the street next to this square influenced the re-naming of it in 2011 as *Vuit de Març* which means "Eight of March". You can check the newspaper El Periódico 16/03/2011 (www.elperiodico.com/es/noticias/dis-trictes/plaza-igualdad-941902) or access to their website on www.caladona.org. Accessed 06/23/2016.

13. http://bcn2.wordpress.com. Accessed 07/27/2016.

14. Link to the movies. www.anycerda.org/centre/A-Bao-A-Qu/treball/04-histories-dels-espais. Accessed 12/16/2014.

15. On this blog's entry (in Spanish) we have an excellent synthesis of the case. Pay attention to the people's answers. On 2012, a neighbor wrote, "what they will left here will be nothing, a memorial, that serves for anything but the cost is high". http://eltranvia48.blogspot.com.es/2012/04/el-ateneo-popular-que-no-fue-posible-el.html. Accessed 11/3/2016.

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18. We decided the urbanization of street Sotstinent Navarro (translated from Catalan by the author).

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