



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
Transformation Plan for La Mina Neighbourhood in
Barcelona Metropolitan Region
Spain

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Abbreviations

DIBA	<i>Diputació de Barcelona</i> – Barcelona Diputation
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
ESF	European Social Fund
ESDP	European Spatial Development Planning network
ESPON	European Observation Network
EU	European Union
IDESCAT	<i>Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya</i> – Catalan Statistical Institute
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadística</i> – National Statistical Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics

Executive Summary

La Mina neighbourhood is situated in Sant Adrià de Besòs, a municipality in the Barcelona metropolitan area. It was built in the 1970s to offer new housing for those populations who were living in slums of Barcelona. Since its origin, the neighbourhood was characterised by physical, geographical, economic and social disparities. In this sense, the neighbourhood responds to spatial injustice patterns: it was born isolated from adjacent urban areas, concentrating the poorest population groups of Barcelona Metropolitan Region. Traditionally, the fact to born and live in La Mina implies economic and social disadvantages for its residents.

La Mina has been considered one of the most social and economic deprived neighbourhoods in Spain with high unemployment and truancy rates. The area is isolated from neighbouring municipalities and surrounded by industry and highways. Approximately 10.000 people live in La Mina, of whom a large number live below the poverty line. In general, many residents are poorly educated and have difficulties to find jobs, some of them due to the stigma to be born in La Mina. Additionally, drug trafficking and consumption caused social disruption.

In 2000, it was launched **La Mina Transformation Plan** based on urban and social revitalisation. The overall aim of this Plan has been the regeneration of the neighbourhood with a global and integrated intervention through strengthen the neighbourhood community. The objectives have been set in two action plans, one based on urban planning and one based on social revitalisation. This link between urban transformation and social intervention was something completely new in local planning and required the participation of professionals from diverse fields. Both plans were elaborated and disseminated widely to residents. Participation by neighbours took place through participatory workshops and informative sessions. They could be actively involved in decision-making procedures.

One of the key elements of this Plan is *La Mina Consortium*, an institutional partnership between different levels of political administration: the municipality of Sant Adrià de Besòs and Barcelona, the Barcelona Provincial Council, and the Government of Catalonia. The Consortium has been responsible for overall coordination and the ensuring of the successful implementation of the plan. The new governance structure created contributes to improve procedural justice. The administrations involved were going to allocate better the available resources, knowing through the participation process the needs of the neighbourhood and its citizens. In addition, this Consortium pretended to guarantee the fairness and the transparency of the process since all the actors involved in the development of the Plan knew the actions and the processes for their implementation.

The Plan has had great impact in urban aspects. The social transformation is less evident according to both residents and promoters of the Plan. They recognise that impact has been less than expected in terms of the eradication of anti-social behaviour of certain groups, who live there. To transform attitudes and improve co-existence in the community, the educative aspect of the programme should have been more central that it has been. These types of changes happen over the long term and require a social and educational intervention lasting over several generations. This was pointed out recurrently by Plan promoters.

“The Transformation Plan of La Mina has changed the physical appearance of the neighbourhood through urban renewal actions, but people is still living under precarious conditions. Nowadays the general perception would be that the actions have not improved the social situation in the neighbourhood, although it has been made huge efforts to “normalise” the neighbourhood. The illegal occupation of houses and the increase of the drug sale are seen as a regression. The stigma is being so difficult to overcome...” Technicians from Sant Adrià City Council.

1. Introduction

“La Mina”, is a neighbourhood built on the outskirts of Barcelona in the 1960s and 1970s. It was built spatially segregated from Sant Adrià de Besòs, where the neighbourhood administratively belongs. It was designed to house a population with low resources that had been living in various settlements of shantytowns in Barcelona. Consequently, La Mina became a neighbourhood of “instantaneous creation”. Therefore, historically, it has suffered from significant shortages in terms of services and facilities, turning to one of the most marginalised and stigmatised areas of Spain, facing social and urban problems.

Since its development, the neighborhood has begun an accelerated process of social degradation. Several factors influenced this process, from the initial disadvantaged condition of its inhabitants to the effects of the economic crises of the 1970s, which increased the unemployment rates and situations of precariousness. Especially serious was the appearance of a drug market inside the neighborhood.

Through these years, the neighbourhood has experienced high rates of unemployment; poverty, school failure and absenteeism, and now still has a high percentage of people in risk of social exclusion. This led to a high concentration of illegal activities as drug sale, and lack of community cohesion in the area; where around the 40% of its population belongs to gypsy community. This community has traditionally a huge stigma in Spain. In addition, the neighbourhood has suffered as well from urban problems of isolation and bad quality of the dwelling units.

In such context, from its origins until now the neighbourhood of La Mina has been under by multiple transformation actions. At the beginning of the 80s, there were attempts to rehabilitate the neighbourhood by building a series of facilities. In spite of these investments done, the lack of coordination of the actions and the difficult commitment of long-term investment, limited the impact on the neighbourhood. The actions were mainly urban actions unrelated to the serious social problems of the neighbourhood, which were not effective in order to change the social situation through 90s. At the beginning of 2000s, under the fundamental aim of eradicating the structural problems of the neighbourhood, was created the La Mina Consortium, which was going to be in charge of the execution of a socially and urban integral Plan: **La Mina neighbourhood's Transformation Plan**.

La Mina Consortium was formed by the Barcelona's and Sant Adrià del Besòs' municipalities, the Barcelona's Deputation and the Government of Catalonia, which functions as a single task agency responsible for the design and the implementation of area based-projects to regenerate the neighbourhood. The aim of the action was the social, urban and economically regeneration of the neighbourhood, capitalising on EU funding and development opportunities provided by the Eastward urban expansion of Barcelona, which was prompted by the 1992 Olympics.

The action is articulated around two main axes: *urban renewal*, which corresponded to the physical transformation of the neighbourhood, and *social regeneration*, whose main objective was the improvement of the living conditions of the neighbourhood and the opportunities of its inhabitants. The starting point for social regeneration was the eradication of delinquency. The urban integration of the neighbourhood in its surroundings and the overcoming of its stigmatization also were basic objectives. The action also sought to improve the conditions of habitability, community life and coexistence, with the aim of strengthening the community in the medium and long-term.

For the Consortium, changing the neighbourhood's reputation beyond its boundaries was a challenge just as tough as resolving its internal problems. Representatives at the Consortium of

la Mina highlighted that *“The Plan had two main goals. The first was to change the image of La Mina from the inside, and the second was to change this image as well as from the outside.”* Changing the neighbourhood from the inside started from the impulse of initiatives to improve the lives of La Mina’s residents through giving unemployed young men and women work experience, reducing truancy during the transition from primary to secondary school, encourage students to stay in school, etc.



Figure 1. La Mina before the execution of Urban Transformation Plan intervention. Source: Consorci de La Mina.



Figure 2. La Mina during the urban intervention. Source: Consorci de La Mina.

Many of the projects of the La Mina Transformation Plan were developed as part of the URBAN II Programme¹. The Plan responded to the purpose of this programme to stimulate social and economic regeneration of deprived urban areas in the European Union. Within the framework of urban development projects, the ERDF also helped economically to develop the action, and relating to social programmes ESF gave support as well. The Consortium applied for this EU funding as the plan’s goals reflected EU policy aims too. In this sense, Cohesion Policy contributed to the implementation of the plan.

The project did not have the participation of the national government. The administration involved was only regional and municipal. Nevertheless, the urban morphology of the neighbourhood, and the process and methodology adopted to address its regeneration contain many highly replicable aspects in other neighbourhoods with similarities in the national context.

The action started in 2001 took legal form in the *“Program of neighbourhoods and urban areas under special attention”* of the Catalan Government. This program focuses on integral interventions in deprived neighbourhoods to avoid physical degradation and to improve the quality of life of their neighbours through actions such as housing rehabilitation, environmental

¹ EU Initiative URBAN II Programme, financed by FEDER (period 2000-2008)

sustainability, social welfare and economic revitalization. Another legal instrument related to the La Mina Transformation Plan is the *“Law 2/2004 on the improvement of neighbourhoods, urban areas and cities that require special attention”*². This law approved by the Parliament of Catalonia aims to provide tools for local administration to carry out interventions for social and urban intervention on those neighbourhoods that require it.

The Plan has received national and international recognition. All of them acknowledge the process of transformation of the neighbourhood of La Mina through the combination of urban and social actions, which ensure the success of physical and infrastructural investments. One of these awards was the European Award of Urban Planning in 2010. It highlighted the ability of the Plan to combine strategies to solve social problems in a neighbourhood that had been marked by urban degradation.

² Llei de Barris 2/2004 Millora dels barris, àrees urbanes i ciutats que requereixen d’atenció especial. Generalitat de Catalunya.

2. Methodological Reflection

This case study was elaborated following the general principles of the RELOCAL case study guidelines.

La Mina Transformation Plan is considered a good example of improvement action in a deprived urban area, which has received several awards for combining urban renewal and social initiatives. La Mina serves as an excellent case of urban transformation in which physical aspects of an outdated urban configuration and socio-economic strife posed major challenges.

The case study follows a quantitative and qualitative analysis approach. There have been done a bibliographic review about the history and the evolution of la Mina neighbourhood; and there have also been done more than 15 depth-interviews with actors from different level, but with high influence in the daily life of neighbourhood. NGOs and civil society organisations have given their own point of view about the results of la Mina Transformation Plan. The interviews with promoters of the Plan show their vision about the progress and evolution of the Plan over the years, identifying those which have worked better and those which have not had the expected results.

The interviews have been conducted following a questionnaire based on the questions of the case study guidelines. The questionnaire has been adapted according to the stakeholders' role.

The interviews done have given the possibility to know the opinions of different actors involved in the implementation of the action. There were interviewed the promoters of the Plan, members of Consortium of la Mina, associations and citizens from the neighbourhood. Also, there were interviewed other NGOs which nowadays are involved in other participatory processes in Sant Adrià de Besos, which the action is also the urban renewal of an area of the city. The interviews perceptions differs substantially between the neighbours and associations from the neighbourhood and the promoters of the Plan. It is important to take account that residents waited results in a short temporal horizon. The times of accomplishment objectives from urban and social actions differs. But in this case, the social results will be visible in a long period of time.

The quantitative sources of information for the neighbourhood of la Mina are the national census, statistical data from Statistical Institute of Catalonia and from the City Council Reports and from the evaluation reports of la Mina Transformation Plan.

3. The Locality

3.1. Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Sant Adrià de Besòs, is a municipality with 36.496 inhabitants, bordering Barcelona's Eastern urban perimeter. Similarly to other Catalan cities, Sant Adrià experienced a sustained urban and population growth between the 1950s and the 1970s prompted by a steady national immigration influx from less developed Spanish regions. Throughout the years, the close proximity to Barcelona provided development opportunities for the city, especially when an industrial development cluster was located in the 1960s. At the same time, some areas of the municipality of Sant Adrià exhibit the characteristics of peripheral neighbourhoods, including the existence of mono-use 'sleeping communities', a high concentration of housing with insufficient social and commercial services, and a low quality of urban, social and green infrastructure.

