Title:	Guerilla & Tactical Urbanism: Tools for Creating Sustainable Change
Semester:	4th semester
Semester theme:	Masters Thesis
Project period:	February 1st 2020 – June 4th 2020.
ECTS:	30 ECTS.
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By signing this document, each member of the group confirms participation on equal terms in the process of writing the project. Thus, each member of the group is responsible for the all contents in the project.

Disclaimer from Head of Studies and Head of Study Boards

COVID19 and the consequences of the lock-down of society and the university since March 13, 2020 have had influence on which activities that have been possible to stage and carry out as part of the project work. More specifically, this means that activities have been limited to online activities, and that activities such as lab activities; surveying activities; on-site ethnographic studies and on-site involvement activities have not been possible.

When assessing this project, please bear this in mind.

Statement from the author:

COVID19 has proven to be an especially challenging roadblock to completing this master's thesis. Being based in Barcelona one of the largest outbreaks in Spain and Europe and also being from New York where there is the largest outbreak in the United States, I was forced to be under a strict lockdown for the majority of my thesis while friends and family at home were also being effected by this pandemic. Due to the extreme lockdown measures in Spain, I was unable to complete my thesis as I had originally planned it. Originally I had plans to try and complete this thesis as an action research project by getting involved in guerilla urban actions within the city. I wanted to observe many small-scale urban interventions such as the many flea markets in Raval, guerilla gardens throughout the city and observe different events that were to be held at the guerilla urban cites at Can Batlló and Can Masdeu. Due to the lockdown starting in March I was unable to do any of this and because of the nature of smaller guerilla urban interventions I was not able to get into contact with many of these smaller groups or individual actors. In order to overcome these obstacles I shifted the focus of my thesis to a case study of larger already established urban interventions. This allowed me to also use a previous interview I had done with Salvador Rueda the inventor of the Superblocks since the information in that interview is relevant when talking about tactical urbanism. Mentally it was very challenging working under the stressful conditions here in Barcelona, but even given the circumstances, I was able to look at how guerilla and tactical urbanism could play a part in the future of cities as they reshape to grapple with the new reality they face with the threat of COVID19.

GUERILLA & TACTICAL URBANISM:

TOOLS FOR CREATING SUSTAINABLE CHANGE

Lyle Davison

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Cities are a unique blend of the fantasy of the powerful and the basic needs of the most vulnerable. Today's cities are planned and developed with neoliberal urbanism being the guiding ideology where governments in conjunction with the most powerful sectors of the global economy, finance insurance and real estate decide how cities are developed. Neoliberal urbanism puts profit and global competitiveness above the needs of society and the environment creating unsustainable cities that are hostile to their most vulnerable citizens. This report examines how guerilla and tactical urbanism can create long-term sustainable changes in cities through the creation of urban interventions that reclaim the right to the city for all citizens. Three different cases of both guerilla and tactical urban interventions in the city of Barcelona were analyzed based on Jeffery Hou's theory the three stage process of rupturing, accreting and bridging and Henri Lefebvre's theory of the right to the city. Through analysis of these three cases, a guerilla intervention Can Masdeu, a hybrid guerilla and tactical urban intervention Can Batlló and a tactical urban intervention the Poblenou superblock pilot project; this report was able to determine how these types of interventions are able to be successful in creating long-term sustainable changes. It was found that the most successful urban interventions both guerilla and tactical must be able to create a strong social and or political movement related to the urban intervention. In order to create these strong social and political movements local residents and community members should be included in the design and building process of an intervention and the intervention should provide a use value for the local community. These interventions, which have strong movements backing them and are co-created by members of the community, have a better chance of creating change that is both long lasting and sustainable in comparison to neoliberal urban development.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Neoliberalism and Urban Development

Today's cities are planned by people who work in office buildings, who hold degrees and who have various levels of political influence and power. Developers and City governments in the western world for the most part seek to plan cities in ways that prop up the current neoliberal economic agenda. Under this system areas of the city that don't produce enough value, which are stigmatized as undesirable or urban "blight", must be renewed and gentrified so that the land is occupied by something which will extract more capital, most often through real estate development. Planning and development in cities under the current neoliberal economic hegemony is focused on profit and endless growth. This model is socially unsustainable as it aggressively pushes out the most marginalized members of the city and leaves them with little say in how their city ought to be developed and run. It is also environmentally unsustainable. In this system where the goal is to extract the most capital out of available land, things like ecosystem services are not seen as economically important and environmental concerns play second fiddle to profit. The increasing privatization of public space and in shift concentration of wealth to fewer and fewer elite, many cities are facing crisis's from gentrification, housing shortages and lack of green and public space. Cities have become overly planned in increasingly unsustainable ways. This type of top down city planning initiatives has removed the role of citizens as active creators and decision makers in the city, especially those in marginalized groups. To combat climate change and create cities that are sustainable and equitable, planning and city development needs to be more conscious of the social and environmental needs of citizens. This research examines how guerilla and tactical urban interventions offer a way to change and design the urban landscape from the bottom level with a focus on sustainability and the needs of citizens. To paraphrase the words of Jane Jacobs, this research is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding (Jacobs, 1961).

Neoliberalism is a political ideology that advocates for the alleged "free market" and the privatization of public resources and utilities (Miró, 2011). This ideology has become popular globally with politicians on the right and the left since the 1970s and has influenced urban planning to the point that many cities now take part in Neoliberal Urbanism where capital becomes the driving force of city development (Miró, 2011). This neoliberal urbanism runs directly against sustainable development and the stated sustainable development goals, although many mayors and city officials try to sell neoliberal urbanism as sustainable development through green washing. With neoliberal urbanism growth and profit become the most important measures of success in a city. City governments are then beholden to the wishes of the financial, insurance and real estate sectors to make sure development of the city supports economic growth (Miró, 2011). This results in uneven city development where issues of social justice, livability and environmental concerns are considered secondary or not considered at all. This leaves ordinary working class citizens and marginalized communities vulnerable to gentrification and takes them out of the role of active stakeholders in their own city.

In Henri Lefebvre's book *The Right to The City*, he looked at how the rise of industry and the capital class created cities that are planned to produce maximum exchange value and the negative affects this has on working class and marginalized people (Lefebvre, 1968). Lefebvre was mostly speaking about the changes in cities after the industrial revolution but his writing came out right when neoliberalism was rising as a powerful political ideology and his theory about citizen's rights to the city are more relevant then ever. Neoliberal urbanism gives capital unbalanced influence over policy and development projects in cities. This influence, combined with traditional top down planning practices puts sustainability and citizen participation at the bottom of cities list of concerns. In order to create sustainable cities where environmental, social and economic interests are in harmony, planning power must be given back to the people whose local lives are affected most. If this power is not given it can be taken. This can be done through two different methods of bottom up urban intervention; two methods of bottom up intervention that this research will focus on are guerilla and tactical urbanism. Guerilla and tactical urban interventions offer a way for local citizens and stakeholders to take direct action in their city to change and design the urban landscape from the bottom level with a focus on their the needs as citizens, whether that be a social environmental or economic need.

Guerilla urbanism is when an individual, group or grassroots organization makes physical changes to the urban landscape and or uses urban space in a way that goes against its intended use, while potentially breaking laws without permission from city government or the owners of private land. Some common examples of guerilla urbanism are illegal urban gardens, unauthorized street additions such as bike lanes painted by activist, and informal housing built on the fringe of cities. Less recognized examples are delinquent acts that upon closer inspection are actually guerilla urbanism, actions like squatting, unlicensed street vendors, graffiti and illegal warehouse parties. These are all grassroots actions using and changing the urban fabric of a city going against local regulations and even the concept of private property. Tactical urbanism is the term used to describe low cost, small-scale, often short-term urban interventions. Some examples of tactical urban interventions seen in cities are parking spaces turned into small parks, experimental paintings on crosswalks and sidewalks and even car free days in cities. Many of these start as grassroots or community initiatives but are sanctioned and allowed by the city.

These urban interventions are sometimes accepted by city municipalities and become permanent parts of the urban form, but some actions that go against the neoliberal hegemony of the productive city are often temporary or even deemed illegal. The main question posed by this research will be how can urban interventions like guerilla urbanism and tactical urbanism create long-term sustainable changes in cities?

1.2 Barcelona as a Case

One city where neoliberal urban planning and resistance through urban interventions can be seen today is in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, an autonomous community in northeast Spain. Barcelona is the second biggest city in Spain and has a long history of working class resistance, this history shines through today as locals resist against neoliberal privatization and touristification of the city (Hinton, 2019).

After the death of Franco and the end of the Spanish dictatorship, in 1979 Barcelona elected it's first socialist city council that began to transform the way the city was built (Degen & Garcia, 2012). This administration focused on developing the city by involving high amounts of democratic citizen involvement in the creation of policy and space. Construction of public spaces and better-connected neighborhoods, combined with a new sense of democratic citizenship created social cohesion in the city through a common notion of municipal citizenship that transcended class (Degen & Garcia, 2012).

When the city of Barcelona won its bid to host the 1992 summer Olympics it gained access to federal funds and political power that allowed the city council to transform the city even more drastically. The opening of the city's waterfront and infrastructure projects around the city were a mix of public private partnerships that the city council promised would still be community led with major input from civil society groups and citizens, but in reality this was where corporate interest started to gain more power in city development (Degen & Garcia, 2012). The Olympics connected the city to its outer metropolitan area and shifted the city away from its industrial roots and put it on the path to becoming the Barcelona we know today.

During the 1990s Barcelona's economic strategy was to market Barcelona as a knowledge city and cultural destination for tourists beyond the Olympics. In 1996 the conservative Partito Popular won in the federal elections in Spain and passed pro development laws that caused massive land speculation and development in Barcelona. Private developers created mega projects in the city center as well as the peripheries of the city without any input from civil society and the original model for city governance broke down further (Degen & Garcia, 2012). The neoliberalization of Barcelona's development strategies shifted from citizen focused to focusing on economic competitiveness in the global marketplace. By the 2000's the Barcelona model for city government had been fully coopted by neoliberal economic agendas and citizen participation became the complex performative gesture that is seen in many cities around the world today where only official selective channels for public participation allow limited input by stakeholders, while grassroots organizations and civil society groups that oppose large development projects or the general privatization of the city are excluded (Degen & Garcia, 2012).

