



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

verfasst von / submitted by

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, / Vienna,

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 664

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium DDP Urban Studies

Betreut von / Supervisor:

ABSTRACT

HERITAGE PROTECTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT have been synthesised in urban policymaking. But capitalism's accommodation of heritage protection depends unsustainably on a model of development driven by commodification, consumption and economic growth, focused on networked places rich in symbolic value. There, cultural commodification, super-gentrification and overtourism compound economic growth, and peripheralise parts of Europe which are beyond the logic of these spiralling circuits of capital, entailing instead dereliction and demolition in the historic built environment. The evident spatial and ecological limits of securing heritage through urban development demand ways to conserve and use the historic built environment without it.

The discursive analysis of heritage as social process in critical heritage studies tends to dematerialise its objects, while horizontal perspectives from the 'turn to objects' shared with urban studies lack critical purchase on the decisive structural context. Taking Madrid as an extended case, with reference to the spatial dynamics of neoliberal urbanism, Roland Barthes' structuralist semiological methods inform a mythology of heritage practices amid capital's reproduction of the built environment. Visual analysis is thickened with phenomenological insight from more embodied encounter. Experimental speculation considers urban environmental value systems disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Deconstructing the semiotic patterns of capitalist heritage practice reveals its work on the objects beneath, helping to frame an approach to urban heritage exploring its potential alterity in the growth complex's shadows and gaps. Political economy and materiality define an urban laboratory spatially and temporally beyond growth, where alternative heritage practices might engage the historic resources differently.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

IN DER STADTPOLITIK WIRD DER Schutz von Kulturgütern sowie nachhaltige Entwicklung zusammengeführt. Das vorherrschende kapitalistische System allerdings diktiert Kommerzialisierung, Konsum und Wirtschaftswachstum für Entwicklungen und führt dazu, dass Orte mit hohem symbolischem Wert nach ebendiesen Zielen gestaltet werden. Dort führen kulturelle Kommodifizierung, Superzentralisierung und Übertourismus zu wirtschaftlichem Wachstum und zur Peripheralisierung von Teilen Europas, die sich der Logik dieser spiralförmigen Kapitalkreisläufe entziehen und stattdessen Verfall und Abriss in der historisch gebauten Umgebung mit sich bringen. Die offensichtlichen räumlichen und ökologischen Grenzen von Stadtentwicklungsprozessen verlangen nach Denkmalschutz Strategien um historische Umgebungen zu erhalten und zu nutzen.

Eine kritische Diskursanalyse zu Denkmälern neigt dazu, Objekte zu entmaterialisieren, während es horizontalen Perspektiven, wie in der Stadtforschung, an einem kritischen Blick auf den entscheidenden strukturellen Kontext mangelt. Roland Barthes' strukturalistische semiologische Methoden, die Madrid als einen erweiterten Fall betrachten und sich auf die räumliche Dynamik des neoliberalen Urbanismus beziehen, informieren eine Mythologie von Denkmal-Praktiken inmitten der Reproduktion der gebauten Umwelt durch das Kapital. Die visuelle Analyse erhält durch reale Begegnungen via phänomenologischen Eindrücke mehr Tiefe.

Die Dekonstruktion semiotischer Muster offenbart zugrundeliegende kapitalistische Einflüsse und trägt dazu bei, eine neue Herangehensweise an Denkmalschutz zu entwerfen. Politische Ökonomie und Materialität definieren ein räumlich und zeitlich urbanes Laboratorium jenseits Wachstums, in welchem alternative Denkmalschutzpraktiken historischen Ressourcen anders nutzen könnten.

Contents

Introduction

The heritage(-sustainable)-development complex.....	2
Unsustainability and unevenness.....	3

Conceptualising heritage under capitalism

Commodification, consumption and competition.....	4
Heritage Practice under capitalism: all that is solid melts into air.....	5
A research question.....	6

State-of-the-art

Between Critical Heritage Studies and Critical Urban Studies.....	8
Urban Studies: conceptualising unevenness in the built environment.....	8
Heritage Studies: Heritage as sustainable development.....	9
New critical stances: ontological and epistemological turns.....	10

The Research Gap & Methodology

'Building Materials': framing the historic built environment as object and context.....	13
Case selection and Covid-19.....	13
Empirical methods.....	14