In the administrative border between Sant Adrià and Barcelona, there is the neighbourhood of La Mina. La Mina was built mainly in the late 1960s and early 1970s following urban development plans developed by the Housing Department of Barcelona Municipality, which endeavoured to re-house the population, who was living in Barcelona's shantytowns. As a result, since its establishment the place has been characterised by high percentage of Roma population, lack of social cohesion due to the cultural diversity of its inhabitants, poor social services and residential mono-use. In addition, the place began to be characterised by drug trafficking and other illegal activities, which projected a negative external image of the neighbourhood and prompted safety issues for local residents in turn. The stigmatised image of the neighbourhood has often been represented as a place of crime and violence. In addition, the neighbourhood suffered from urban problems of isolation and bad quality of the dwelling units.

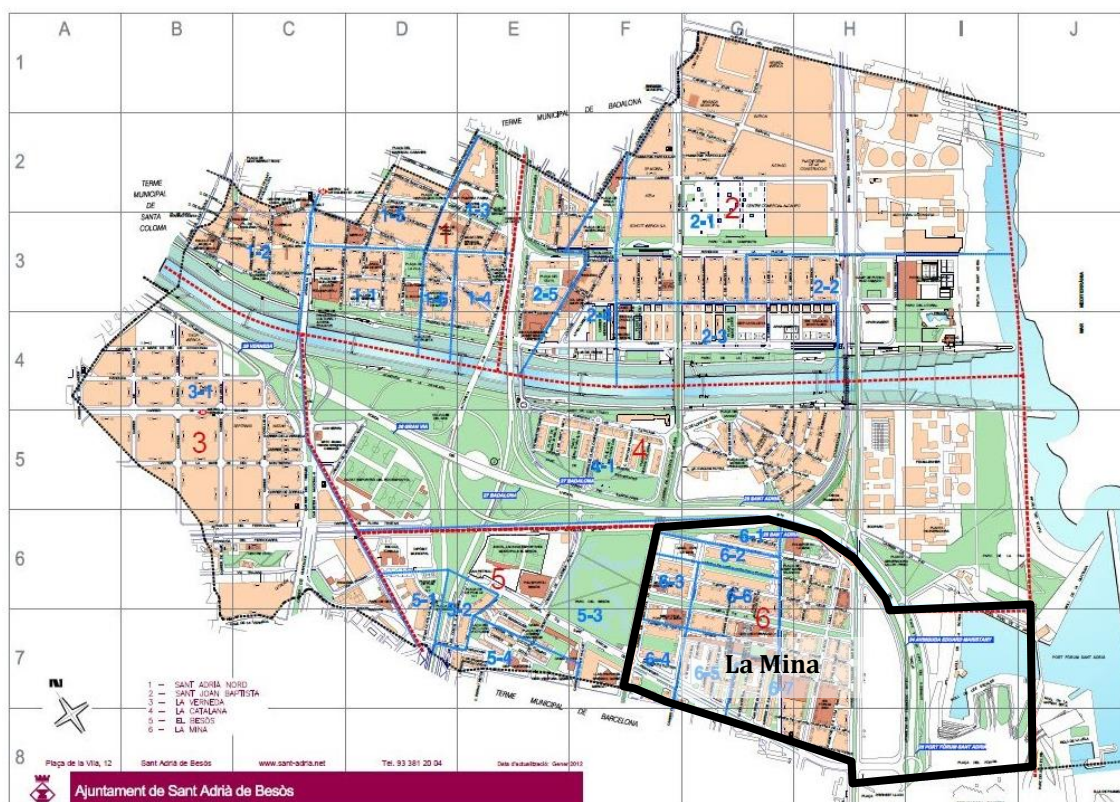


Figure 3. Neighbourhood map of Sant Adrià de Besòs. Source: Ajuntament de Sant Adrià de Besòs, 2012

The population of La Mina is 9.285 inhabitants, who are mostly young and diverse. The gypsy community is still having a significant weight, since it means around 40% of the population.

Name of Case Study Area	La Mina Neighbourhood
Size	15,9 ha
Total population (2016)	9.285 inhabitants
Population density (2016)	583,7 hab./km ²
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context	Disadvantaged area within a developed city and region
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat)	Urban
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	ES511
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	ES511

Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of the area. Source: Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies, 2016

Socially, the neighbourhood is characterized by high percentage of people in risk of exclusion; the school failure and the absenteeism is still very high related to municipal or regional rates. There are high rates of population without any education or professional training, especially among women. School absenteeism reaches 40% in primary school and 60% in secondary school.

The situation of the labour market in the neighbourhood of La Mina is characterized by high unemployment rate and job insecurity. The potentially active population (over 16 years old) is around 74%, although only 42% is working. The occupancy rate in La Mina is 29%, meanwhile in Sant Adrià this rate reach the 37% and in Catalonia is over than 42%. This is explained, among other reasons, by high degree of incapacitations due to diseases (associated, for example, with drug addiction), as well as by certain situations of “dependence” of certain groups to social programs developed by public administration. The precariousness of the occupation in La Mina is far superior than the municipality and even of Catalonia: 37% of the employees residing in La Mina have eventual contracts, compared to 28% in Sant Adrià or 22% in Catalonia. According to Census data, the unemployment rate in 2011 was 30%, higher than the municipal unemployment rate (20%) (INE, 2011).

There is 20% of population with low incomes. The gross family income available per capita is around 3.600€, approximately half incomes of whole municipality (6.200€), and well below the Catalan average (9.400€) (Municipal Register of Sant Adrià de Besòs). Public health is substantially lower; in terms of higher mortality rate, higher rates of drug habits, sexual and infectious diseases, and teenage pregnancy. Historical deficits are still located in this area.

The public facilities in La Mina are relatively low. In 2010 the neighbourhood lost its last high school due to its low demand. Due to the drug problem, a Damage Reduction Centre and Services was settled in the neighbourhood, which is a public service of the Catalan government to minimize problems of physical and psychosocial health of drug addicts and, motivate and facilitate them the access to a treatment. La mina centre is the bigger one who attends more than 100 persons per day, the higher compared with other centres. The location of this centre is due to the proximity of places of sale of drug, in order to reduce incoming damages, especially in the streets and common spaces.

3.2. The Locality with regards to Dimension 1&2

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Since its origin, La Mina began a process of physical and social decay, which was strongly manifested in some of the neighbourhood's public spaces. High levels of vandalism, product of the non-civic responsibility of some groups of residents, combined with poor maintenance by public authorities, or the presence of drug dealers in public spaces have characterised this neighbourhood. This created a general atmosphere of degradation, discomfort and social conflicts, which has produced spatial injustice processes within the neighbourhood and in relation with adjacent urban areas. The whole neighbourhood became stigmatised as one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in Barcelona and Spain. The residents and neighbour associations understand these spatial injustice processes as process of marginalisation, which feel that have suffered since the neighbourhood born. They repeated that *"the origin and the development of La Mina has been characterized by stigma. The neighbourhood have suffered spatial marginality by connectivity difficulties, which kept it separate and isolated over the years from surrounding areas. In the neighbourhood there is social marginality caused by the presence of problematic groups related to drugs. There was at the time, and there still is, marginality in public services and public equipment... and there are even marginality associated to building typology"*.

- **Origin.** The origin of La Mina has influenced the social dynamics of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood creation is a result of a forced movement of population from other areas of Barcelona, which responds to the demographic and urban policies of the 60s in Spain, and which was constituted as a uniform housing area separated from the rest of the city. La Mina suffered from the beginning the difficulties of coexistence that a ghetto have. The social dynamics of the newcomers were not taken into account, and that generated the first problems in the neighbourhood. According to a citizen of Sant Adrià *"The problem that stigmatized the neighbourhood and the whole population was already unfairly caused by its origin, by the social and economic background of its inhabitants and by the high percentage of the gypsy population that was settled there."* A member of the Neighbour's Association indicated that *"The origin of our neighbourhood was the result of pushing and hiding the problems that Barcelona didn't want towards its periphery, creating new suburbs that were then left totally unattended."*
- **Physical barriers.** There are physical elements, which have been generating spatial segregation process over the years. To the north, the river Besòs, the Ronda Litoral highway, that railway lines, they all separate la Mina to the rest of Sant Adrià del Besòs. These infrastructures have contributed to generate spatial segregation and isolation, becoming la Mina a border space of non-urbanity. *"La Mina's marginality partially lies in its isolation due to the succession of infrastructures that surround it, turning our neighbourhood into a ghetto. Many people of La Mina say...I'm going to Sant Adrià. But in fact, we're already in Sant Adrià!"* To the south, the space between la Mina and Barcelona municipal border was not urbanised until the years 2000s and for decades was no more than a set of brownfields. To some extent, physical segregation allowed isolating marginality in la Mina away from other surrounding neighbourhoods. *"La Mina was the response to the need to clean several barrack neighborhoods in Barcelona. Its inhabitants were confined to this new neighborhood of Sant Adrià de Besòs, built on prefabricated concrete modules, which would later be known as vertical barracks. In this way, Sant Adrià doubled his population in a few years and la Mina became the place where Barcelona put all that wanted to get out of it"* (news appeared on Avui journal, 2014).

- Stigma.** La Mina is considered one of the most stigmatized neighbourhoods in Catalonia and in Spain. Since its beginnings, there have been a process of stigmatization of its inhabitants. This phenomenon has had an impact on the social life of the neighbourhood and on its relationship with the whole city. For example, real estate agencies avoid mentioning the name of la Mina in their commercial notices located close this neighbourhood, or families bring their children to other school out of la Mina. The stigma was generated result of the origin of its neighbours and is still present until today, mainly related to drugs, poverty and social insecurity. Moreover, the stigma is linked as well to the gypsy community, which represents 40% of neighbourhood population. This stigma related to drug and civic conflicts, over the years, has been penetrating in the imaginary of population of Barcelona. *"I have always had to defend that I live in La Mina. When I say I'm from La Mina, the following question is 'Really? From la Mina?'" In La Mina there are honest people like in any other place of Barcelona. There are citizens, who are not problematic and are not involved in drug trafficking"* as a neighbour from la Mina claimed.
- Anti-social behaviour.** The high rate of drug dependence, the level of absenteeism and school failure and the high percentage of unemployment, higher than the rest of the city and Catalonia, are elements that have historically favoured the development of dynamics of marginalization and social exclusion. These social conditions have been linked to criminal phenomena's as theft or trafficking drug. The members of Consortium of la Mina mentioned that *"In last months, in the neighbourhood there have been a process of illegal housing occupations. This has become a serious problem for coexistence. The apartments are used for trafficking and consumptions drugs"*. According to neighbours from la Mina *"the situation is unbearable"*.
- Illegal activities.** In the 80s the growth population of the neighbourhood was stabilized, but the destructuring of the social fabric began, and the fragmentation of the neighbourhood community that years earlier had obtained some facilities and services for the neighbourhood. Groups of resident in la Mina began to get involved in the trafficking and consumption of drugs, and conflicting practices arising from this consumption, such as robberies or occupation of public space started. *"We are the 24-hour supermarket of drugs in the Barcelona metropolitan area. They come here to buy them and consume here. It is very easy. It seems that there is not control by public authorities"*, was remarked by a member of the Entities Platform of La Mina. They note that in last years the trafficking and consumption of drugs has increased again, and the neighbourhood is being again suffering problems associated to this illegal activities.
- Building typology.** La Mina neighbourhood was a transformation from horizontal to vertical slums according to some academic experts. The population was relocated in residential blocks with scarce quality of the common spaces and without public facilities such as schools, health centres, or public transport. *Venus, Marte and Saturno* residential blocks are the main "flagships" of these vertical slums. In addition, the experts think that people were relocated without any criteria. They came from different slum areas with different cultural background; so there were not possible to create easily social networks among new residents. Through various studies they recognised that *"The people of La Mina have felt mistreated since the beginning. Public administrations proposed to them that they were going to change the slums for new and better homes, but that was not the case. The neighbourhood where they were relocated, La Mina, ended up being an improvised vertical slums, without the necessary endowments or the services that these new neighbours expected."*
- Lack of municipal equipment and services.** La Mina has always been treated as a neighbourhood polygon of isolated and marginal housing, without equipment or services.