The 2008 economic crisis pushed the city's touristification even further as the Spanish and Catalan governments looked to tourism as the way to stave off economic collapse. Airbnb and housing speculation in the city center raised rents and reduced the amount of available housing as those with capital bought up apartments and turned them into short term rentals, the result was gentrification that pushed out citizens in favor of international tourists (Hinton, 2019). The 2010's became a watershed moment in Barcelona as public opinion turned against the neoliberal tourism complex and anti-development community groups gained political force. Activists during this time used guerilla urban tactics to fight back against the privatization of the city during this period, while on the political front a new political party made up of activists in favor of radical citizen participation was born Barcelona en Comú or Bencomú (Gilmartin, 2018). In 2014 Bencomú won the municipal elections and became a minority party in power making Ada Colau the leader of the party and a former housing activist and spokesperson for Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (La PAH), the city's new mayor. The party has fought back against neoliberal austerity measures and touristification of the city but has

struggled to implement many of its policies, as it's a minority government, and in the most recent election in 2019 the party only narrowly maintained control of the mayor's seat.

Barcelona's history as a rebellious city, from Catalan resistance against the Franco regime during dictatorship, to activism after the 2008 financial crisis and the transformation of the city politics; makes it a perfect case to see how urban interventions are used outside the legal framework through guerilla urbanism by citizens and activists and also through tactical urbanism in this new insurgent radical city government.

Chapter 2 Theory

Several theories are discussed throughout this text and used as lenses that allow for better understandings of how guerilla urbanism and tactical urbanism fit into the greater context of planning. This section is meant to explain each theory on its own while further analysis on how they relate to each other. Both guerilla and tactical urbanism will be part of analysis's in later chapters.

2.1 Sustainability

The concept of sustainability as it is understood today was first introduced in the 1987 Brundtland report under the term sustainable development. This term, sustainable development, was defined as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland Commission, 1987). This idea of sustainable development was based on creating a balance between environmental, social and economic needs. The problem with sustainable development is that when governments and businesses apply it today, they do it through a neoliberal lens. With sustainable development there cannot truly be a balance between environmental, social and economic needs if mandatory growth is added to the equation. Sustainable development became a way for neoliberal governing bodies and policy groups to co-opt radical movements calling for anti-capitalist solutions to environmental and social crisis' (Tulloch & Neilson, 2014).

Before the concept of sustainable development, ecological sustainability was an idea that evolved along with many radical social movements in the 1970's. Ecological sustainability was the idea that a healthy environment was the basis of life and any economy in the world and that capitalism as an extractive system directly threatened lives and economies of the world, specifically the global south. Early radical ecological sustainability activist believed a healthy environment and just society could not coexist with permanent capitalist economic growth (Tulloch & Neilson, 2014).

The earlier radical discourses on sustainability environment, society and the economy are related but not seen as equal in their relations to each other. The neoliberalization of sustainability started asserting that the capitalist global economy as it exists now is on the same level of importance as society and the environment and must be maintained for future generations. This shift completely changes the actual meaning of sustainability and is in direct opposition of the original theory of sustainability.

Sustainability in this report will be defined as the radical ideology that ecological needs predicate life and must be preserved for future generations while also creating a just society and economy today. In order for something to be considered sustainable in this sense it must not threaten the future of the environment and work towards creating a just society and economy. This relates to urban interventions because they can be truly sustainable or simply green washing. For example, a guerilla garden with native plants that promotes social cohesion between neighbors using the space, or a government using tactical urbanism to create temporary bike lanes to tested where they are needed; these are sustainable actions because they promote environment and society first. A temporary urban garden on a space that will later be turned into luxury housing is not because the luxury housing will rupture the social bonds created by the temporary urban garden and it will further increase power of the real estate sector and an economic model that increases social inequality.

2.2 Three-stage process of rupturing, accreting, and bridging

Jeffery Hou, a professor at the University of Washington who studies insurgent urban actions, has observed and written about a three-stage process that many successful or impactful guerilla urban interventions follow. This process is made up of rupturing, accreting and bridging. Rupturing refers to the initial urban action or intervention and the opening or disruption this creates in the normal use or order of the space. Accreting refers to the way multiple different actions or reoccurring actions can build upon each other and become a political or social force. Hou points to street markets in Taipei Taiwan as an example of this, the large number of vendors and the connections and community they have made affords them social power, even though by law the street market is illegal (Hou J. , 2018). The last stage is bridging, this refers to the involvement of NGOs, activists and other organizations that team up with individuals or small groups performing guerilla urban actions or interventions, and help give them political power and legitimacy (Hou J. , 2020). With these three stages completed, Hou believes that it's possible for individual interventions to transform into movements that then have the power to provoke institutional changes to governance and physical changes to the urban fabric. Hou believes the initial power of these guerilla interventions stems from the original rupturing or opening, it's this moment that brings to light the injustices and failures of a cities planners or government.

2.3 Acceptable Deviance

In the article "Acceptable Deviance and Property Rights" Mark Edwards analyzes the role social acceptability of deviant behavior plays in the enforcement and changing of laws relating to property rights. Edwards created a model to show how legality and normative acceptance can determine how laws are enforced or forced to change. The model contains four quadrants with legal and illegal vs. normatively acceptable and unacceptable. When an action is legal and normatively acceptable there are no issues and where an action is illegal and normatively unacceptable there is usually enforcement of the laws being broken. Figure 2.2.1 shows the model and it can be seen that the top and

bottom left quadrants of the model where normative acceptability and legality diverge is where contradiction exists. These parts of the model represent situations where institutions enforcing laws run into trouble (Edwards, 2010). In the top right quadrant where a behavior or action is illegal but normatively acceptable, there is pressure against institutions to not enforce the law because these actions are considered acceptable deviance from law. In the lower left quadrant where a behavior or action is deemed normatively unacceptable but legal, the situation becomes one where society or communities may respond by taking action where law enforcement won't. These responses are shown in the figure 2.2.2.

Property law and public opinion are major forces that shape cities, this theory is very useful when discussing and analyzing how guerilla and tactical urbanism's relate to those forces. This theory was already applied to guerilla and tactical urbanism in another article called "DIY Urbanism: Property and Process in Grassroots City Building". This article used the theory of acceptable deviance to illustrate why some urban interventions gain mainstream acceptance regardless of their legality, while others are shut down by the city and law enforcement (Pagano, 2013).
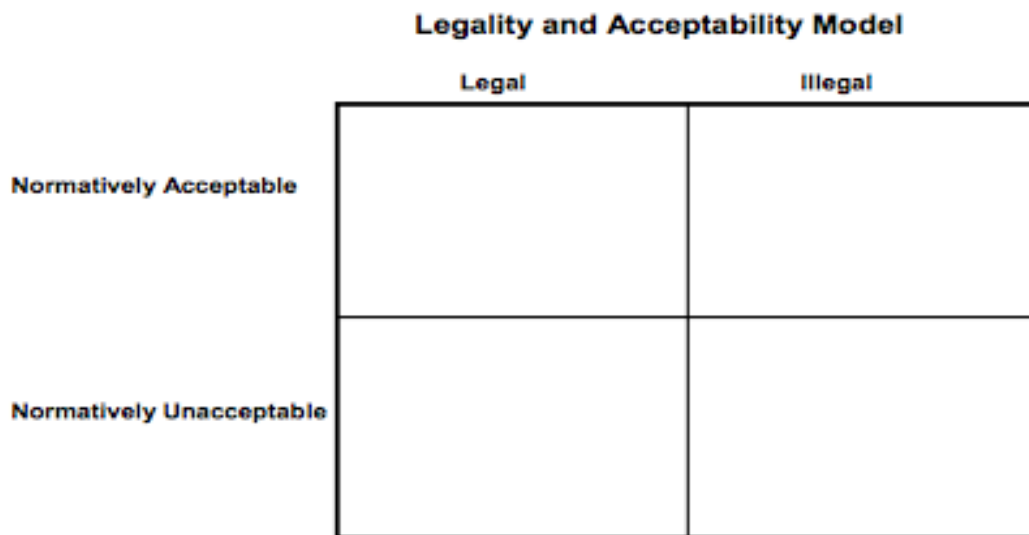
Legality and Acceptability Model

	Legal	Illegal
Normatively Acceptable		
Normatively Unacceptable		

Figure 2.2.1 Legality and Acceptability model (Edwards, 2010)

Malfunctions Triggered by Divergence of Legality and Acceptability

	Legal	Illegal
Normatively Acceptable		Selective Enforcement
Normatively Unacceptable	Popular Justice	

Figure 2.2.2 Malfunctions Triggered by Divergence of Legality and Acceptability (Edwards, 2010)

2.4 Neoliberal Urbanism

In the 1970s capitalism faced a crisis due to falling profits, resistance from a strong labor movements and a spike in energy prices (Reuss, 2009). To ensure the protection of capital, powerful industries pushed a new economic agenda solution that weakened labor unions, rolled back government regulations and destroyed the welfare states of social democracies (Reuss, 2009). This solution was neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is an economic and political ideology that promotes free market capitalism through private property, privatization of social programs and deregulation of financial systems (Miró, 2011). Neoliberalism has become extremely popular among both left and right wing government in the most developed countries since the crisis of the 1970's (Miró, 2011). Neoliberalism operates as a new framework for capitalism in the deindustrialized western world, its main goal being to supply profitable markets to store surplus capital through relaxation of government policies and regulations (Miró, 2011). An example of this is neoliberal free trade agreements that allow industry to be outsourced to countries with cheaper labor, destroying the bargaining power of labor unions in more developed countries. Neoliberalism also shifted the economies of the western world from industrial to service based economies where capital is extracted from speculation in the financial and real-estate sectors.

This ideology of a "free market" that is propped up by governmental policies has a profound affect on the shape and governance of cities around the world. Many city governments have embraced neoliberalism so much so that they give special access to large corporations and financial institutions, allowing them to direct urban development (Miró, 2011). Neoliberalism's promise of wealth seduces city governments into opening up

public utilities, social services and property to privatization in order to create new markets. This neoliberalization of city planning and urban development has enriched cities elites while further stressing and pushing out the most vulnerable citizen.

Neoliberal urbanism as a theory is defined as when urban development is controlled by the interests of capital, while local stakeholders, citizens and civil society have minimal say or input. Under neoliberal urbanism, cities are competitors in a global market of cities where the financial, insurance and real-estate sectors are the most powerful and generate the most capital for top tier cities (Miró, 2011). This competition drives uneven development among different cities and within cities creating winners and losers through gentrification or urban blight. With neoliberal urbanism economic growth is the main goal and this is put above any social justice, environmental or quality of life concerns (Miró, 2011). Public participation and bottom up movements are celebrated and talked about a lot by neoliberal city governments, however they are almost always given little power and relegated to a few nighttime community meetings while the major decision makers in cities are heavily pressured by market forces (Tuna & Baeten, 2012). Neoliberal urbanism drives the touristification of postindustrial cities and hyper-gentrification is the most successful top tier cities.