Madrid: a Case Study

Heritage, myth and growth.....	16
Sampling.....	16
Establishing the case: literature review.....	17
Methodology: a hermeneutics of capitalist heritage practice.....	20
Mythologies of urban heritage.....	22
Semiological method.....	23
Results and discussion.....	25
<i>The heritage aesthetic: distinction and ruination.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>The city as enterprise or as museum.....</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Representation and accommodation: surfaces and volumes.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Resignification, destigmatisation, superficiality.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>Availability, accessibility and autonomy.....</i>	<i>37</i>
A month in the life: Covid-19, June 2020 and the Holiday of Exchange Value?.....	41

Sketching a study of urban heritage beyond growth

Beyond Growth.....	45
Peripheral, sticky heritage.....	45
A case in the frame: South Wales and deindustrialised dereliction.....	46
Hermeneutics: illegible but affective.....	47

Conclusion: Urban Heritage Beyond Growth.....	49
---	----

Introduction

The heritage(-sustainable)-development complex

HERITAGE protection and sustainable development have been synthesised in worldwide urban policymaking since the turn of the century and are regarded as mutually supportive. Conservation is part of mainstream planning, secured through urban development that recognises heritage as a source of economic value. European conservation philosophy is also working to embrace the heritage of historically excluded people and become more inclusive.

Every place has an historic built environment, in the broadest sense of an inheritance of human-made immobile structures, and so urban heritage should be a sustainable cultural and material resource available to every community. Yet a closer look at the interaction of heritage value and economic value in the built environment reveals a complex at work which seems to compound and emblemise uneven development and which functions in a way which should cast doubt on its lauded sustainability.

There is growing media coverage of the pathological forms of the heritage(-sustainable)-development complex. Cities such as Venice and Barcelona seem to be suffering from an excess of commodified symbolic value attached to their historic urban form, feverishly consumed through an aestheticized tourist economy. This resembles the self-fuelling 'prosumption' described by George Ritzer (2015) and, far from being sustainable, it damages the historic built environment that it celebrates and entails huge consumption of resources and production of emissions.

Another form finds capital landing on symbolically revalorised historic buildings in urban areas of high land-value, or benefitting from the 'conservation deficit' of their disuse or dereliction to justify degrees of what in British planning practice is termed 'enabling development'. The vast residential and commercial development encircling the Grade-II* listed Battersea Power Station in London is a prime instance, but the tall-building boom may also be connected to protected externalities. The effect is that heritage protection attracts and catalyses a particularly intensive form of rent- and return-seeking financialised urban development, arguably at the expense of some of its non-economic values.

A final example of the complex at work is the consumption of built heritage itself as an investment: buildings valorised by their heritage aesthetic or symbolic associations are a favoured fix for capital engaged in Harvey's second circuit (1978), as revealed in the close association of residential gentrification with 'period' housing, and more recently in the spate of building collapses and floods in Central London as modest old houses are extended with 'mega basements' by new owners (BBC, 2020). The physical transformation of these buildings seems to chart their inflation as economic assets. The costs to heritage and the environment are evident.

These urban phenomena are nonetheless supervised by sophisticated heritage protection systems, and often celebrated as heritage regeneration. This is a far cry from the clearances practised by Modernism in the mid-20th century. The whims of architectural fashion seem to be tamed today by tastes compatible with a broader range the buildings we inherit. No longer threatened with ideological clearances, an ever wider array of the historic built environment has proven more adept at assimilation to the value system of capitalistic urban development by lending its

aestheticised attributes to discourses of placemaking and sustainability. Capitalism can accommodate heritage protection because it has found ways to benefit from the symbolic value in the historic built environment.

Unsustainability and unevenness

But still, demolition is widespread, with the waste of embedded carbon the largest part of the construction industry's waste contribution, which itself accounts, for instance, for 35% of the UK's total annual waste (Crawford *et al*, 2014). The World Green Building Council estimates the carbon emissions associated with the construction industry to account for 39% of the worldwide total (WGBC, 2019). Alongside Europe's most elaborate-ever heritage protection system, land value and investment in the built environment appears to be booming. In the conservation bureaucracy's enthusiastic promotion of the capacity of built heritage to generate wealth (Historic England, 2019) and its accommodation to capitalistic urban development processes, the phenomena sketched here seem well characterised as contemporary versions of Marx's commodity fetishism and Schumpeter's creative destruction (1942).

Besides their inherent unsustainability, these different modes of the heritage(-sustainable)-development complex also have overlapping but slightly distinctive uneven geographies. The gentrification of attractive former peasant villages as second-home enclaves exports the complex into rural parts of Europe, but it can be found most densely overlaid in urban areas which concentrate high levels of economic growth partly powered by prosumption, along with plentiful business and private capital investment seeking built-environment fixes. Not that the complex gilds the streets of the city evenly: it leaves sink estates or dowdy suburbs behind even as it enriches Islington and Shoreditch, Prenzlauer and Kreuzberg.