Thus, the initial provision of services and equipment is soon surpassed by the needs of newcomers, where young families with children predominate. Today, La Mina, has schools, nurseries, ambulatory and library, heritage of the various urban renewal plans. But they have not been enough to overcome the social fracture that exists in the neighbourhood according to a member of the Entities Platform asserts. Technicians from City Council asserted that *"The equipment built and the services provided have not been enough for the improvement the conditions of the neighbourhood, or we may have not known how to address the real problems of this neighbourhood. Equipment and services have not eliminated the stigma... it is still alive and makes very difficult the progress of any initiative, not mind if it is urban or social."*

- **The role of the public sector.** According to Neighbours Associations and the Entities Platform of la Mina the public sector never considered the real problems of la Mina. For this reason, they affirm that the neighbourhood has suffered a continuous abandonment by the administrations at all levels, over time. *"For us, local and regional administrations did not take care of our demands, and did not do anything for the improvement of the neighbourhood"*. This perception persists despite the large investments and long term social programmes implemented since the late 90s. *"Despite evident improvement in the neighbourhood urban landscape, social change requires much longer time spans"* according to the public sector.

The CrPolis research group of University of Barcelona synthesizes the overall picture. In brief, *"institutional layoffs, the lack of resources and facilities, the lack of connectivity of the neighbourhood both with the administrative centre of Sant Adrià and with the centre of Barcelona, linked to drug problems, the socio-cultural level of the population and the image of la Mina residents as modern outlaws provided by cinema movies in the 70s and 80s turned the neighbourhood into a ghetto without law. And yes, all could be understood as a neighbourhood under a processes of huge geographical, social and economic injustices"*.

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

Traditionally in Spain, urban transformation has been a recurrent tool used to overcome territorial differences and contribute to social cohesion. The main actors that impulse regeneration urban programmes are national, regional and local governments. Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify an overall national, regional or local policy about this matter because these kind of projects are often decided and initiated with the participation and coordination of several governmental agencies and departments. On the one hand, this help secure political backing and speedier planning permission for regeneration projects, but on the other it has often left the decision-making process too reliant on political power relationships and the availability of State funding.

Generally, the urban transformation plans include diagnoses, objectives, programmes to be developed, stakeholders mapping, sources of funding, a monitoring system and evaluation criteria. At the beginning of regeneration projects, local authorities identify a broader development plan for the local community to accompany the physical regeneration of the area with residents' participation.

In last years, regeneration efforts in la Mina under a comprehensive plan were prompted and influenced by three main factors:

1. After more than 20 years of investment in social services and infrastructure, the low social benefits stemming from the investment programmes were deemed insufficient to justify expenditure thus far. As a result, a new approach to regeneration was required.

2. The eastwards expansion of Barcelona, which began with the 1992 Olympics, and led to the implementation of the 2004 Barcelona Project and the building of the Universal Forum of Culture just next to La Mina, provided a development opportunity for the regeneration of the neighbourhood.
3. A new political cycle began in 2000 in Sant Adrià City Council. The new local government expressed the willingness to promote a regeneration strategy for the neighbourhood.

“The 70's were marked by a series of local demands for neighbourhood upgrade considering poor equipment and services”, as explained by spokesman for the Mina Entities Platform. “In the 80's, unfortunately, was when the drug entranced to the neighbourhood. In the 90's la Mina was completely ignored, despite the Olympic Games celebration in Barcelona. At the beginning of the 21st century, with the announcement of the celebration of the Forum of Cultures, the need arises to address the integral transformation of the neighbourhood.”



Figure 4. Informative panel on European funded urbanisation investments in La Mina (left). New urban furniture implemented in the neighbourhood (right). Source: Diari. Avui, 2014

Three main tools played a pivotal role in the urban and social regeneration of La Mina neighbourhood since the 2000s. These include: *The Special Plan for the Redesign and Improvement of La Mina District*, which was then further developed into a *La Mina Urban Masterplan*, and *The Integrated Development Plan for La Mina* (social)

- *The Special Plan for the Redesign and Improvement of La Mina* (as known La Mina Transformation Plan) has been developed in the 2000s through the involvement of different administrations and citizens, in order to establish a legal framework for the comprehensive urban and social transformation of the neighbourhood around three principles: centrality (which envisaged the development of an identifiable physical and social centre for the area), diversity (in terms of the type of housing and mixed use), exchange (required to improve the connections between La Mina and their surrounding areas).
- *La Mina Masterplan* is the urban planning instrument developed in 2005 with objective of shaping the urban physical transformation of La Mina and building better public spaces, streets and squares capable of facilitating interactions between residents and promoting community life in turn. One of the most significant new urban-design initiatives in the area is the construction a new Rambla running across La Mina (a new main street for the neighbourhood with large pedestrian areas), which provides a meeting point for residents and allows the physical opening of the place to surrounding areas. A tramway branch of the new tram system implemented in Barcelona in the late 2000s runs through la Rambla, and connects the neighbourhood to Barcelona and to Sant Adrià.

- *The Integrated Development Plan for La Mina* provided the most important framework for the social regeneration process and established the overarching roadmap for the integrated redevelopment of the neighbourhood. This plan proposes action into three main areas: housing (refurbishment and equipment of existing buildings, selected demolitions, new housing), social development (labour market, social inclusion, training, schools) and urban regeneration (public facilities –health, school, sports, library, police station-, children parks, restoration of common areas, urban furniture).

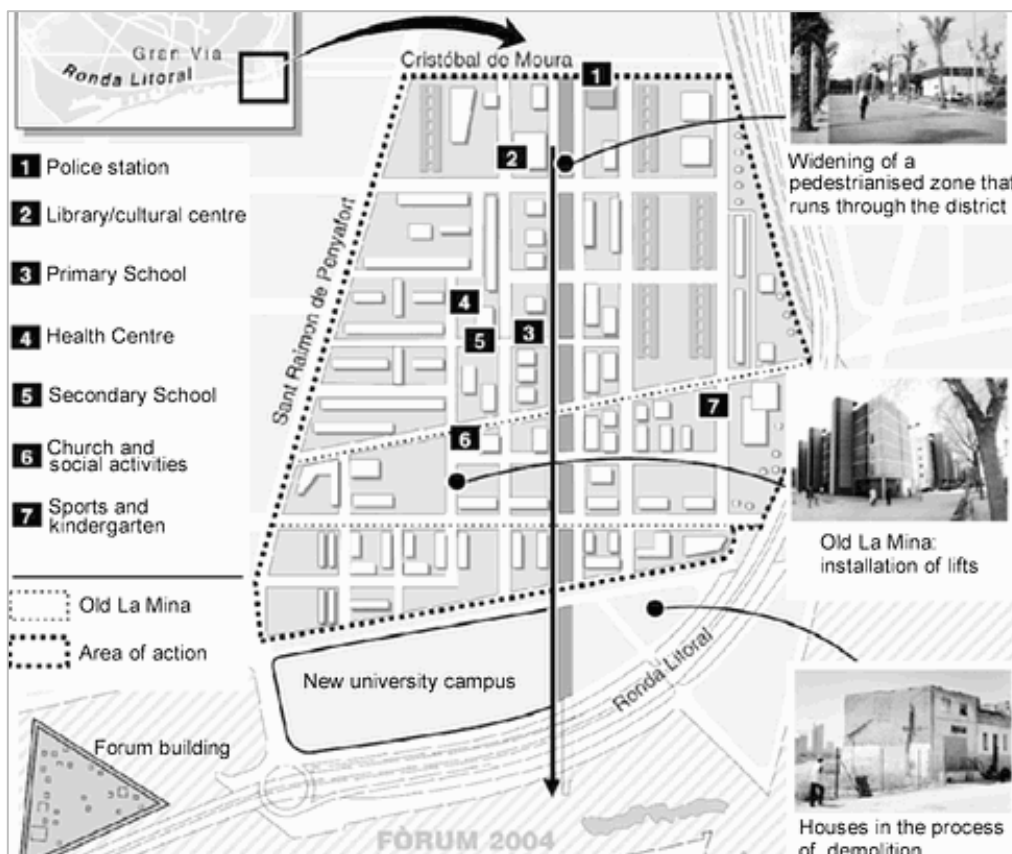


Figure 5. La Mina urban renewal schemes 2005-2010. Source: Barcelona Field Studies Centre, 2018

Projects from La Mina Transformation Plan were developed under the URBAN II Initiative, a European programme with the purpose of stimulating social and economic regeneration of deprived urban areas in the European Union. La Mina was considered as a “natural” candidate for this kind of co-financed European programmes in the light of its on-going deterioration, economic and social disadvantaged conditions, and lack of basic services. The Consortium applied for this EU funding as the plan’s goals reflect EU policy aims. The EU contribution represented 8% of the total cost. The remainder was funded by the institutions representing by the Consortium (the municipal administrations, regional administration and the Catalan government); and mainly by fees of the assignment of land.

Once approved by the EU, the strategic objectives set for the local URBAN II programme were structured according to the detailed priorities and measures scheme. More specifically, these included the promotion of new technologies, improvement of the business environment, inclusion of disadvantaged groups into the labour market, and improvement of the urban environment, all of which highlights the newly promoted multidisciplinary and integrated approach of the EU to urban regeneration.

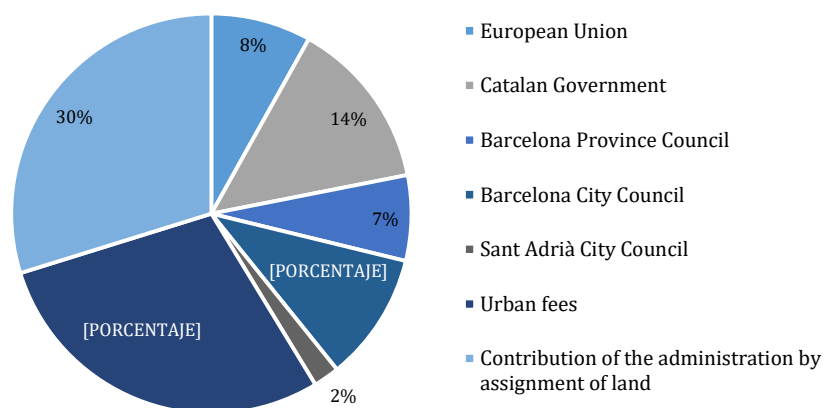


Figure 6. La Mina Transformation Plan funds resources. Source: Consorci de la Mina.