Guerilla urbanism is often at odds with neoliberal urbanism, especially if a guerilla urban intervention involves reclaiming private property as public space such as with squatting; tactical urbanism and guerilla urbanism both also intentionally or unintentionally worsen symptoms of neoliberal urbanism when improvements made to neighborhoods lead to increased property value and gentrification. Neoliberal urbanism can also be the precursor or cause for these urban interventions, since many urban interventions come from a perceived or real neglect from the state or economy.

2.5 The Right to the City

The right to the city is the idea that citizens should have the power to shape the urban conditions that shape their lives. Henri Lefebvre coined this term in his book *The Right to The City*. The theory of right to the city is that there are competing forces that shape cities, the primary struggle being between use value and exchange value (Lefebvre, 1968). His work focused on the way industry changed cities to create networks of cities designed to extract capital from the industrial revolution into the 1960's. His work provides an interesting lens through which to analyze the way neoliberalism has reinvented how to extract capital from cities in postindustrial cities.

Lefebvre believed that the heart of cities were those parts of the cities, which contained use value because of working class people, he notes that the old urban core of cities become attractions for tourists and become something to be consumed, this is a trend continued to today with the touristification of many cities centers (Lefebvre, 1968). Lefebvre also discusses how the rulers of the past, emperors and kings created cities for beauty and extravagance while when the bourgeoisie came to power they traded beauty for production and oppression for exploitation, he explains that the beauty and opulence of these ancient cities actually provided more use value for citizens then our modern cities which are created to maximize exchange value and creation of capital (Lefebvre, 1968).

The shift to bourgeois democracy and capitalism is what lead to the commodification of every aspect of the city, the social, spatial and governmental. This commodification of the city divides citizen along class lines and excludes those from the lowest class from participating and having access to a space, socialization and government, degrading their urban quality of life (Lefebvre, 1968). This is more than just access to resources; it is the right of citizens to use their collective power to shape the city instead of the forces of capital.

In our neoliberal postindustrial cities planning and property law is used to regulate land use and the property market in favor of capital, quite the opposite actually of a free market. Regulations and zoning laws limit how individual property owners and landlords can develop their buildings, while large developers are given the green light to transform and raze areas the city has deemed as "urban blight" often working class and poor neighborhoods. The individual and community actors within these selected neighborhoods never had the opportunity or chance to choose how their neighborhood was developed even if they had access to capital, because of the restrictive and exclusive nature of urban planning in many modern neoliberal cities.

Lefebvre's theory of the right to the city has become a rallying call for activists who are fighting to have a voice in how their cities are shaped. Those who are demanding their right to the city might not have any idea who Henri Lefebvre is, but they understand they want a voice in how their city is shaped. Professor David Harvey described in his book *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* that the right to the city does not come from academics or even from Lefebvre's writings, but instead from the oppressed urban masses who take to the streets to demand better conditions and a voice in their city, this phenomenon has always existed in cities, Lefebvre is simply someone who described its mechanism and its relation to capitalism (Harvey, 2012).

The right to the city currently is used as a call to challenge the neoliberal dominance of current city planning (King, 2018). It is a call to remove capital away from the levers of power and reinstate the people who live in cities as those who decide how it grows. Guerilla and tactical urban interventions embody the politics of the rights to the city, this has been discussed previously in the article "Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City" (Iveson, 2013). The articles author Kurt Iveson lumps tactical and guerilla urban interventions under the umbrella term DIY (Do-It-Yourself) urbanism, and he claims that these urban interventions are bound together by the politics of Lefebvre's right to the city, which is asserting use value over exchange value when shaping urban space (Iveson, 2013).

Chapter 3 Research Design

The research in this report is done in the hopes of answering the proposed research question. In order to answer the research question a series of related sub questions must first be answered.

3.1 Research Question

How can guerilla and tactical urbanism create long-term sustainable changes in cities?

3.2 Sub Questions

- What are the consequences of neoliberal urbanism in Barcelona?

- How is guerilla urbanism different from tactical urbanism, how do these differences affect their ability to create long-term change in the city?

- How do urban interventions challenge dominant discourses around urban development? How can these challenges to discourse lead to changes in the material conditions of citizens?

- How have past urban interventions in Barcelona lead to long-term sustainable changes in the city?

3.3 Scope

This research focuses on Barcelona as a case because of its history of neoliberal urban planning and also its history of strong community activism. Barcelona is also an excellent case for this research due to the fact that there are several both guerilla and tactical interventions that have become permanent parts of the urban and social fabric of the city. This research will only focus on the largest and most prominent interventions in Barcelona. Smaller guerilla and tactical urban interventions are active in Barcelona and in further research could add real value to the collective knowledge of how these types of interventions can change cities.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Scientific Approach

This report uses a deductive approach using qualitative methods to observe how existing theories surrounding urban interventions relate to what is happening in the real world, specifically in three cases in Barcelona. This report takes a pragmatic approach to research under the Ontological and Epistemological assumptions that multiple realities can exist and change based on who is the observer, therefor the best method is one which provides solutions to a problem (Patel, 2015). A pragmatic approach to this research allows analyzing the different realties that exist between community members and city planners and how these conflicting realities can be the catalyst for urban intervention.

4.2 Methods

Structured Interview

To get a better picture of how both guerilla and tactical urban interventions in Barcelona were conceived and became long-term parts of the city, those involved in the creation or movements associated with urban interventions in Barcelona were contacted and interviewed. Questions had been prepared ahead of time after preliminary research was done on the urban action that they took part in. Claudio Cattaneo a resident of Can Masdeu and professor at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona was interviewed about his involvement in the early days of the squatted community center at Can Masdeu and how the project has evolved. Salvador Rueda the inventor of the superblock model had been previously interviewed about the process of implementing the first superblock pilot project at Poblenou using tactical urbanism so insights from this past interview were also useful for this report.

Case Study

This report looks at hree cases of guerilla and tactical urbanism in Barcelona and how they were able to become long-term urban interventions. Each case is analyzed through the lenses of the theories discussed in chapter 2. The three cases, Can Masdeu, Can Batlló and the Poblenou superblock pilot project, are three of the largest and most successful urban interventions in the city of Barcelona in recent years. Each case highlights different aspects of how guerilla or tactical urbanism can be used to create change and what the outcomes of these interventions mean for the future of neoliberal urbanism. These cases were chosen because of their size and success, but also because they have been studied about and written about previously by scholars.

Chapter 5 Analysis

5.1 Consequences of Neoliberal Urbanism in Barcelona

As stated in the chapter 1.2 Barcelona is a city with a long history of working class and anti-capitalist resistance. Despite that, it has not been able to escape the grasp of neoliberal urbanism and its impact on city planning. The neoliberalization of urban planning in Barcelona starting with the redevelopment of Barcelona for the 1992 summer Olympics and then further privatization and touristification after the 2008 economic crisis have had disastrous effects on the sustainability of the city (Ballestero, 2019). From 1990 to 2016 the amount of people visiting Barcelona overnight went from 3.7 million to more than 31 million (Ballestero, 2019). In addition to this tourism boom, since the housing market in Spain crashed in 2008, the amount of people renting their home rather than owning has increased from 7% to more than 22% in 2017 (Blanco-Romero , Blázquez-Salom , & Cànoves, 2018). This is in part due to people having been forced out of homes they used to own through foreclosure and the increase in property value that keeps young people from being able to own a home. This combination of an increase of tourism and an increase in renters has in Barcelona, driven up rents to an unsustainable level where long time residents are struggling to afford to live in their city (Blanco-Romero , Blázquez-Salom , & Cànoves, 2018).

The neoliberal development practices in place after 2008 favored the continued growth of the tourism sector and allowed for gentrification and the displacement of citizens as the city center became a playground for tourists and existing housing stock was eaten up by short-term vacation rentals (Hinton, 2019). The neoliberal push to use tourism as a quick fix to the financial collapse of 2008 had negative effects on labor and employment in the city as well with many new low quality jobs being created. The recent creation of jobs in Barcelona has been characterized by temporary contracts and low wages that put workers in a precarious position with little power to negotiate better working conditions (Ballestero, 2019).
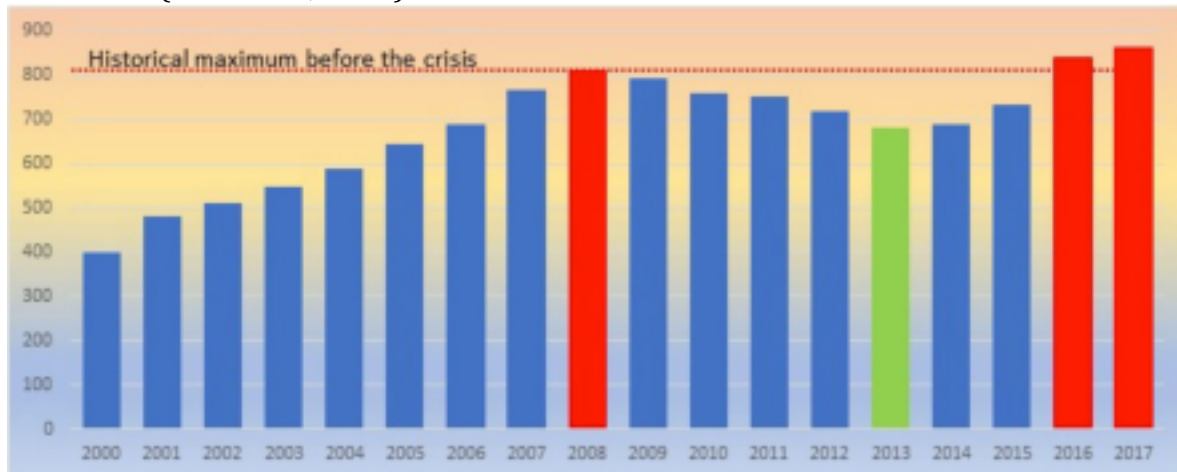

Figure 5.1.1 Average Price of rental housing in Barcelona per year in euros per month (Blanco-Romero , Blázquez-Salom , & Cànoves, 2018)

The commodification of the city under neoliberal urbanism has also shrunk the amount of public space citizens have access to, and puts up barriers to access to culture. This can be seen with the creation of a pay to enter area of Park Güell in 2013 because of the influx of tourists (Smith, 2013). Citizens pay a smaller fee than tourists to enter the park, but this is just one example of how when a city becomes a commodity citizens have to compete for space. Neoliberal urbanism pushed Barcelona's urban development to further invest in tourism because it was a way for capital to extract exchange value from land after the housing had market collapsed.