In addition, Sant Adrià de Besòs URBAN II project encouraged the full participation of local actors in urban planning of La Mina and further participation opportunities in knowledge sharing networks. In this sense, the Transformation Plan complied with the principle of “additionally and complementarity”, which is one essential principle of action applied by the EU Commission to funding in urban areas. The participation of La Mina in several urban-regeneration programmes and knowledge-exchange networks promoted by the EU, including URBAN, URBACT and the REGENERA network, provided momentum to the regeneration efforts of local authorities. They were instrumental in raising the profile of regeneration projects nationally, allowing the attraction of more funding and the exchange of expertise and best practices in regeneration projects in turn.

4. The Action

4.1. Basic Characteristics of the Action

In 2000 the “Transformation Plan for the Neighbourhood of La Mina” was launched by La Mina Consortium, financed through the URBAN II programme with funding from ERDF. The Transformation Plan had a lifetime of 10 years and had various areas to be acted upon social, educational, cultural, socio-labour insertion, housing, public spaces, crime prevention and security, economic development, urban development. The La Mina Transformation Plan was born from the initiative and consensus of 4 public administrations: Catalan Government, Barcelona Provincial Government, Barcelona City Council, Sant Adrià Town Hall. These were co-responsible for its process and achievement of objectives and as consortiated entities, they endowed the Plan with economic resources and structure for its development.

The aim of the La Mina transformation plan was to provide responses and solutions to the deficiencies and problems that existed in the neighbourhood related to physical and social isolation of the area; degradation of urban and environmental surroundings; weakness of social networks; significant educational deficits among the population; non-existent or low professional qualifications; informal and illicit activities; and lack of civic-mindedness. To achieve the objective of transforming the La Mina neighbourhood, four strategies were defined:

1. Increasing standard of living conditions for inhabitants.
2. Connecting la Mina with the nearby neighbourhoods of the city of Barcelona and with the municipality of Sant Adrià de Besòs.
3. Promotion of active public and private cooperation.
4. Eradication of the historical stigmatization of the neighbourhood.

The Plan was set in two different action axis; one based on urban planning and the other one on social revitalisation. The main urban development action was the creation of the Rambla, an avenue that would be used as centrality axis of the neighbourhood, as well as of connection with the rest of the city to break the physical marginality and connection of the neighbourhood with the rest of the city. In this sense, the Plan foreseen the location of public facilities along the Rambla as primary school or the Police Station. Physical interventions included the following:

- Urban development of public spaces (e.g. new squares, streets, green areas)
- Rehabilitating housing and improving access to buildings
- Creating new social housing and introducing private housing
- Providing better public transport connections to the metropolitan area of Barcelona
- Physically upgrading the coastline



Figure 7. La Rambla Avenue. Source: Consorci de La Mina, 2012

Related to social aspects, the Plan of Social Action of the neighbourhood was elaborated “to promote the social and economic development and the social cohesion”. The social Plan’s action was consisting of diverse topics: education, programs against the school absenteeism, of school reinforcement and projects with groups in risk of social exclusion; labour, promotion programs of the formation and the social labour insertion; participation, projects to stir the associative fabric into action. The social interventions were focused on:

- Training and occupational integration (e.g. labour network services, job and skills training)
- Balancing family and professional lives (e.g. providing child day care)
- Development of the local economy (e.g. supporting local businesses)
- Community participation and development
- Improving coexistence and civic-mindedness (e.g. combatting antisocial behaviour)
- Social and educational support



Figure 8. Educative project for improving the economic opportunities of neighbours from La Mina. Source: Consorci de La Mina, 2018

4.2. The Action with regards to Dimensions 3-5

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

The design of the Plan was forged, at the beginning of 2000, with the collaboration agreement between the different administrations involved in the neighbourhood (Catalan Government, Barcelona Provincial Council, Barcelona City Council and Sant Adrià City Council). There was elaborated a previous diagnosis about the state of the neighbourhood, both at an urban and social level, participated by the neighbours and by the associative fabric. The result of this diagnosis identified the main actions that the neighbourhood required.

“Some actions proposed in 2000 have not shown successes yet, especially those related to social aspects. For this reason the Plan should carry on. In la Mina, the continuity is especially important. It is important to give progression to these actions over the years” highlighted a technician from Sant Adrià City Council. In fact, in 2000 la Mina Transformation Plan was set in motion for a period of 10 years until 2010. In 2010, the main objectives had not been accomplished yet. The governments involved entered into a new commitment and gave a new scope to the Plan, so that it could consolidate its actions, especially the social ones, opening a new period of 5 more years, until 2015. In 2015, the political will of the administrations involved have maintained alive la Mina Transformation Plan beyond original scope.

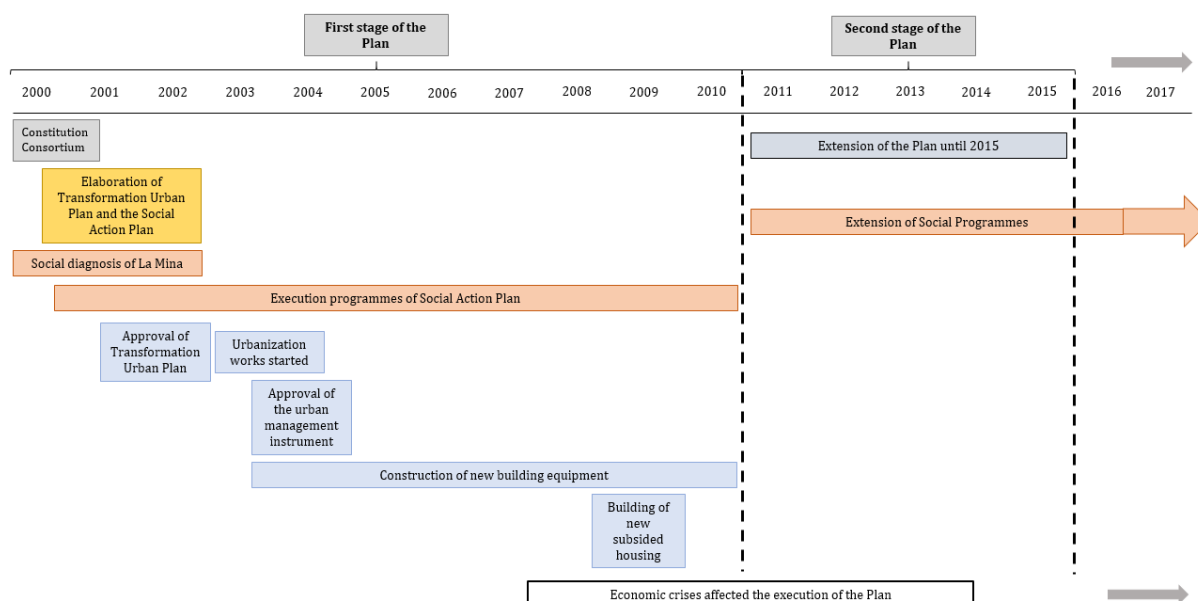


Figure 9. Implementation process of the la Mina Transformation Plan. Source: Consorci de la Mina, 2018

The four administrations involved was constituted as a **Consortium of la Mina neighbourhood**, an institutional partnership, who impulse and coordinate the Plan as a single task agency with total autonomy. The presidency of the consortium has been shared between the Generalitat de Catalunya and Ajuntament de Sant Adrià de Besòs. The Consortium main tasks are:

- Intervention in the social, educational, cultural, socio-occupational, housing, public space, security.
- Coordination and collaboration of the different services for an adequate application of social, cultural, employment, educational, health and housing policies.
- Establishment of relation with other administrations, organizations and institutions.
- Development of urban actions, collaborating with the Sant Adrià de Besòs City Council in the elaboration of urban planning instruments that affect the neighbourhood.

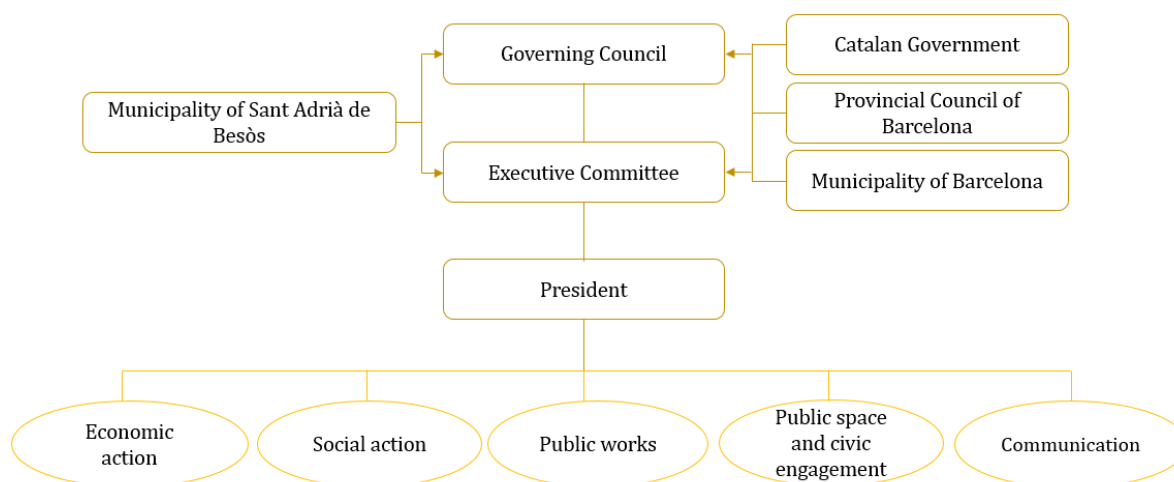


Figure 10. Composition of La Mina Consortium. Source: Consorci de La Mina, 2001

The Consortium is organised in two main bodies: the *Governing Council* and the *Executive Committee*. The Governing Council sets out the political guidelines meanwhile the Executive Committee manages and coordinated social and urban actions. The presidents of these two bodies are the institutional representation of the Consortium. The President of the Governing Council is elected by the members of Sant Adrià de Besòs City Council but the President of Executive Committee is elected by own Consortium members.

The Consortium is permanently based in la Mina neighbourhood and can be approached by local residents upon request. According to the promoters of the Plan, this was important for increasing the visibility and transparency of the institution, and for maintaining a more fluent relationship between the administration and neighbours. Thanks to that, the Consortium can work daily with the neighbourhood associations. Plan promoters point out that this *“let us to know problems of the neighbourhood and this in a neighbourhood like la Mina is so important. The social conditions of many residents needs a control”*. At the same time, but, they detailed that many times public administration assumes all the care interventions, which not always is good for this kind of deprived neighbourhood.

Also according to the promoters of the Plan, the Consortium structure has let to establish a comprehensive long-term agreement between different levels of government that before it had not been possible. Regardless of the political views of the different representatives over the neighbourhood, this multi-level governance system ensured continuity of the activities undertaken by the Consortium. According to mayor of Sant Adrià, *“the Consortium was a good tool to avoid the initiative being used politically*. An external expert author of a PhD thesis on the neighbourhood pointed out that *“the Consortium was a good way to define the role of each administration, and involving them in the transformation of this area, given that to begin with, none of the involved actors in the area had a clear view of which should be their role in the action”*. The promoters of the Plan think that this organization framework *“has achieved reach substantial agreements between the local and regional authorities involved”*.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

La Mina transformation Plan is characterised by a participatory structure created since the beginning, in which local networks of social actors are still involved. The plan, managed by Consortium of la Mina, includes representatives from different levels of government: local as well as regional institutions.