The affects that neoliberal urbanism has had on Barcelona mirror what Henri Lefebvre saw when he was studying 1960's Paris and writing *The Right to the City*. Lefebvre spoke about city centers being turned into commodities that serve to create exchange value; this is exactly what has happened in Barcelona's city center with the gentrification of the old city and proliferation of short term rentals and tourism housing (Lefebvre, 1968).

Instead of providing use value as homes for people who live and work in the city, existing housing stock is being used to create exchange value through tourism and speculation. This greatly benefits the land owning class and the real estate sector but directly threatens the rights to the city of the working class people who are pushed out of the city center, as they become no longer able to afford the higher rents. Neoliberal urbanism is the underlying cause as it creates the conditions for the speculative real-estate market by opening the city up to global competition, using the influence of capital to push for land use policies that allow for growth in the important sectors such as finance, tourism real-estate and insurance, and finally by keeping planning power out of the hands of citizens who might try to block these efforts.

Lefebvre is relevant once again when talking about the conditions for work that neoliberal urbanism creates in the city. He explained that the change of power relation in cities from Emperors and an oppressed populace to bourgeois democracy and exploitation under capitalism produce different outcomes in the type of value extracted from the city. The dynamics Lefebvre described in his book can easily be seen today in the tourism sector. Tourism in Barcelona creates over 150,000 jobs in the city and generates 7.3% of the GDP but like Lefebvre states these jobs which are in service of tourists are creating less use value for the actual citizens of the city than the jobs urban working class had under the oppression of kings and emperors of the past (Ortiz & Pont Alguero, 2019) (Lefebvre, 1968). Neoliberal urbanism today denies the right to the city to marginalized communities and the working class people of Barcelona keeping them in precarious housing and working situations and without a way to assert their demands for future development of the city.

Once the consequences of neoliberal urbanism had become apparent to the people of Barcelona they began to reject it and demanded a change of course. The rise of Anti-tourism protests and community groups, striking hotel workers, activists fighting evictions and the election of the left wing activist party Bencomú, were all signs that the people of the city wanted change but the process of creating change is slow. The Bencomú city government created the Barcelona strategic tourism plan for 2020 to try and address some of the issues of tourism and sustainability, where the mayor and leader of Bencomú, Ada Colau, specifically addressed issues of labor saying the city must "pay special attention to the quality of employment which is generated" referring to tourism (Ballestero, 2019). There have been restrictions on airbnb and tourist apartments put in place with the

promise of more community involvement in the tourism policies of the city but with the recent narrow win of Bencomú in the last election, it can be inferred that the government has not been as effective in enacting reforms as it needs to be to keep the support of the people.

Lefebvre believed that the extraction of exchange value and use value from the commodification of the city would lead to resistance by the urban working class (Blanco-Romero , Blázquez-Salom , & Cànoves, 2018). Decades of a slow shift towards neoliberal urban planning along with reoccurring economic crisis's created the conditions that exist in Barcelona today, and lead to activist movements such as La PAH that used direct action to fight the eviction of families from their homes in Barcelona, and the rise of Bencomú. These are clearly expressions of the conflict Lefebvre spoke about, but another aspect of this conflict is urban interventions. These conditions created by neoliberal urbanism also are a part of what sparked some prominent guerilla and even tactical urban interventions that stem from people being denied their rights to the city.

5.2 The Difference Between Guerilla Urbanism & Tactical Urbanism

Guerilla urbanism and tactical urbanism are both methods of urban intervention that often utilize cheap materials such as paint or recycled wooden pallets to create temporary changes to the urban landscape. Both are sometimes grouped together under the term DIY or Do-It-Yourself urbanism. In some cases both guerilla and tactical urban interventions evolve to become more permanent but they are characterized by their flexibility and spontaneity. Although similar, these two types of urban interventions contain major differences.

5.2.1 Guerilla Urbanism

One of the main aspects of guerilla urbanism that sets it apart from tactical urbanism is that guerilla urban interventions are done without permission from local authorities and may involve breaking laws or ignoring regulations (Pagano, 2013). Some guerilla urbanism is done for individual or expressive reasons such as graffiti, which could be considered a guerilla urban action. It's also common for guerilla urban actions to be done with political aims and the intention to raise awareness about urban issues, such as activists painting bike lanes where they believe they are needed. Guerilla urbanism can also be expressions of needs created out of necessity when city governments fail to address problems, this can be seen with the creation of tent cities by the homeless when a city is facing a housing crisis.

These different acts of guerilla urbanism can also be defined by what type of space they are interacting with and how. Four types of guerilla urbanism emerge once you analyze them this way. (Iveson, 2013)

- Defamiliarization: Identifying new possibilities for everyday urban spaces
- Refamiliarization: Reclaiming abandoned or alienated spaces
- Decommodification: Asserting use-value over exchange-value in an urban space
- Alternative Economies: Illegal street vendors, recyclers scrap metal collectors

Beyond these four types, each action varies in its permanence, legality, and anonymity, if it occupies public or private space and if it was done by collective or independent actors.

5.2.2 Tactical Urbanism

Tactical urbanism has been used by some as an umbrella term for temporary urban interventions but for the sake of this report, tactical urbanism will only cover those acts of urban intervention which are either done with permission from or in collaboration with local authority. Tactical urbanism uses the same low cost and temporary techniques as guerilla urbanism and also can be divided into the same four general types of actions, the exception is that tactical urban interventions are done within the legal parameters set by the city, in collaboration with or done exclusively by the city government (Hou J. , 2020). This can allow for more funding and larger interventions to take place and also keep urban interventions from being immediately removed by authorities.

An example of tactical urbanism being applied by city governments is car free days where city streets are temporarily shut down using traffic cones and barricades, this is a form of refamiliarization, reclaiming a space that is normally occupied by cars. These types of tactical interventions allow cities to test out temporary changes to the urban fabric and see what the effects of changes without spending money on permanent changes. Tactical urbanism can also be a way for citizens to take a more active role in the design and planning of the city. An example of this is the Better Block Foundation in the United States. This non-profit organization teaches stakeholders and community leaders about urban design and helps them create the improvements they want in their communities through tactical urbanism. The foundation also facilitates cooperation between community leaders and government officials to help get permission for the project. After the temporary project is finished the foundation creates a report for the local government and citizens with recommendations on how to create more permanent changes (Better Block Foundation, 2019). The first Better Block project was actually a guerilla urban intervention in Dallas Texas. Community members there wanted to have improvements like bike lanes in their neighborhood, but realized due to the cities laws they couldn't have them in their neighborhood. Fed up community members decided to paint bike lanes and organized a street market to demonstrate what their neighborhood could be like with these improvements (Better Block Foundation, 2019). After this first project, Jason Roberts, a community activist and urban designer founded the Better Block Foundation to do more projects in other cities and help communities gain the knowledge and tools to build neighborhood improvements themselves while fostering relationships between community leaders and local governments. These new better block projects are done with permission from the city but are still done through low cost temporary improvements so they are tactical urban interventions that come from real collaboration between citizens and city government.

5.2.3 Guerilla vs. Tactical Urbanism on Creating Long Term Change

Both guerilla and tactical urbanism have unique advantages and disadvantages when it comes to creating long-term changes. One of the main advantages to tactical urbanism is its legal status and increasing popularity as a new planning method with city governments (Hou J. , 2020). Tactical urbanism can allow citizens to get a taste of what an urban space could look like when its created to produce use value, and once these benefits are seen its harder to excuse using urban space only to produce exchange value. A possible negative effect of tactical urbanism becoming more popular is that if cities claim to be engaging citizens and stakeholders through tactical urbanism, whether those claims are legitimate or not, it gives city government an excuse to crack down on any guerilla urban actions and could have a negative impact on the normative acceptability of guerilla interventions.

Guerilla urbanism gets its strength from its status as a grass roots and subversive act that can be used as a form of resistance against failures of the current system (Hou J. , 2020). Guerilla urbanism is also the most well received when interventions are able to gain normative acceptance from the public. These interventions are more likely to be deemed normatively acceptable by the public if they are able to spotlight injustice or show useful alternatives for a space. These interventions that gain normative acceptability and have support from citizens become much harder to get rid of by city governments even if they go against neoliberal forces like private property. One example of this is Can Masdeu, a squatted community center on the outskirts of Barcelona. Can Masdeu residents occupy an abandoned property owned by the Hospital de Sant Pau and have been able to avoid eviction due to not only resistance from the squatters but mostly from the support of other activists and the local community (Can Masdeu). The fact that the public sees the current use of this property as normatively acceptable has caused law enforcement to decide against pressing criminal charges and enforcing property law, but the land and building the community center occupies is still private meaning the government could change its mind and attempt to evict them at any time (Can Masdeu).

One way that both guerilla and tactical urban interventions can go from temporary to permanent installations or cause other long-term changes in planning policy and the urban fabric is through the three-stage process of rupturing, accreting and bridging. This process is how both types of interventions can gain public support and change the perception of how the space they occupy should be developed. Both types of urban interventions are able to go through this process but they do so in different ways.

In the case of a guerilla urban intervention the process of rupturing takes place as the intervention disrupts not only the normal use of a space but also causes a disruption in the political and legal process of city making, simply because the action was done without any input or permission from authority. An extra layer to this is added when the action is done on private rather than public land because the action then also is challenging the discourse of private property and therefore posing a challenge to the neoliberal forces, which rely on the protection of private property. With tactical urbanism the act of rupturing comes from the change use in the space and how the new use could change the perception of citizens and users. Tactical urbanism can also cause rupturing when it involves citizens directly with the planning and implementing of the tactical action because this method of tactical urbanism goes against neoliberal urban planning practice where

only experts, politicians and the interests of capital are truly involved in the planning and design process of city development.