However, those what is recognized by promoters of the Plan as fundamental in the transformation process is citizens' role. According to Consortium, the neighbours were invited to participate actively in whole process through different public consultations and activities. *“Local and regional administration wanted to include the citizenship in the framework of the Plan. The participation was also one of the objectives of the Plan”*. The community participation, through neighbourhood residents, experts and representatives of organisations, was structured through different administrative and participatory instruments. The transversal nature of the work stood out, as do the debate roundtables, sectorial work and technical support provided for neighbourhood participants.

As was explained by an expert about participatory processes in the planning and design of public space at local level and author of a Thesis about the role of participation in the urban renewal of la Mina *“the participatory process aimed at bringing together different actors, including residents from la mina as well as the politicians and professionals in charge of the renewal of the neighbourhood in order to exchange information and ideas. In this process, they were invited to present proposals for the improvement of the neighbourhood's public environment. The process was based on small workshops organised with community-based groups and small*

groups of residents. Public exhibitions and hearings at different stages of the process were also used for keeping the wider community involved and informed about the process and its results. The workshops also focused on developing social programs and management strategies for solving problems that were highly present in the daily life of the neighbourhood such as littering, vandalism and insecurity. Design suggestions for both existing and new public space were also made during the workshops. An action plan for carrying out improvements in the neighbourhood's public spaces was the final outcome of the participatory process."



Figure 11. Participants at first stage workshops and examples of documents that resulted from them. Source: Cr Polis, 2007

"The participatory structure created tried to set up a new way of working in urban planning processes at neighbourhood level, following a bottom-up strategy, with the involvement of the neighbours in the process" according to promoters of the action. They understood this as the best way to fit the proposals into the neighbourhood reality, encouraging the participation of residents in the design of projects through participatory workshops and sectorial meetings. It was the means to facilitate the appropriation of actions by neighbourhood residents. As the promoters said "the Plan participatory approach wanted to change the way as neighbourhood problems had been addressed before".

But this has not been the case according to neighbours, some of them being very critical with the way things were done. As they explained, in the beginning, local and regional government were willingness to make participation a central axis of the whole process of transformation. There was developed a participative proposal which considered the interests and decisions of the community in the transformation of its neighbourhood. In a second stage, the project moved from looking for direct involvement of neighbours and sharing the projects with them through assemblies, to creating joint working groups (entities and technical representatives) and holding regular meetings and informative sessions. In a third phase the participative model was weakened when the Plan chose for hiring entities from out of the neighbourhood for the management of labour and social services, instead of enhancing the associative links of the community such as neighbourhood associations' have claimed. "It is not possible to make a social transformation of a neighbourhood without the active participation of its neighbours," is claimed from la Mina Entities Platform.

The Consortium identified that over time, it was hard to maintain the level of civic and citizen involvement in the transformation initiative and "the response from local residents was decreasing over time". This could partially be explained because of the economic crisis in Spain

since 2009 and very especially between 2012 and 2014; but also somehow because of natural disengagement of people along time, be it because of the overall process spanning too long in time (for more than a decade), be it because of the little perception capacity of social change in the short-time, maybe because of traditional social problems in the neighbourhood (drugs, crime), which increased again after 2015.

Some experts consider that the wide variety of actors with direct and indirect influence in la Mina, having different (political or policy) interests, also influenced these changes during the participatory process. Some of the identified stakeholders are:

- Local and Regional Administrations: This group, formed by four governmental bodies from different scale, and therefore with various interests at regional, metropolitan and local level interests, are the main part of the Consortium that regulates and funds the Transformation Plan. For this reason, *"sometimes the evolution of la Mina was conditioned to their political agendas"*, according to an expert about la Mina transformation plan. He synthetizing that *"the efforts, which had produced before the execution of this Plan, were not be useful due to the lack of capacity of coordinated work among these administration bodies over la Mina neighbourhood. Generally, the administration had focused their work on those issues that affected them directly, without a comprehensive vision of the neighbourhood and its problems, and also without a future vision of its progress"*.

- European Commission: Another important actor was the European Commission through its URBAN II program, which provided economic resources to the Plan. This actor operated in la Mina as an external funding agency. The URBAN programme set out some guidelines which were required for receiving financial aid, such as actions aiming at the renovation of existing buildings, the creation of green areas and improvements in public transport. Furthermore, these actions were to be complemented by social programs and involvement of the community in decision-making processes. The programme forced the action to follow European praxis, and in particular, helped stressing the role of citizen engagement and public participation as a central element for successful change.

- Planners and urban designers: The planners and urban designers of the Transformation Plan tended to consider that the neighbourhood was geographically located in "a privileged place" to live. Thus, the urban renewal to make the neighbourhood more attractive became one of the proposal of the Transformation Plan. According to PhD thesis by Calderon, C. *"this was carried out through a new theoretical work within the fields of landscape architecture and urban design. Within these discourses highly aesthetic buildings and public spaces are seen as an important instrument for improving deprived or obsolete neighbourhoods and a good way for attracting new high class residents, reactivating the real estate market and thus changing the negative perception of the place. While these types of interventions have made Barcelona very visible within international urban design and architecture circles, they have also received strong critiques from local community organisations arguing that the fixation with aesthetics has conditioned project priorities and resources, and failed to address local needs"*.

- Real estate sector: The proximity of la Mina to the Barcelona coastline and to closely new commercial and residential areas, made the neighbourhood very desirable for real estate market; another actor with implications on la Mina renewal actions. Thus, following Barcelona's tendency to fund projects based on profits from the real estate market and private-public partnerships, it was determined that private housing developments should guarantee the economic feasibility of the project, estimating that a part of the Plan resources would originate from private sector profits. They became an important group of actors with indirect influence over the Plan. For this group, the renewal of La Mina would provide an attractive environment for investment and for increasing the real estate value of the area. According to the neighbours, this actor has conditioned the process of transformation, *"giving them too much importance on*

the renewal actions. They only searched their own benefit". For the experts, "in Barcelona Metropolitan Region the focus on large-scale urban interventions has made project's resources to be highly dependent on public-private partnerships and/or financial strategies based on the real estate market. Such dependence has made private developers powerful actors influencing the way urban projects develop, and made real estate and private interests a high priority for the administration."

- **Local Community:** Local community were mainly composed by two groups: community organisations through the *Platform of Entities of la Mina* and *Neighbours Associations*. Both played a necessary role in articulating the process and channelling opportunities and human resources, especially in the first phase of the Plan, where there were more participation. These are community-based groups and NGOs working in areas such as the culture, sports, education, composed by different social segments of the population who lives in the neighbourhood. Although most residents were low income, there were significant differences in terms of levels of education, employment conditions, lifestyles and ethnic background, making this group of actors a highly heterogeneous one.

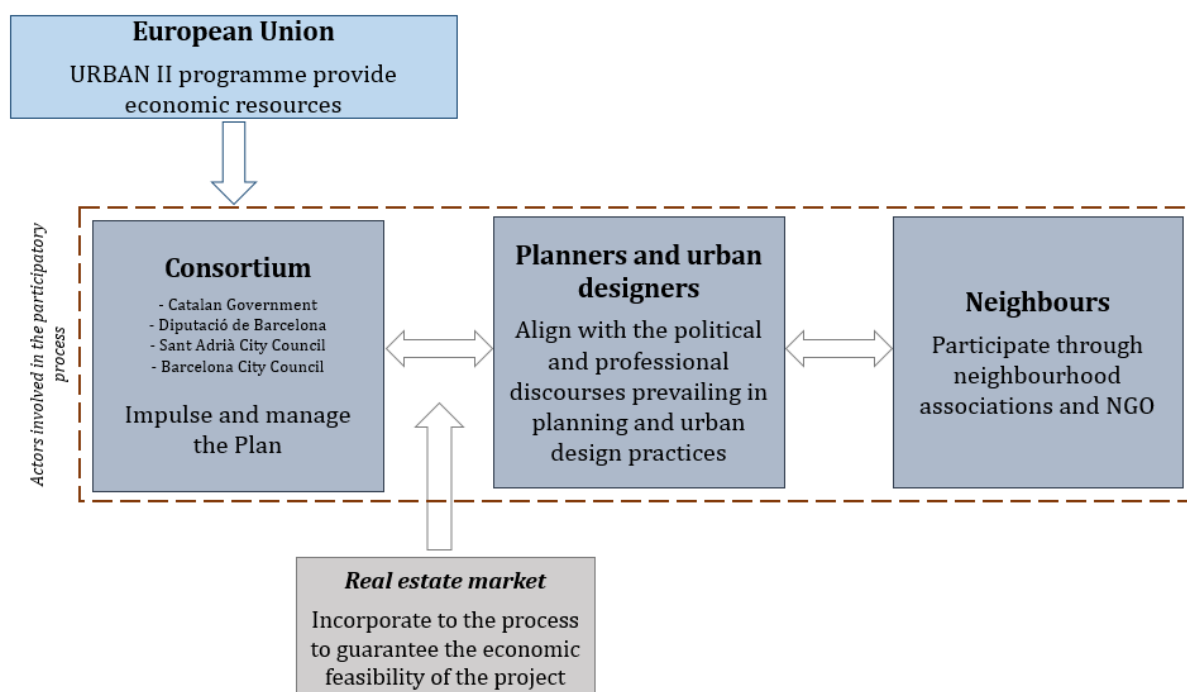


Figure 12. Actors involved in La Mina Transformation Plan.

The interests, values and needs of both the community organisations and residents of la Mina could be seen in the claims and opinions that were expressed during the whole participatory process of the Plan. In this participatory process the neighbours claimed that the problems of la Mina were more related to social matters than its physical characteristics. They stressed the importance of finding solutions to those problems related to social conflicts, antisocial behaviour and illegal activities. Neighbour Association asserted that *"physical improvements were welcomed, but we think that social problems were not addressed correctly"*. They emphasised that physical changes have not contributed a lot to solve the situation of La Mina.

Among the aims of the Plan, there was the objective to strength also the associative fabric of the neighbourhood and support their projects. It would pretend favouring the interrelationship between them and the upper-level administrations. The purpose was generated a network of informal mechanisms of meetings, debates and agreements for the creation of cross-alliances

between local and regional agents over the years such as the promoters of the Plan insisted. So to strengthen this, the Plan:

- Worked with the associations for involving the neighbours in the La Mina Transformation Plan.
- Worked to strengthen the participation of citizenship, creating public spaces for meeting and debate in order to improve neighbourhood community.
- Encouraged women collective in the neighbourhood generating activities and creating spaces where women could develop their own interests and ambitions.
- Promoted organizational changes to consolidate and maintained in the future in an effective and efficient way a participation process between local actors and local and regional administrations.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that participation took place a posteriori: the administration took the initiative in presenting proposals based on predetermined ideas that it had for improving the neighbourhood quality. Participation in planning processes is not a legally regulated requirement beyond the conventional mechanisms of claims.

The participation mechanisms that have had their continuity over these years are the Commissions. Based on the participation structures created during the implementation phase of the Plan, a set of commissions of work about different themes have been created, open to the citizenship and in which different actors are involved. In total, seven sectoral commissions have been set up in order to guarantee the transversality and have a general vision of the various actions that are taking place in the neighbourhood. They are: 1) security and civility, 2) re-accommodation process, 3) advice and mediation on buildings, 4) neighbourhood educational plan, 5) work network, 6) mental health network and 7) drug commission. For example, in the security commission participates local police, members of City Council, and citizens'. These tables have a frequency of four per year. However, and as they point from the Consortium, there is a lack of communication between the different commissions and the local participation, according to them, is still scarce.

According to the promoters of the Plan, it is difficult that the all citizens have an active participation. Nowadays, the participation of the associative fabric is unbalanced. There are some associations which have an active role in the community strengthen and others that are less involved in the neighbourhood matters. The Consortium mentions that generally the associations are composed by elderly people and young people is not feel represented by them. This statement was supported by other local stakeholders involved in current participation processes.

Nowadays, there are other experiences about local participation in Sant Adrià. A NGO with the collaboration of a group of students from Denmark specialised in social-lab initiatives are working in participatory process about the future of "Tres Ximeneies"; deciding which use this area of Sant Adrià should have. According to the organiser of this activity, the process started by them *"is totally open, where the citizenship is free to present their own ideas about Tres Ximeneies area without any input by administrations"*. In this case, the local and regional administration are not involved, neither in the definition of the process nor in its organization. Thus, they consider that *"the initiatives born from the bottom, from the will of the population to participate and decide about their future"*. Such as they affirm *"the local administration is far from taking account the initiatives, which are generated in these kind of debates because, in general, the administration do not know how to work in a multi-disciplinary way"*. The promoters of this initiatives also think that *"is important a good communication strategy to inform about the participatory process and then for the dissemination of the results"*.

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

Forms of place-based knowledge

One of the key elements of the execution and development of the Transformation Plan has been the creation of the La Mina Consortium. This institutional partnership between different levels of political administration was understood by the promoters of the Plan *“as a platform where administrations and citizens have shared their ideas and proposals about the Plan during the whole process of its implementation and where has been evaluated the results expected by the civic society of the neighbourhood”*. In this sense, the constitution of the Consortium had been ideally imagined through a new organisational framework created from the bottom, in order to centralize the ideas and efforts by all the actors involved in the neighbourhood.

The implementation of the Plan should be parallel to participatory activities, where the different actors were involved, with the intention to create a shared vision of the neighbourhood social and economic conditions and the impacts of the Plan, through the:

- Implication of the set of territorial agents.
- Integration of different political, technical and social perspectives.
- Consolidation of a strategy of cooperation and coordination among actors involved.
- Continuous and procedural evaluation through the participation spaces created.
- Prioritization of neighbourhood entities to carry out the social actions.
- Creation of participation spaces through different participatory activities.

Dialogues, participatory workshops and informative sessions allowed neighbours to be involved in decision-making procedures according to the promoters of the Plan. They affirmed that *“in this way, the neighbours themselves and the associations they were part of, absorbed a good part of the energies of a participatory process such as the Plan and contribute for its empowerment”*. Related to this, for example, women’s associations were active part and still be part in the urban regeneration programme and the social programmes developed. This was highlighted by the promoters of the plan as a great achievement for the women collective of the neighbourhood. They organise activities about the role of women in their district, or participate and promote activities for the neighbourhood population. These groups, with their implications, have contributed to increase the relationships between groups of inhabitants both inside and outside of the area. It should be pointed out that these groups of women are the most actively involved in the neighbourhood development programme.

Since it began in 2000, the Plan has implemented around 70 social programmes to improve the social conditions of the neighbourhood in terms of employment, education, support to local businesses, and for coping with the problems present in the neighbourhood’s public environment. Priority has been given to programmes aimed at reducing the number of school dropouts and unemployment, which have had significant outcomes, according to the technicians from the Consortium. However, according to residents and community leaders, *“the social programmes that aimed at the problems present in the neighbourhood have lack continuity, have low coverage and attend very few residents, thus improving little the social conditions of the area”*.

Some associations of the neighbourhood consider that the progresses made by the Consortium, and the administrations involved have not been enough for improving the conditions of the neighbourhood. Even, according to them the Consortium *“has not accomplished its initial proposals”*. The associative background of La Mina, and the place-based knowledge partially generated through the participatory process due to the Plan, has motivated the mobilisation and

organisation to fight for the rights that the neighbours considered that they deserved, especially those related to housing.

Thus, the neighbours mobilized and organized legally through a group of lawyers to defend their rights in relation to housing. La Mina Transformation Plan pretended to expropriate and relocate 150 residents of Venus building, which was and still has a precarious state of conservation. Nevertheless, according to the neighbours the consortium requested the payment of € 40,000 per family to be able to access to the new properties. A solution for the Venus building has been one of the main demands of the different association of the neighbourhoods, which pointed out that *“we have never received a real response from the Consortium to solve this problem”*.

The degree of trust between the administration, represented by the Consortium and the neighbours, is still relatively low after practically 20 years.

Spatial scope of intervention

The spatial scope of intervention has been La Mina neighbourhood, which social, economic, cultural and urban background are differentiated from other metropolitan Barcelona regions.

The neighbourhood has a situation, morphology, history and social composition that marked its marginalization from its beginnings. La Mina was designed mainly to rehouse people who was settled in shanty towns in Barcelona. This population had a significant number of Romany population, with their own cultural traditions. The social and economic conditions of theses inhabitants, marginalised them geographically, socially, physically and economically. The urban relocation of this population was not accompanied by a social measures to facilitate their integration in the new urban environment. Thus, the new inhabitants of la Mina saw their neighbourhood born without urbanized streets, clinics, schools, public transport, or any other public service.

For decades, the different Governments, at national, regional or local level, did not have any interest to act in this area. The abandonment was perpetuating social exclusion and marginalization, and this, in turn, was producing more social problems. According to neighbours, with the neglect of the Government's, it was perpetuated lifestyles outside the law (robberies, trafficking and consumption of drugs...). However, over the years, the administrations were becoming aware of the need to make efforts into this neighbourhood for its improvement. For these reasons, it was decided to design a plan as La Mina Transformation Plan; with a comprehensive approach of the problematic and with the involvement all actors involved.

Moreover, due to the unsustainable situation of the neighbourhood in economic and social terms, closed to the development of metropolitan urban projects (Forum, Diagonal Mar), it was considered relevant focus the administration efforts there, through putting economic and human resources for the transformation of the neighbourhood such as considered by some experts on urban transformations in Barcelona region. Also, the multiplicity of actors linked to the neighbourhood, given their background problems, required the need to have a manager entity capable of bringing together different interests for the fulfilment of objectives. That is one of the reason why the Consortium was created.

La Mina is administratively in the Sant Adrià municipality, but it is on the limit with Barcelona city. So, that there have had a traditionally conflict between “administrative” a “functional” space. Although La Mina and Besòs-Maresme are adjacent urban neighbourhoods, they have been never handled under a common scope, despite Besòs-Maresme is also considered one of the most deprived neighbourhood in Barcelona. The municipal border clearly defines the

administrative attribution of each district. According to the experts, this legal circumstance might be the reason why there have been never an overall approach to this area, since political and social agenda of both municipalities never coincided at the same point.

“The issue here is that Barcelona lives with its back to the Besòs River”. This has been a recurrent affirmation among many neighbours from La Mina. For this reason, it was incorporated to the Consortium the Barcelona City Council, although the neighbourhood belongs to Sant Adrià de Besòs.

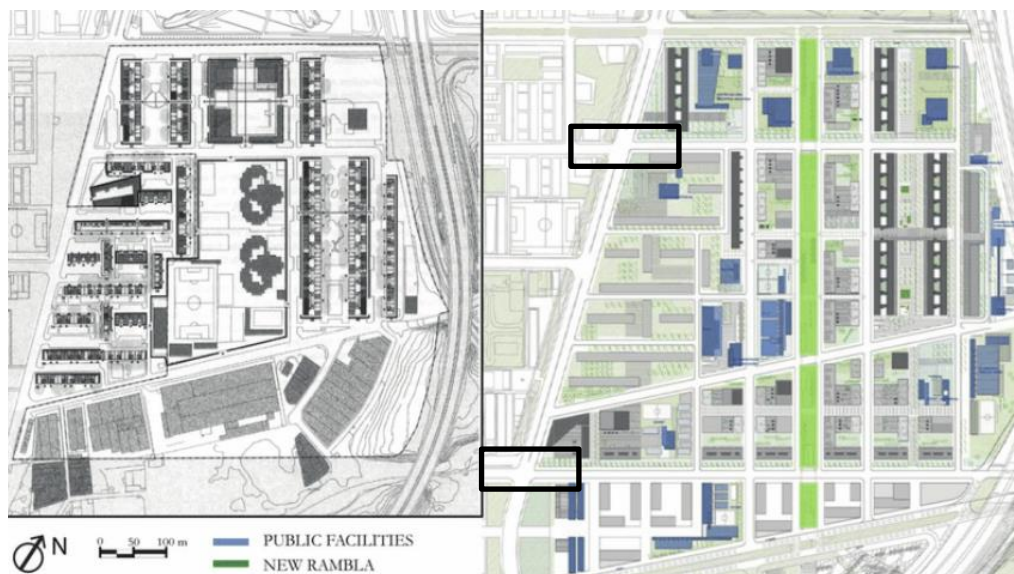


Figure 13. La Mina neighbourhood after (left) and then (right) of Transformation Plan interventions. The urban interventions let to connect the neighbourhood with Barcelona through the openness of some streets. Source: Consorci de La Mina.

Barcelona is currently developing a Pla de Barris in the Besòs-Maresme; adjacent neighbourhood of la Mina. Barcelona neighbourhood is also one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the city, with high rates of unemployment and people living under poorest conditions. The Plan promoted by City Council has similar profile to la Mina Transformation Plan, tackling especially social issues through the involvement of neighbourhood associations and neighbours. Both plans *“would be seen as a good way to regenerated whole area and open a new door that both municipalities can work closely”* according to the members of the Consortium.

Flexibility in regards to changing contexts

The Transformation Plan has included a wide range of economic, social, cultural and urban renewal interventions. Some of these interventions require flexibility and adaptability to achieve properly results. For this reason, the multifaceted nature of such projects needs a well-planned framework which allows it constantly to adapt to changes. It has been especially important taking into account the effects of the economic crisis on the neighbourhood and on the vulnerable groups.

In relation to this, and according to promoters of the Plan, *the proposed transformation was determined by the establishment of a flexible and open action scenario, on which to build the strategy of renewal and revitalization of the neighbourhood.* Up to that time, development plans and actions had been insufficiently adapted to the real needs of the residents of the neighbourhood, especially in relation to those social needs. For the first time, the actions were focused on the reality of the neighbourhood, adapting them to social and labour features of la Mina.