The second stage, accreting can occur when an intervention lasts long enough, or reoccur in some form. Enduring or repeating guerilla interventions are sometimes able to create social and political forces if the community embraces the interventions. The more connections made between the actors involved with a guerilla intervention and the local community the more social or political power the guerilla urban intervention has. For guerilla urban interventions this can only happen if citizens consider the intervention normatively acceptable. Without being considered normatively acceptable by community members it's more likely that local authorities will remove a guerilla intervention. Referring back to figure 2.2.2 a guerilla urban intervention will be better able to reach the stage of accreting if it normatively acceptable even if it's illegal according to the law because law enforcement has less of an incentive to enforce the letter of the law (Edwards, 2010).

Tactical urban interventions can move through this stage in the same way but without the threat of being shut down by law enforcement. Because of its legal status and collaboration with city government, a tactical intervention can gain political power through support from the local authorities. Tactical urban interventions also will usually involve data collection that results in a report at the end of a certain period. This report and data can also add to accreting social and political power. Tactical urban interventions must also be considered normatively acceptable to reach the accreting stage; if the local populace deems it normatively unacceptable and are hostile to the project, it's more likely the city will decide against supporting the intervention further even if it initially was granted legal permission (Edwards, 2010).

The final stage of bridging involves connecting with other organizations that are sympathetic to issues which an urban intervention is highlighting or seeking to solve. Guerilla urban interventions will usually start the bridging process by connecting with activists and community organization's to gain more social acceptance and legitimacy before attempting to negotiate or win over government officials, if that type of legitimacy is even wanted which varies depending on the intervention. Tactical urban interventions already are legitimized by the city before taking place, so in this case the bridging stage is used to win over community members who may not be supportive of the original intervention and then move to win a majority of support in city government.

By moving through these three stages both guerilla and tactical interventions have the possibility to create more permanent changes to the urban fabric through sustained political and social movements (Hou J. , 2018). The power behind the three stages is not always necessarily the actual quality of space or use value that a tactical or guerilla intervention provides but the way in which it can change the discourse about how urban spaces should be developed and who should have a say in the process.

5.3 How Guerilla & Tactical Urbanism Challenge the Dominant Discourse Around Urban Development

The current dominant discourse around urban development is controlled by neoliberal city governments that are trying to sell the myth of unlimited growth. As stated earlier in

this report, this is unsustainable and harms the most vulnerable members of the city and threatens the future health of the environment. Guerilla and tactical urbanism are both capable of challenging this dominant discourse of neoliberal planning but one is better positioned for this challenge than the other. Guerilla urbanism can challenge the dominant neoliberal discourse to promote sustainability because it is free from the pressure of the market and capitalist ideology. It can be used to promote urban development discourse that prioritizes use value over exchange value, for the benefit of the community and for the environment.

Guerilla urbanism is directly opposed to neoliberal urbanism because it is accessible to everyone; guerilla urbanism highlights where the right to the city is being denied to urban citizens and what needs they demand be met. It is an insurgent act of resistance to neoliberal urbanism simply because it is done by and for the people without regard for the deified sectors in the neoliberal city; finance, real estate and insurance. Though acts of guerilla urbanism are in conflict with neoliberal urbanism, the ones that are able to challenge the dominant discourse are those that are able to create political and social movements through the three-stage process (Hou J. , 2020). Because guerilla urban interventions are created by ordinary people and must be supported by the community in order to be normatively acceptable and have any hope of evading repercussions from law enforcement; then guerilla urbanism can be seen as a real world representation of the rights to the city, which are being denied or neglected by those in power. These guerilla urban interventions resist neoliberal urbanism and unsustainability and instead call for a more democratic city development where the needs of people are heard. These interventions shift the discourse away from profits and towards the needs and rights of citizens by providing alternate futures that are constructed around the material needs of citizens (Hou J. , 2020). This challenge to the discourse is not always intentionally political but can simply arise from guerilla interventions created out of necessity. The more an intervention highlights the need for use value based development and reveals the negative impact of maximizing the extraction of exchange value, the more threatening it is to the neoliberal discourse.

Tactical urbanism can also shift discourses by providing alternative futures for spaces but its limited in its radical potential because of its ties to government. Tactical urbanism has the potential to be used to collect valuable input and design ideas from citizens and then have them implemented by or with help from professionals. This can shift the discourse through the collection of data, positive reception from citizens who demand more projects where they can have an input in how to improve their city. Successful interventions can be used as examples so that sustainable projects may be scaled up and repeated throughout the city, this was done with the superblock project in Barcelona, which now is internationally recognized as a new planning tool to reduce vehicle traffic and increase public space (Rueda, 2019).

A tactical urban intervention may be able to show sustainable alternative futures and be a model for citizen involvement in planning, but it can also be used as a tool for gentrification. City governments can use tactical urbanism as a way to start to test improvements to a neighborhood with the interest of further development through real estate at a later point. Tactical urbanism is an appropriation of guerilla urbanism tactics by professional planners and city governments and because of this there's a danger of it being used to further the neoliberal agenda of cities (Hou J. , 2020) (Hou J. , 2020). Tactical

urbanism lacks the radical and anti-capitalist potential that guerilla urbanism has because it must seek permission from city governments that are heavily influenced by the interests of big business and developers. Tactical urbanism can't challenge the dominant discourse of neoliberal urbanism in a meaningful way like guerilla urbanism can unless it has the support of a progressive city government that is actively working against neoliberalism, something that's extremely rare currently. Tactical urbanism can actually poses a threat to the effectiveness of guerilla urbanism because it allows local authorities to control the amount of input stakeholders have on design and how much space they are willing to allocate to tactical urban interventions. This can be used to co-opt growing community interest in guerilla urban actions or anti-neoliberal sentiments that may be spreading through communities. Tactical urban interventions are not providing an alternative to the system created by city governments but instead show how much power they are willing to give to citizens in order to placate them as to prevent resistance to further neoliberal development (Hou J. , 2020).

5.4 How Past Urban Interventions in Barcelona Have Led to Long Term Sustainable Changes to the City

Barcelona is a city with a long history of innovation and activism in urban planning, from Ildefons Cerda expansion to the cities working class resistance during the civil war. In recent history there have been several urban interventions that have not only changed the urban fabric of the city but also shifted politics and policy towards a more sustainable future. This chapter will look at how three different guerilla and tactical interventions have been able to create sustainable change for the citizens of Barcelona, expanding the rights to the city.

5.4.1 Can Masdeu

Can Masdeu is a former leper hospital that sits between the base of the Collserola Natural Park and the Nou Barris district in north Barcelona. The building and surrounding area are owned by the Hospital de Sant Pau but had been left abandoned by the public hospital and was being eyed by residential developers (Cattaneo, 2020). In 2001 a group of activists broke into the old leper hospital with a plan to squat there and hold a conference to raise awareness of the threat of global climate change, the conference was held but afterwards the squat continued and evolved into a collaborative agroforestry project and community center which now exists today (Can Masdeu).

Can Masdeu is one of the most successful guerilla urban interventions in Barcelona, in its ability to protect this area of Collserola from urban development and through its creation of strong ties with the residents of Nou Barris. The buildings and valley of Can Masdeu had been left abandoned for decades, it was an underused asset to the community of Nou Barris but it was the property of the public Hospital de Sant Pau. Technically, this was public land due to the fact that the regional government of Catalonia owns the hospital and its lands; yet the residents of Nou Barris did not have access to this unused space. By squatting the old leper hospital and turning the area into community gardens and a community center the Can Masdeu activists were taking part in the refamiliarization and

decommodification of the space. This guerilla intervention reclaimed the abandoned leper hospital and the fertile land around it for community use, while also using the space to create use value in contrast to the hospital and the state which sought to extract exchange value from the area through selling or developing the land (Cattaneo, 2020). Today, Can Masdeu is a well-known project in the city of Barcelona and is involved with many of the different activist collectives and groups in the city. Claudio Cattaneo one of the current occupants of Can Masdeu said about the project, "Any politician that would try to evict us today would no longer have a career (Cattaneo, 2020)." In order to achieve the level of support that exists today the guerilla action at Can Masdeu first had to gain normative acceptance from the immediate community and move through the three stages of rupturing, accreting and bridging. Can Masdeu is interesting because it moves through the three stage process in a different order then explained by Mr. Hou, Can Masdeu first moved through the stage of bridging to create connections with NGO's before any guerilla action was taken.

Before the initial occupation of Can Masdeu, the activists forged connections with the local residents to gain support for their intervention (Cattaneo, 2020). Nou Barris is a working class area with a strong history of activism (Ajuntamente de Barcelona). The district's population grew during the 60s and 70s with many immigrants arriving from other parts of Spain, during this time strong neighborhood social movements formed and they still play an important part in the district today (Ajuntamente de Barcelona). One of the neighborhood organizations that the Can Masdeu squatters got in contact with before their occupation was Ateneu Popular Nou Barris (Cattaneo, 2020). Ateneu Popular is a cultural community center in Nou Barris that started in 1977 when residents occupied an asphalt plant in the district (Ateneu Nou Barris). Ateneu Popular is well respected by residents and has connections with many different neighborhood associations, local politicians and social movements. Being the product of a squat themselves, Ateneu Popular supported the Can Masdeu project and became one of their most crucial supporters (Cattaneo, 2020). The original squatters of Can Masdeu also got support from the environmental movement to protect Collserola Nature Park from development (Cattaneo, 2020). Before the activists began to occupy Can Masdeu they had already gained approval and support from many crucial neighborhood groups and also broader social movements to ensure the citizens of Nou Barris would consider their actions normatively acceptable.

Once the activists knew they had support of the local community, on December 25th 2001 they occupied the abandoned leper hospital and shortly after the Hospital de Sant Pau filed a criminal complaint with authorities (Can Masdeu). A few months after the beginning of the occupation there was an attempt by the police to evict the activists from the site but the new residents of Can Masdeu resisted peacefully. The new residents of Can Masdeu hung themselves from chairs, rope and wooden beams so that the police could not move them without risking injury to the squatters (Cattaneo, 2020).

Figure 5.4.1.1 Squatters of Can Masdeu peacefully resisting eviction (Vall de Can Masdeu)

The police stayed and attempted to wait out the squatters for three days while those who hung from the walls were denied food and water (Can Masdeu). Other activist and supporters from the local neighborhood came and camped on the Can Masdeu lands in solidarity with the resisting squatters (Cattaneo, 2020). While media started to report the story of the squatter's dramatic resistance their support grew with protests spreading throughout the city in support of their occupation (Cordingley).