Each of the programs that were launched since 2001 was aimed at solving the problems of the most vulnerable groups and those that arose during the Plan. In some cases it has been specific programs, put in place to take advantage of the synergies of the moment, such as the celebration of the Forum of Cultures, in 2004. At that time, a special effort was made to manage the hiring people from la Mina to work during this event. Thus, the creation, by the Consortium, of specific services aimed at improving the social situation of the neighbourhood has followed this dynamic of taking advantage of the opportunities of the moment by applying criteria of adaptability and sustainability in its implementation.

Over the years, many of the services and projects that were part of the Plan have been transferred to other administrations, mostly to Sant Adrià City Council and Generalitat, because it was considered convenient to keep them active. Others have been assumed by entities and foundations that work in the social sector or by insertion companies. Currently, the Consortium concentrates most of its efforts to keep active the main services aimed at the socio-labour insertion of the active population, local economic development, and programs aimed at improving coexistence and citizenship.

Thus, the new built environment of la Mina has brought an apparently visible change to the neighbourhood, making it more accessible and connected to its surroundings, as well as equalling the design standards of the nearby strategic projects. This has been always defended by the urban planners. While some residents see this as a significant improvement for the neighbourhood, for many others, these improvements have not created the changes that the community saw as decisive for solving the neighbourhood's main problems. As expressed by a resident: *"where are the changes? I do not see them anywhere. Are they because it has been built a library, a Rambla and all that? That is an aesthetical change, not a deep change ... which is what most of us were concerned about"*.

Complaints by neighbours are based on the fact that although the Rambla and most of the surrounding buildings were finished by 2008, the social revitalization that was expected to occur with the new urban environment has still not happened. According to them, two main reasons would explain this. The first one is that the Plan main strategy of attracting new residents and users, creating new relations with its surroundings has been hindered by a very slow occupation of the new apartments and commercial areas, due to the economic crisis. This had implications in the Plan budget, significantly affecting the continuation of some social programmes and other actions planned. Among these were the complete and partial demolition of some of the high-rise buildings and the relocation of the affected residents into the new public housing. The second reason is related to less use by neighbours of the new urban spaces as the Rambla. As stated by a resident: *"the Rambla can be very pretty but almost nobody uses it, nothing ever happens there"*. The Neighbours Association is convinced that the Rambla was designed for the increase the profitability to the commercial activities that were to be located in the ground floors of new buildings constructed on both sides of this street, and it was not linked to the demands of the neighbours for this space. From the Consortium, they believe that when there will be set up new commercial activities in the Rambla, it will generate a more lively public space where neighbours will want to be.

Community associations and residents criticise the priority given to and the large amount of resources spent on the construction of a new urban environment that they argue is disconnected from the rest of la Mina and has done little to solve the social problems of the neighbourhood. As argued by Neighbour Associations *"the neighbourhood feels like if somebody put makeup on an old sick lady, on the outside she looks very good but in the inside she is dying"*. To this, those in charge of the Plan responded that *"it will take many years before the social changes can be seen...we have to wait until the new residents and activities come to the neighbourhood. Meanwhile the social programs will continue"*.

On the other hand, the Plan was programmed to be finished in 2011. However, there was approved an extension for five years more (2011-2015). This allowed the extension of other actions and the implementation of certain actions not foreseen in the initial plan. Given the socio-economic evolution of the neighbourhood and its surroundings over the last few years, with the possibility of extension, the conditions of habitability, community life and coexistence in the neighbourhood could be further improved, for its consolidation and guarantee of the future. Given that many of the objectives according to the residents of the neighbourhood have not been achieved, for them it is important that there is the possibility of continuing the Plan over the years, with the continuous collaboration and involvement of the different administrations involved. Nevertheless, according to La Mina Entities Platform *“the disappearance of the Consortium has never been worrying”* as long as City Council acquires commitments and fulfil them in order to give the continuity to the Plan that the neighbourhood requires.

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

La Mina Transformation Plan stands out for its ability to combine strategies that have tried to solve the social problems of a neighbourhood conditioned by social and urban degradation, through the improvement of the physical environment and social conditions. This is really interesting since up to now, in general terms, urban renewal plans do not usually address the social component of the territory. Thus, the Plan has been considered by the promoters a key tool to strengthen the social fabric of the neighbourhood and the harmonization of the community, to work towards the improvement of social cohesion in the own neighbourhood and with its surroundings.

In this context, and for the implementation and proper functioning of the Plan, the management of it through a consortium of administrations that have agglutinated interests at the local, provincial and autonomous levels is highlighted as an interesting formula for achieving improvements in the neighborhood. This has been seen as an element that has also facilitated its financing.

In addition, the action foster to break the usual sectorial approach in public services interventions, which usually prevent synergy among social programmes and the creation of new initiatives and tools designed by stakeholders and the involvement of all sectors since the beginning of the process.

In the process of implementation of the Plan there have been different factors that have contributed in facilitating the implementation of the Plan and other factors that have been considered difficulties added to be able to develop the action.

Promoters

- **Participation and collective effort of different administrations.** The involvement of different administrations from different levels of government on a local project has led to greater comprehensive perspective.
- **Comprehensive character.** The comprehensive character of the plan contributed to enforce the relationship between different stakeholders from local and regional level to define the urban conditions and impulse the social cohesion in the neighbourhood.
- **La Mina Consortium.** The organisational structure of the Plan of Transformation articulated through the consortium and the fundamental role that the participation of neighbourhood and civic agents has had. The plan has strengthened communication channels between the different agents during its different stages and has led to a more transversal and comprehensive effort.
- **The existence of a neighbourhood and civic network prior to the plan,** which was maintained during the project. The members of this network have played a fundamental role in the elaboration of the plan by encouraging debate, developing proposals, criticising and controlling policies and its development. In addition, they have played a role beyond the Plan, strengthening democracy through education and fostering the integration and participation of neighbourhood residents.
- **Involvement of technical and professional services.** The involvement and the power of the intervention of the technical and professional services in the neighbourhood, with actions that have taken into account the needs of the sectors and neighbourhood groups.

- **Innovative activities.** The emergence and promotion of innovative activities initiated by organisations and associations in the field of training and labour insertion, reconciling work and family life, local economic development and social and educational support (like literacy projects with grandchildren and grandparents, local radio as a space for education and debate, a gym for teenagers directed by an Olympic medallist, etc.).
- **Community interventions.** Community attention to families and more needed groups, with interventions in the home and domestic spaces. Specific socio-educational action in the relocation, with training and information activities on issues concerning the organisation of the household.

Inhibitors

- **Illegal activities.** The public space of la Mina has been characterized by the presence of illegal activities that over the years have meant the expulsion of the neighbours and the appropriation of streets and squares by groups that were engaged in trafficking and consumption of drugs. Although the Plan had as one of its objectives the reappropriation of public space by its neighbours, it cannot be said that illegal activities have been completely eliminated. In recent years, the consumption and sale of drugs has once again picked up and public spaces are once again vulnerable to the criminal activities.
- **Economic crisis.** The first phase of the transformation of the neighbourhood was parallel to the economic boom, which facilitated the construction of the Rambla and new facilities. But with the crisis, the Consortium had to redo plans and programs to support the most fragile groups. On the other hand, the stoppage of the real estate market slowed down the process of selling the lots dedicated to housing, whose development was going to serve to finance the new protected housing.
- **Stigma.** The social stigma still persists in the neighbourhood, despite the efforts made to overcome it. La Mina suffers a transversal stigmatization that affects its inhabitants at social, labour, economic, cultural and territorial level, and that requires a long period of time to eradicate it definitely.
- **Pessimism rooted among population.** Although in general, the action aroused the enthusiasm of the residents, linking them with an innovative proposal for the neighbourhood, many neighbours believe that in the neighbourhood there is no desire to do anything. There is a general pessimism among population because many consider that the actions have not had the expected results.
- **Time horizon in the fulfilment of the actions.** There is a temporary dysfunction between physical transformation and social transformation. Social aspects require a longer time to complete due to be more related to generational factor.
- **Social factors have long term execution.** In the neighbourhood there are certain social factors that require a persistent and continuous process for its eradication as the lack of civic behaviour among inhabitants or school absenteeism.
- **High expectations.** Given the ineffectiveness of the plans and actions that had taken place before, many neighbours considered the Transformation Plan of la Mina a real opportunity for the reconversion of the neighbourhood. Expectations were high, for example, about the role of the Rambla, as a new public space in the neighbourhood. Economic crisis, and other factors, have meant setbacks in the progression of the Plan.
- **Some equipment does not respond to the real demands of citizens.** There are some equipment that were conceived beyond local demands. So they are far from becoming active nuclei of revitalization of the neighbourhood. It is necessary that neighbours assume their presence and increase their use so that they finish consolidating.

- **Existence of “invisible” borders.** La Mina is located on the administrative border between Sant Adrià and Barcelona. Just one street separates both neighbourhoods of both cities but it seems that there is an invisible border that hinders an integral intervention in the area. There is also another border between la Mina and the new urban growths on the seafront, where upper-middle class families live.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

The structure and the actors from la Mina, shows two main and contrasting strands of interests and claims trying to influence the renewal of the neighbourhood and its public spaces. Two strands exposing the tensions between global/city and local/neighbourhood scale actors, interests and influences present nowadays in many urban projects.

The first approach aimed at improving the neighbourhood’s quality of life through large scale physical change, creating new urban environment with attractive public spaces and equipment, and attracting new residents, users and activities. The actors who defended this purpose operate at city and metropolitan scale, and were directly related to and/or conditioned by the forces guiding the development of the greater area in which La Mina is located: the government agencies or private developers. A second group of actors claimed that physical and social actions should have directly benefited the local residents, giving higher priority to social programs than urban changes. These were the demands of those actors interested in operating at neighbourhood scale. They were the community associations and neighbours.

The two points of views tried to influence into the Plan, which integrated physical interventions and social programmes. The Plan attempted to balance the different interests between actors through participatory processes. However, the way in which such integrated approach was implemented, the type of solutions that was given higher priority, the partial omission of the concerns and proposals such it is said by local community and the low use by neighbours of the new public spaces, shows a certain power imbalances between the different groups of actors involved in the Plan. It also shows how in urban areas where multiple interests and actors meet, powerful actors are often the ones who making substantial physical changes while the claims of less powerful groups take softer temporary forms.

The participatory processes, according to the promoters of the Plan, created an opportunity for balancing the power of the different actors involved in the neighbourhood, giving them equal capacity of influencing and finding solutions established through a variety of criteria that intersected different values and interests. However, the actors that belonged to the local community did not feel that. They believed that their opinions and arguments did not have any influence over the physical transformation of the neighbourhood and its public spaces. As expressed by one of the community leaders: *“we worked for more than a year, making proposals about how we wanted our Rambla to be. Surprised we saw that without any consultation or discussion, there was presented a Rambla design that was closed to modifications. It was the same for many of the other suggestions we made this is the way that the municipality works. Where are our proposals? What was the reason of our participation?”* The perception of the neighbours about the participation process is that it not improved the relations between them and the administration. In this sense, they felt that were not heard by the Consortium. After the participatory activities about the future of the Rambla, for some neighbours, there were weakness the *“trustiness relations”* between civic society and administrations. In that sense, it seems that the civic society has not had the enough capacity to influence in the implementation of the action.

In addition, the fact that problems related to uncivil behaviour and vandalism are still in some areas of the neighbourhood, has made difficult for many residents to value other improvements

made by the Plan. The continuation of this kind of problems, which their overcoming were considered critical for the improvement of the neighbourhood, and the discontent of some residents with the way how the project developed, shows the potential risks and failures for urban projects which are influenced by high number of interests, which could be too dependent on global dynamics and a market economy and disconnected from the everyday needs of local residents such it is pointed out by experts in urban transformation processes.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

The results of the Plan have different point of view depending on the local actor. The Consortium and administrations see the Plan as a tool which has helped to overcome the problems of the neighbourhood, especially the isolation and segregation. But the civic society, citizens and entities, considers the Plan an urban instrument that only has represented financial benefits for the real estate market. According to some of them, the Plan has not responded to social demands that were presented at the beginning. They think that the neighbourhood still suffers diverse problems that the Plan has not been achieved to solve.

Anyway, the Transformation Plan has had a significant impact on neighbourhood urban revitalisation. Regarding urban transformation, what stands out first of all is that the isolation and segregation of the neighbourhood has been overcome. Secondly, public facilities have increased. The Plan has contributed to the improvement of the overall conditions of the neighbourhood, remarking by the Consortium the following:

- The isolation and segregation of the neighbourhood has been overcome by new transport connexions.
- Public housing and facilities have increased.
- The overall conditions of the neighbourhood have improved (cleanliness, creation of public spaces as a new park with a family recreation area, a new library, etc.).
- Communication plan designed to provide information on the project and to improve the image of the neighbourhood.

However, and as it was pointed out by civil society, the impact has been less than expected in terms of improvements about social issues. La Mina's problems were and still are far from merely aesthetic such as the neighbours insist. For this reason, the development Plan which was initially slated to run from 2000 to 2010, was extended. The Consortium understood that major social changes in the neighbourhood could not be implemented under a forced timetable. There are culturally-based attitudes, particularly related to gypsy community that will still need time to be changed. It is the case of employment or education patterns.

Despite of this, according to the Consortium the efforts on social axis have been a lot, and they consider that *"in more or less impact, all of them have contributed to improve the social conditions of la Mina neighbours through offering them new labour opportunities"*. During some years the rate of incorporation into the labour market among groups with difficulties (young people with low levels of education or training, women and the long-term unemployed) increased. As it was pointed out by Consortium *"The issue of labour market integration has been important. Training and insertion have been high. Many people have had the opportunity to work, to have an employment"*. However, in 2008 with starting of the economic crisis, this trend could not be maintained.

The plan has also had an important impact on governance. Residents and associations have participated in the transformation process since the beginning. The administration created instruments for the participation and the coordination of community action in order to identify problems and opportunities, bring together different visions of the district and coordinate resources available. The participatory process was done through the creation of new framework

of participation and the generation of work strategies among experts, politicians and neighbourhood residents. The involvement of citizens has led to promote large number of social activities. According to the technicians from the Consortium this process has meant new patterns of organisation and new ways of making and monitoring decisions.

However, the involvement of residents and entities in the participation process has been complex due to the timings and the volume of information managed such as recognised by the promoters of the Plan. Therefore, the Consortium made available to the entities' and residents' platform the services of two technicians, who under the direction and instruments of the representatives of the associations, worked to articulate in a technical manner the promotion of participation. They also received support managing the entity and organising activities.

The neighbourhood has also worked for ending of its stigmatisation through a communication plan. This had the objective of *"'open' the neighbourhood to the rest of the city, showing to Sant Adrià and Barcelona that la Mina was a 'normal' neighbourhood"* such as promoters of the Plan pointed out. In addition, it has been working to promote a greater social mix. The commitment to increase security and contribute to a more civic use of public space by residents has also led to a relative improvement in the image of the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the impact in terms of eradication anti-social behaviour completely has not been possible yet. Despite interventions on the common spaces shared by neighbours, the programme has only had limited impact in terms of transforming attitudes and improving co-existence in the community, *"the educative aspect of the programme should have been more central than it was"*. This has been one of the main persistence of the neighbours associations. These types of changes happen over the long term and require a social and educational intervention lasting over several generations as the promoters of the Plan highlighted.

This could be related to the unbalanced budget between social and urban axis according to some neighbours associations. The initial commitment was invest 50% in urban investment and the other 50% in social, but once all budget was received the balance changed: 85% has been devoted to urban investment and 15% to social investments. Neighbours have pointed out *"they justified us that the urban changes would help socially. And no, the urban changes do not allow create social networks...on the contrary in this case, the urban renewal has contributed to generate more difference between the variety of realities that there are inside the neighbourhood"*.

As regards the sustainability of the urban transformation process, some achievements seem to be quite well established and are likely to go on, but others are facing important challenges. Labour market integration programmes seemed to be quite successful during the economic boom, helping effectively part of the population to find jobs despite their disadvantage. However, the economic crisis had negative effects on employment situation, heavily affecting a population whose labour market integration was already fragile. The actions addressed to improve the schooling rates of the neighbourhood have also had some success, but dropout rates and absenteeism are still high. According to educational entities from la Mina, schools would need a much wider autonomy to be able to cope effectively with a young population that is attracted by drug trafficking, which offer them quick and easy way of earn money. In this case, according to them, both the rigidities of the educational system and the drug trade are still strong limitations to reach a successful process.

Social mixture has also been considered a key action of the Plan. Here results are less encouraging. Some people have come to live to la Mina, but they have not created any relation yet with the neighbourhood and its inhabitants such is admitted by the promoters of the Plan. There are a large number of private apartments are still vacant and for sale.

La Mina case, although its extreme conditions in its beginnings, contains many highly replicable aspects in underprivileged neighbourhood contexts in relation with the process and

methodology adopted in the regeneration of a neighbourhood with serious social problems and a noticeable deterioration in the urban environment. In this sense, some characteristics can be referent, from those about urban reform initiatives, on a totally fragmented public space, to those that are related to the coordination and management of the Plan, with several administrations and numerous neighborhood entities involved.

6. Conclusions

- La Mina Consortium as a single task public agency. The establishment of La Mina Consortium has promoted an integrated, cross-departmental and interdisciplinary approach to urban regeneration of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, the offices of the Consortium are based in La Mina, allowing local residents to identify officers responsible for the implementation of specific programmes and promoting accountability and transparency in the decision making process. Nevertheless, the Consortium has not improved relations of trust between neighbours and the administration. There continues a lack of agreement between the administrations outside of the Consortium structures.
- Timing of social and urban objectives. The social transformation of the neighbourhood requires a longer time to be perceived. The majority of social changes related to traditions and cultural matters of the neighbours (especially those related to gypsy community) may be possible after a generational change. These social factors, as the lack of civic behaviour among inhabitants or school absenteeism, need to be more time to be accomplished. So, there is a temporary dysfunction between physical transformation and social transformation. Population expect to see results in the short term, and social transformation should be understood in the long term.
- EU programmes. At the beginning of the 2000s La Mina took part in several urban regeneration programmes and knowledge exchange networks promoted by the EU as URBAN programme. These experiences provided momentum to the regeneration efforts of local authorities, and were instrumental in raising the profile of regeneration projects nationally and internationally, allowing the attraction of more funding and the exchange of expertise and best practices in regeneration projects in turn.
- Neighbour association and community leaders. One of the main objectives of the regeneration of La Mina has been the strengthening of civil society and local residents associations to promote public participation in decision making. Nonetheless, there have been instances, especially in the finalisation of the Plan, in which there have been disagreements between local leaders and planners concerning the localisation of some equipment's or about some social actions development.
- The participatory process. The extension of participatory process would be considered long to maintain actively the citizen participation. This kind of processes that requires the involvement of population during a long period of time imply the risky to lose citizen through the process. Moreover, at the end the population has shown discontent about the Plan and the expected results, which for them have not been arrived yet.
- Social Sustainability and Future Generations. The Consortium has promoted several initiatives to equip youngsters with knowledge and skills with the objective of improving development opportunities for future generations. For example, the social development plan for the area has been embedded in the construction of schools or educational centres.
- Social Mixing. The Consortium was planning to promote social mixing in order to break the circle of social deprivation in the area and to socially open up the community. However, those new residents do not have relation with the neighbourhood and its inhabitants.
- Social targets from political cycles. The selection of social targets and objectives is also political exercise. The approach adopted by the La Mina Consortium was to compare the

social performance of La Mina with the rest of the municipality, Barcelona and Catalonia as a whole, which provided benchmarks and reference values for setting targets and objectives of the local regeneration process.

- Regeneration, macroeconomics and economic cycles. An important ingredient for the financial and social self-sustainability of the regeneration process has been the construction of free market housing in the area to promote social mixing and generate revenues from selling housing units to be partially reinvested locally. However, due to the economic downturn, which began at the end 2008, private developers have been unable to sell many newly built housing units, whilst new constructions have been halted, with financial implication for the economic budget of the regeneration project.

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8. Annexes

8.1. List of Interviewed Experts

List of interviewed experts	Date of interview	Type of expert
S1	September 2018	Technicians from City Council (2)
S2	December 2018	Members of NGO, which organises participation processes about renewal urban actions similar to la Mina in Sant Adrià (2)
S3	December 2018	Citizen from Sant Adrià de Besòs
S4	December 2018	Technician from La Mina Consortium
S5	January 2019	Urban project manager
S6	January 2019	Civil-society organisation
S7	January 2019	Expert from a research centre
S8	January 2019	Technician from City Council
S9	January 2019	Association representing private business
S10	January 2019	Technician from La Mina Consortium
S11	January 2019	Technician from La Mina Consortium
S12	January 2019	Technician from La Mina Consortium
S13	January 2019	Street interviews with citizens (10)
S14	January 2019	Member of NGO
S15	January 2019	Member of civil society organisation
S16	January 2019	Member of civil society organisation
S17	February 2019	Local stakeholder

8.2. Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians	-	-
Local administration	Sant Adrià City Council	Participation in individual interview
Associations representing private businesses	-	-
Local development companies/agencies	Consortium of la Mina Neighbourhood	Participation in individual interview
Municipal associations	NGOs from la Mina Neighbourhood	Participation in individual interview
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	NGOs from la Mina Neighbourhood	Participation in individual interview
Other local community stakeholders	Citizens from Sant Adrià Neighbours from la Mina	Participation in individual interview & street interviews
Local state offices/representations	-	-
Regional state offices/representations	Research Centre at regional level	Participation in individual interview
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment	-	-
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)	-	-
Primary and secondary educational institutions	-	-
Colleges and universities	-	-
Social and health care institutions	-	-
Cultural institutions and associations	La Mina neighbourhood	Participation in individual interview
Media	-	-

8.3. Maps and Photos



Figure 14. La Mina neighbourhood equipment's before the Transformation Plan (left). La Mina Neighbourhood equipment's and urban renewal actions during the Transformation Plan execution (right). Source: <http://www.ub.edu/escult/research/besos.html>



Figure 15. Evolution of the area of la Mina. Source: <http://www.ub.edu/escult/research/besos.html>



Figure 16. Building process of la Mina neighbourhood. Source: Història del barri de la Mina 1969-2000 (Monferrer i Celades, 2014)



Figure 17. La Mina neighbourhood. In the middle of the photo, Rambla de La Mina. Source: Consorci de La Mina, 2018

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project ‘**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**’ –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



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