Figure 5.4.1.2 Protestors supporting Can Masdeu holding a sign that reads No urban speculation (Vall de Can Masdeu)

Exposed to the elements and without proper protection some squatters got hypothermia while police blocked the squatters from receiving food or water in an effort to starve them out (Cattaneo, 2020). With public support building and the dangerous position the squatters were in the judge overseeing the eviction ruled that the right to life was more important than the right to private property and halted the eviction (Cattaneo, 2020). This first victory against the state and private property can be seen as the rupturing phase of this guerilla intervention. The initial occupation and resistance against eviction shattered the illusion that this abandoned space was owned by the hospital and could not be used by citizens, after the dramatic resistance Can Masdeu became a contested space where new alternative futures were being offered to the people of Nou Barris and Barcelona.

After this initial rupturing and the first win against the Hospital de Sant Pau, Can Masdeu moved to the accreting phase building even stronger connections with civil society through the creation of a community garden and community center for the residents of Nou Barris (Cordingley). This community garden was actually the first community garden in the city of Barcelona with plots available for anyone who wanted one (Cattaneo, 2020). By having regular community members actively working the land, hosting educational events and letting collectives and social movements host their own events at the community center, Can Masdeu has entrenched itself as part of the Nou Barris urban and social fabric.

Figure 5.4.1.3 Community Gardens of Can Masdeu (Vall de Can Masdeu)

Moving through the three-stage process in this way has allowed Can Masdeu to thrive and avoid eviction. After the first failed eviction it was revealed in the media that the hospital and regional government were looking to create a residential development at the site of Can Masdeu, this damaged the public opinion of the hospital and further legitimized the Can Masdeu project (Cattaneo, 2020). The Hospital de Sant Pau later filed a civil suit against the squatters. In February of 2005 a judge ruled that while the Hospital does have the right to regain use of its property, the social project happening at Can Masdeu is important and the hospital should negotiate with the occupants (Can Masdeu). Because of the collapse of the housing market, new development protections for the Collserola Natural Park and public support for Can Masdeu no further evictions have been attempted (Can Masdeu).

Can Masdeu is a guerilla urban intervention that directly challenges neoliberal urbanism and the dominant discourse in cities today. Can Masdeu protects the ecology of the Collserola Natural Park and keeps the area from becoming the next victim of the speculative real estate market. Can Masdeu took a stand with the people of Nou Barris and fought to make publicly owned land accessible to the people. Now community members can use the abandoned land that was being horded by Hospital de Sant Pau. Because of the guerilla intervention at Can Masdeu the local community is using the newly accessible space in a way that benefits them outside of a capitalist context, whether that is through access to green space, gardening and urban agriculture or the cultural and social activities that happen at Can Masdeu. These are all sustainable activities that would not have been prioritized had the hospital and the state been allowed to complete their plan to sell the land to residential developers.

5.4.2 Can Batlló

Can Batlló was one of the largest factories in Barcelona built in the 19th century (Peña, Beyond guerrilla urbanism: Can Batlló and the slowness of knowing, managing, and making, 2019). It was an important job center in the working class neighborhood of Sants through the 1900's but after Spain's democratization in the 1970's the area was rezoned as public space in the 1976 Plan General Metropolitano (PGM) where the new government promised of new amenities for the surrounding community (Peña, Participation and activism: the case of Can Batlló). Despite the new zoning the property continued to be privately held and operated as an industrial area. In 1991 Can Batlló's owner died and the property was transferred to their heirs who proposed private development of the site and began working with the city to change the zoning to permit privatization of what was supposed to be public space promised back in the 70's (Peña, Participation and activism: the case of Can Batlló). The new project for this space promised a school a park, affordable housing and an urgent care center among other services for the community but the project continued to stall and into the 2000's there were still no changes made to the site (Peña, Participation and activism: the case of Can Batlló).

In 2009 tired of the decades of empty promises the community around Can Batlló formed the community group Plataforma Can Batlló ès pel barri, also known as the Plataforma Can Batlló (Can Batllo, 2020). The Plataforma demanded that within 2 years by

June 2011 progress be made on developing the site for the community, if not they threatened that they would occupy Can Batlló themselves and build what they needed for their community (Can Batllo, 2020). This threat of a Guerilla urban intervention acts as the rupturing event where a group of community activists are demanding their rights to the city because the city government has failed to provide the services and spaces that they need. The Plataforma is threatening to use guerilla urbanism to refamiliarize and decomodify the Can Batlló factory, reclaiming ownership of the space that was promised to the public in the PMG and promoting development for use value over the neoliberal plan to create exchange value through private development.

Figure 5.4.2.1 The Can Batlló factory (Barcelonas.com)

The Plataforma actually gave the city government a window of time to complete its plan for privatization of the space because of the promise of new services for the community but even so, the city government did not take their demands seriously. The neoliberal agenda for the privatization and development of Can Batlló continued to stall as Spain was still in the midst of economic crisis. While the city's project continued to stall the Plataforma Can Batlló moved to the accreting stage and began creating a movement in support of its radical plan to occupy and build Can Batlló as a public space developed by the local community in service of themselves (Can Batllo, 2020). The Plataforma worked with the community to create maps and plans for the new vision for Can Batlló; they held conferences, protests and media campaigns to put more pressure on the Barcelona city government and gain support for their movement (Peña, Participation and activism: the case of Can Batlló).

In June of 2011 less than a week before the Plataforma's deadline the city cracked under the mounting pressure from the Platforma's movement and their threats of guerilla action. The city held a press conference announcing that block 11 of the Can Batlló factory would be given to the Plataforma to be developed by the community (Can Batllo, 2020).

The Plataforma celebrated and on June 11ᵗʰ, the day set for the illegal occupation, the community entered block 11 and celebrated their victory (Peña, Participation and activism: the case of Can Batlló).

Figure 5.4.2.2 Residents entering Can Batlló June 11ᵗʰ 2011 (López, 2019)

This marks a big shift in the factory's history and also in the Plataforma's tactics. Part of the factory was now fully under community control and could finally be developed to suit the needs of local residents, but the Plataforma was no longer a community group threatening illegal guerilla urban action and now became a legal developer working with the city in what could now be describes as a type of tactical urbanism.

The Plataforma was now moving from the accreting stage to the bridging stage working as a community group to develop a space created for and by the community but with support from the city. Since being handed block 11 in 2011 the Plataforma Can Batlló along with community volunteers have renovated the block and were able to gain control of other building that were going to be demolished but are now instead owned by the community (Peña, Beyond guerrilla urbanism: Can Batlló and the slowness of knowing, managing, and making, 2019). What were once abandoned factory buildings slated for private development is now a lively community developed area with a community center a library, bar, art studio, daycare, community garden, children's playground and more. Can Batlló stands out as a model for community based development that prioritizes use value instead of extracting exchange value from property speculation. The Plataforma Can Batlló is now the legitimate owner of much of the Can Batlló factory with support from the current Mayor Ada Colau who promised over 54 million Euros to support their future projects, a large budget for a group that started out by threatening to squat the area illegally (Peña, Beyond guerrilla urbanism: Can Batlló and the slowness of knowing, managing, and making, 2019).

Figure 5.4.2.3 The Library and Can Batlló bar at Block 11 (LaCol) (López, 2019)

Can Batlló is an interesting case of urban intervention because it has both guerilla and tactical urban elements. The Plataforma was created because the disuse of Can Batlló and unfulfilled promised from developers and the city were considered normatively unacceptable by the residents living in the area. The Plataforma gained support for their threatened guerilla actions, which were deemed by community members as acceptable acts of deviance due to the failure of city government to make good on its promises. Because of this, the city decided to give part of the property back to the community to avoid the breaking of laws, which could have threatened the discourse around private property, and neoliberal urban development practices, which had continuously failed the community and denied them their rights to the city. By legitimizing the project at Can Batlló the city government weakened the threat it posed to the dominant discourse but also provided a way for citizens to reclaim their right to the city through developing their own public spaces at Can Batlló. Instead of the luxury high rises and park that were planned to be developed by Can Batlló's last owner; now the historic structure of the factory has been saved and the local community has access to public space which it can develop based on their own wants and needs.

### 5.4.3 Poblenou Superblock Pilot Project

The superblocks, known as superillas in Catalan are Barcelona's famous street design that has gained the attention of planners and city governments all over the world. The superblock model was initially created as a way to reduce private car use and noise pollution from traffic, now it's being used to promote sustainable mobility and the reclaiming of public space for pedestrians (Roberts, 2019).

Superblocks work by creating a polygon from a grid of four intersecting blocks and closing them off to through traffic on the inner parts of the polygon. This can be done using tactical urbanism to cheaply and quickly change the layout of the street so that only

residential vehicles, delivery vehicles and those making turns are allowed on the inside of the gird. This creates an inner area where pedestrians have the priority over private vehicles (BCNecologia , 2012). With reduced vehicle traffic part of the street can be converted into new public space for use as playgrounds, seating etcetera.
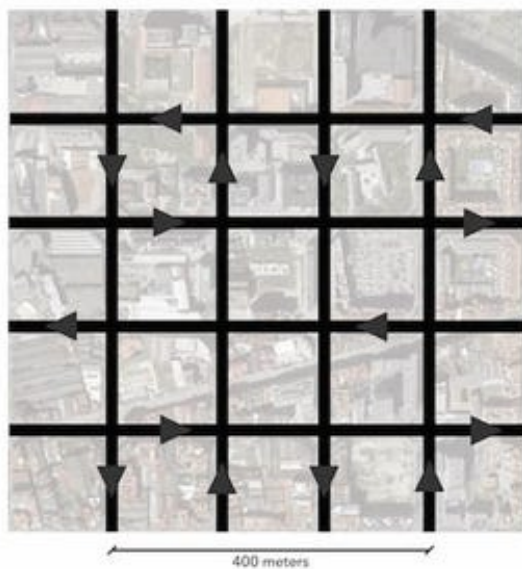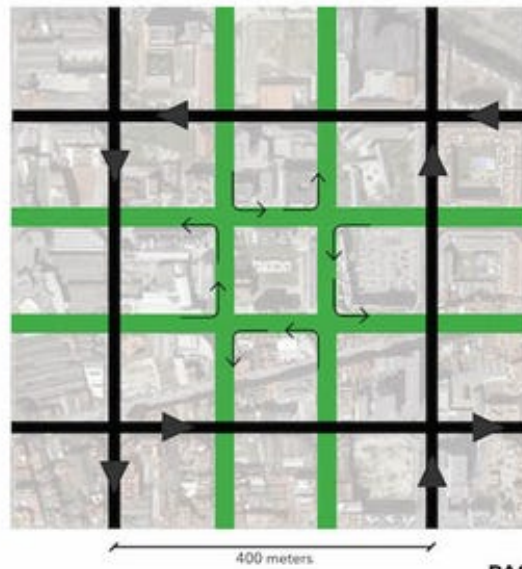
Figure 5.4.3.1 the layout of a typical superblock (Garfield, 2016)

This model for traffic calming was invented by Salvador Rueda a former member of the Barcelona city council who later worked as the director of BCNecologia, a public consortium that works with urban sustainability issues (BCNecologia , 2012). The superblock model had been added to Barcelona's urban mobility plan in 2013 but the first superblock created with this grid design wasn't until 2016 after Ada Colau and her political party Bencomú came into power (Roberts, 2019). In 2016 the first superblock pilot project took place in the neighborhood of Poblenou. The project had been approved by the city government as a test run for a superblock in the neighborhood and it was to be designed as a joint project between architectural schools in Barcelona and Salvador Rueda (Roberts, 2019). This pilot superblock became a tactical urban intervention as it was created with cheap recycled materials and made to be easily taken apart or changed. This pilot project was done without input from the local residents and the only warnings that it was happening were some flyers put up around the area (Roberts, 2019).
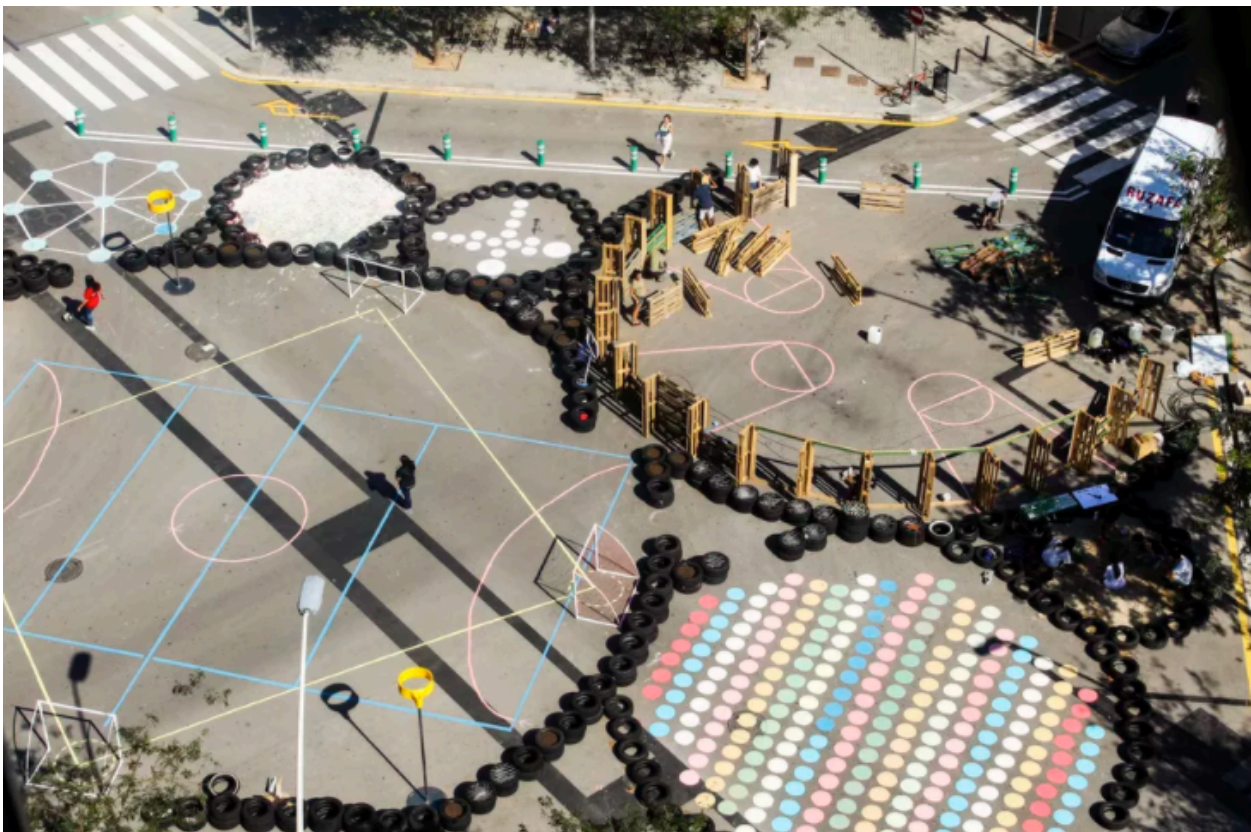

Figure 5.4.3.2 The Poblenou Superblock pilot project in 2016 (Roberts, 2019)

This test superblock was experimenting with Defamiliarization, identifying new possibilities for how streets should be used and organized. The streets had always been there but they were only a space for cars or for crossing, the superblock pilot project it showed that the streets have the potentials to be spaces for people. This first implementation of the pilot project was the rupturing moment, it changed how the streets around Poblenou were accessed and used but it also highlighted a lack of local knowledge from the city government since they didn't involve any of the locals. This lack of involvement caused a backlash to what was supposed to be seen as a positive improvement

to their neighborhood. A citizens group formed, Plataforma d'Afectats per la superilla del Poblenou, this group protested the superblock and pressured the city government to remove it (Roberts, 2019). The new traffic laws around the superblock were deemed not normatively acceptable by the residents in Poblenou, even if added public space was being praised by those living inside the inner superblock; Not being able to drive through their streets and having their bus routes changed was seen as unacceptable by the rest of the community (Roberts, 2019).

In order to quell the opposition to the pilot project the city began a collaborative redesign process with the residents of Poblenou to create better public spaces and hear their concerns about the traffic situation around the superblock (Roberts, 2019). Through this collaborative redesign the city government was able to get to the accreting stage, creating a political and social force to promote the superblock. With the redesign of the superblock the city opened one of the streets within the grid to through traffic and returned the bus route that passed through that block, the city also added better equipment to the public spaces such as picnic tables and a children's playground (Roberts, 2019). This redesign helped the city government to be able to create changes to the superblock so that it would be considered normatively acceptable by residents and the use of tactical urbanism made it so that changing the superblock and shifting traffic patterns could be done quickly and cheaply (Roberts, 2019).

Figure 5.4.3.3 Poblenou Superblock after redesign (Stouhi, 2018)

After the redesign resistance to the project faded and public support for the project increased, there is now a community group in support of the Poblenou superblock called Collectiu Superilla Poblenou which brings this intervention to the bridging stage giving it

more permanence (Collectiu Superilla Poblenou). Collectiu Superilla Poblenou promotes improvements that residents want to see in the Poblenou superblock but also support the superblock model being implemented throughout the city (Collectiu Superilla Poblenou). Through the use of tactical urbanism the city government was able to implement this new model for reclaiming public space for pedestrians and learn throughout their pilot project why public participation during the design process is important for the success of tactical urban interventions. The superblock project also showed the city how tactical urbanism is useful in allowing for quick changes to be made based on public needs and wants. Salvador Rueda has said about the Poblenou Superblock that is its greatest strength is that it allows for flexibility and the ability of residents to choose how they want to use their new public space (Rueda, 2019). Learning from this pilot project the city government is now implementing several superblocks throughout Barcelona and involving the local communities in the design process (Roberts, 2019).
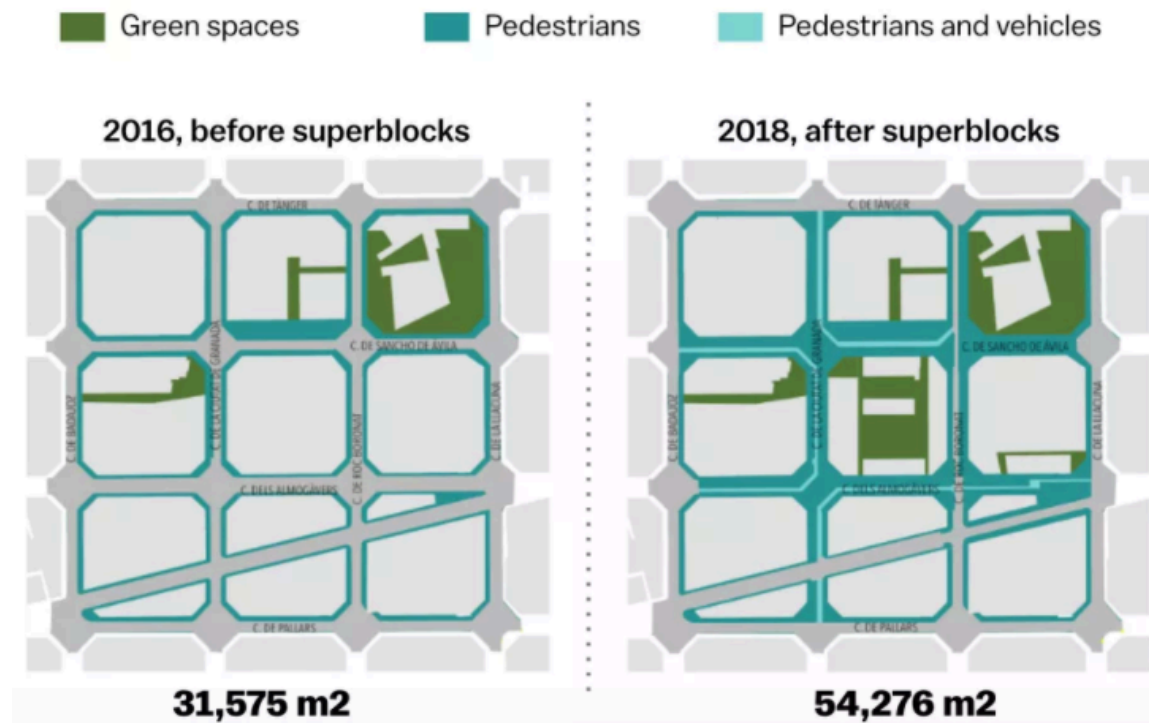

Figure 5.4.3.4 Increase in public space after implementing the superblock (Roberts, 2019)

The use of tactical urbanism to implement the superblock pilot project gave the city government of Barcelona a way to test this new design to promote sustainability without risking large amounts of money and political capital. The superblock model is one that promotes sustainable mobility public space and ecological benefits but it does not directly challenge neoliberal urban development in cities like Can Batlló and Can Masdeu. The Poblenou pilot project uses tactical urbanism to change how street space is prioritized so it's not directly threatening extraction of exchange value from property since the streets were already serving as public space optimized for use value, the superblock just shifts that use from prioritizing use by private vehicle to use by pedestrians. The superblock model as a tactical intervention actually has the potential to be used to increase the extraction of

exchange value through real-estate speculation. When the neighborhoods of Gracia and El Gótico closed off some of their streets to vehicle traffic in the 1990s and early 2000s they both experienced gentrification and increased tourist traffic (Roberts, 2019). These neighborhoods are older and already more popular with tourists then Poblenou which is an industrial working class neighborhood but the risk of gentrification from superblocks remain as they receive even more public support and recognition as a way to increase the quality of life in cities. According to Rueda the best way to keep superblocks from causing gentrification is to implement even more superblocks and increase the quality of urban spaces through the entire city so that not only certain areas are afforded the privileges of public space and calmer streets (Rueda, 2019).

Still even without a direct challenge to the neoliberal urban development of cities, the pilot project did shift the discourse to include more participation from residents in the design process of public space. The project also launched the popularity of the superblock as a model globally and within Barcelona so that now residents in other neighborhoods are demanding a superblock in their own neighborhood (Roberts, 2019). This tactical intervention increased the amount of public space in the neighborhood of Poblenou where more than 200 cultural activities have taken place for the community (Rueda, 2019). The social movements and groups like Collectiu Superilla Poblenou that formed because of the superblock ensure that residents have a way to demand their rights to the city in how this new public space is designed and used. This tactical intervention also serves as an environmental solution to sustainable mobility through incentivizing active transport and public transportation over the use of a private vehicle. The Poblenou pilot project serves as a great example of how tactical urbanism can be used to promote sustainability but that it is most effective in creating long lasting change when the tactical intervention involves real public participation with local residents.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 How Guerilla and Tactical Urbanism Create Long Term Sustainable Change & The Risk's Of Each Technique

Each of the three urban interventions analyzed in this report were responses to different needs and problems, climate change awareness, broken promises from the city government, noise pollution and car clogged streets; but the urban interventions they created as solutions all centered the right to the city. Can Masdeu did this through protecting Collserola Nature Park from speculative development and keeping it as accessible green space for the community and opening their own space up for community gardens prioritizing the use value of nature and open space to citizens over the extraction of value from the land for private developers. The Plataforma Can Batlló demanded new services and public space for their neighborhood and where neoliberal urbanism had failed for decades, they were able to build spaces and services for themselves based on the wishes of the community not the market. The superblock project which started out as a top down initiative, has only been able to become the massive success that is it today because the city government listened to the demands and concerns of the people and now sees regular citizens as active participants in the planning process.

These bottom up urban interventions, both guerilla and tactical were able to create real long-term sustainable changes in Barcelona. Each intervention prioritized environmental and societal use value over extraction of the maximum amount of exchange value that is seen with neoliberal urban development. These interventions were successfully able to create long-term changes because city residents deemed them as acceptable interventions and they passed through the three-stage process of rupturing acceding and bridging to create larger social and political movements that backed up the intervention. The power from the social and political forces created around the interventions are what allow them to remain in place and challenge the dominant discourse of neoliberal urbanism in cities, without any social or political power behind an intervention it's much more likely that the state will intervene to protect private property and remove any threat to the financial, insurance or real estate sectors regardless of what benefits or use value an intervention may provide for actual citizens of the city.

Guerilla and tactical urbanism are useful because cheap materials can be used to drastically change the use of or perception of a space in the city. The cheapness and relative ease of creating interventions through guerilla and tactical urbanism makes it accessible to not only poorer cities but also non-professionals and every day citizens. It allows for radical experiments and can be a catalyst to energize communities and urban movements. It is simply a cheap accessible way to assert the right to the city through appropriating space for city dwellers rather than private entities. When used to empower citizens and communities both guerilla and tactical urbanism can expand the rights to the city to marginalized and working class people who are almost never represented or consulted in the neoliberal urban development process. But guerilla and tactical urban interventions are not always collaborative, and they don't always create large social or political movements, they also are not always permanent or seen as positive. Even with successful bottom-up community led interventions there is the danger of neoliberal forces capitalizing off of the success. Any interventions that improve neighborhoods risk speculative real estate using the improvements as tools for gentrification. Any political movement coming from a tactical or guerilla intervention must be aware of the possibility for neoliberal actors to try and coopt their movement and try to extract exchange value from their intervention through real estate speculation or touristification of the space. This is especially relevant to tactical urban interventions, which are in closer proximity to authority and city government. Guerilla urbanism can also be coopted or created by actors from outside of the community that create interventions at odds with community needs or values.

The three examples analyzed in this report are some of the most successful and well-known guerilla and tactical urban interventions in Barcelona. There are smaller scale guerilla and tactical urban interventions that happen all over the city but might not go through the three-stage process completely. These smaller guerilla interventions such sanctioned and unsanctioned flea markets; illegal street vendors in Plaça Cataluña or political graffiti throughout the city can be seen as acceptable to some and unacceptable to others. Smaller interventions that are made up of individuals or smaller communities that have competing ideas of how a space should be used can cause tension and conflict within neighborhoods. These smaller guerilla urban interventions could not be studied directly in this paper as many smaller interventions have no online presence or are done by anonymous actors, but they still can play important roles in the discourse around the rights to the city and neoliberal urbanism.

6.2 Guerilla & Tactical Urbanism in the age of Covid-19

Cities all over the world are struggling with a global pandemic that has changed the way people interact with each other and our surroundings. The ongoing pandemic of Covid-19 has caused borders to close and travel between cities restricted as all of Spain is in a state of national emergency (Dombey & Mallet, 2020). The international tourist industry, which is a massive part of Barcelona's economy and the driving force of neoliberal urban development in many cities, now has a very uncertain future. In a city where capital has used its influence to develop a city that maximizes exchange through the global real-estate market and foreign wealth what happens now as nations look inward and reevaluate their relationship with globalism. With the temporary work contracts canceled and thousands of citizens left without jobs, Barcelona could see a resurgence of calls for even more radical reforms through protests or guerilla urban interventions (Carreño & Melander, 2020). This pandemic could serve as the event that rips off the Band-Aid that is neoliberal urbanism and reveals that it isn't the fix to the crisis of capitalism that it was sold as.

Guerilla and tactical urbanism could and already are serving as tools to reshape cities as they fight to stop the spread of COVID-19. In Barcelona the city government has closed traffic on 51 streets from 9am to 9pm to increase the amount of space for pedestrians as the lockdown starts to lift and people are allowed to go for walks and individual exercise outdoors (Barcelona Ajuntamente , 2020). The city has also used its exhibition center the Fira de Barcelona as temporary housing for vulnerable and homeless people (Doherty, 2020). The city's most vulnerable populations also used guerilla urbanism to protect themselves as tent cities popped up in empty lots and normally populated parks, some even creating social distance barriers the best they could with their resources.

Figure 6.2.1
Homeless camp Barcelona, April 29, 2020

This pandemic brings to light a lot of the issues of neoliberal urbanism with the sudden rush of new apartments added to the long term rental market as short term rentals disappear and famously tourist clogged streets like La Rambla eerily empty. The pandemic has changed the world already in a few short months and there may never be a return to the normal that existed before Covid-19, but this is also a unique opportunity for planners, governments and everyday people to reevaluate how cities are built, why they are built and whom they are really built for. If and when they come to the conclusion that cities should be for those who inhabit them then guerilla and tactical urbanism will be powerful tools for collaborative design and quick implementation of the urban spaces of the future.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Neoliberal urbanism has pushed city governments to maximize the extraction of value from property at the cost of the quality of life and rights to the city of their citizens. This has created disastrous results for not only society but also the environment and any hope for a more equal economic future. Guerilla urbanism and tactical urbanism are two techniques that can be used to create bottom-up urban interventions that create sustainable changes to the urban fabric of cities. In Barcelona three urban interventions both guerilla, tactical and a mix of the two, have been successful in creating long term sustainable changes for their respective communities and the city. These urban interventions were able to create permanent changes despite the fact those two interventions; at Can Masdeu and Can Batlló are in direct opposition to the dominant neoliberal discourse in urban development and property rights.

These interventions implemented sustainable changes because of the values held by the initial actors and the needs they were trying to satisfy, but they are long-term changes because each intervention was able to gain political and social power by moving through the three-stage process of rupturing, accreting and bridging to disrupt the perception around urban spaces, imagine new uses and build reoccurring actions and connections to civic organizations creating a movement backing up each intervention. Without gaining acceptance from community members or creating broader coalitions with sympathetic civil or political organizations, these actions would not have the power to go in opposition of the market and survive in the long term.

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Appendix

Interview questions for Claudio Cattaneo resident at Can Masdeu

- How did you become involved with Can Masdeu and how are you involved with the community now?

- Originally the occupation of Can Masdeu was done with the aim to hold a conference to raise awareness around climate change, how have the goals of the project changed now that it is a community center?

- In the beginning how did Can Masdeu get the local residence of the surrounding area, what alliances if any were made with local community groups or organizations?

- The site of Can Masdeu is still owned by the hospital but they have not been able to evict the residences of the site, why do you believe that is? What choices or actions do you attribute to the success of this site?

- Are there new organizations willing to work with Can Masdeu now that it is more established that may have not been so willing to before?

- Do you think now that Can Masdeu is seen as more accepted it's less disruptive to the status quo or does its continued existence a success over the interests of capital?

- How does Can Masdeu intend to keep this going as a long-term project to create a more sustainable equitable future and maintain its place in Collserola?

Interview questions for Salvador Rueda inventor of the Superblock model

- Who was involved in the design process of the Superblock concept, as it exists today?

- How does the superblock fit into ecosystem urbanism?

- What challenges did you face in implementation of the Superblock at Poblenou (PN)?

- What political and cultural context was PN created under, was there a lot of Support or pushback?

- Was creation of San Antoni (SA) different? Where there less or different challenges

- Was there a different context when SA was created?

- What is the vision for the Superblocks

- Do you think they can be applied everywhere in the city?

- What makes a Superblock successful? Is PN or SA more successful then another?
- Who was involved in the specific designs of PN and SA o What is the superblock designed to do

- How are citizens supposed to use the space o How is the space supposed to feel to citizens using it