Two symptoms suggest themselves, often in combination: capital finds a lack of symbolic value adequate to catalyse the complex to commodification in parts of the architecturally and historically-valued built environment, such as apparently remains the case with much modernist and brutalist architecture, and historic industrial or military sites; and moreover it encounters surrounding conditions of production or a weakness of consumption which fail to incentivise it to invest. Like the remote Italian agricultural towns where mayors offer grants to tempt incomers, many post-industrial areas struggle with swathes of the same 'period' workers' housing already gentrified in London, but which in Liverpool are auctioned by the city council for £1 each (Liverpool City Council, 2019). The mark the complex leaves by its absence is historic buildings that would be protected, commodified and consumed in one place, standing derelict or demolished in another place.

The heritage(-sustainable)-development complex hinges on the economic revalorisation of historic buildings and sites as 'heritage assets', presupposing a new contribution to the consumption economy which can financially justify their rehabilitation. The revalorisation is linked to aesthetically-shaped alterations which typically commodify aspects of their historic fabric, cultural value and socio-economic utility in spectacular renovation or redeployment as a resource for economic growth. Meanwhile, in large parts of urban Europe, capital does not find value in the surviving historic built environment and the heritage(-sustainable)-development complex is depowered. Heritage protection fails the heritage of peripheral urban places which function beyond the interest of the growth economy, powerless in the face of the forces of uneven development.

Conceptualising heritage under capitalism

Commodification, consumption and competition

HOW to explain the way capital increasingly circles around historic sites, and public agencies concerned with the management of such places pursue economic revalorisation and marketisation to sustain them? In a world organised by capitalism, cultural heritage in the broadest sense and historic buildings and sites specifically, being material resources with symbolic attributes, are subject to processes of commodification as part of the logics of production and consumption which organise society more generally.

The motivation driving production and consumption cycles under capitalism is essentially to produce a surplus by some sort of return on invested capital. Conventionally and essentially, this has been achieved by the application of labour through productivity, which Marx characterised in his labour theory of value. Value itself – for capitalism – is a product of social relations, as is capital itself. In this classic understanding, capitalism produces many things, but in every case with the purpose of producing surplus value, realised through the social relations of production (labour, wages, technological innovation, etc.) and consumption (pricing, purchase, social reproduction, etc.). Capitalism only finds value in that which is, in this way, economically productive (Harvey, 2018).

Productivity entails consumption in a well-functioning capitalist economy by the bundling up of value to be realised, into a commodity. The significance of commodification in the social experience of the material world has its roots with Marx, who drew attention to the enhanced psychological power of ‘goods’ exchangeable under capitalism. He coined the term ‘commodity fetishism’ to describe the way, alienated from the social conditions and context of their production, commodified goods come to be perceived according to their economic exchange value and acquire symbolic power as if this value were intrinsic to the object and not contingent on its social context (Fitchett, 1997). The comprehensive scope of this mechanism was revealed through analysis of the post-Fordist economy, notably by Arjun Appadurai in the milestone collection *The Social Life of Things* (1986):

“In modern capitalist societies, it can safely be said that more things are likely to experience a commodity phase in their own careers, more contexts to become legitimate commodity contexts and the standard of commodity candidacy to embrace a larger part of the world of things than in non-capitalist societies.” (15)

Appadurai was drawing attention to “the commodity potential of all things” (13). In capitalist societies, exchange value dominates all other systems of value, and commodification is the essential intermediary stage in exchange and so in the relations of production and consumption. Neoliberalism extends capitalist mechanisms of production and consumption ever further through society, and thus the commodification logic reaches beyond goods produced for sale on the market, such that it has become a moment in the “career” of any object or indeed idea or service. Capitalism can incorporate heritage objects into its production process, appropriating them like other natural, historical and creative resources extrinsic to its system, and elaborating them into commodities to extract value from them and realise it in consumption.

The self-perpetuating pursuit of ‘extra’ value realised through commodification and exchange – typically fuelled by competition among producers for consumers – gives a capitalist system what Harvey, following Marx, describes as its characteristic spiral dynamic of growth, rather than mere cyclical reproduction (Harvey, 2018, 26). The period since the Great Recession has been marked by low productivity, with growth hard won in the West. Harvey argues that capitalism has tried to cope with this by accelerating cycles and expanding the scope of commodification (2018). The commodification sequence in the present day can seem to be folded into simultaneity with production and consumption. In the basic form of the system termed ‘prosumption’ by George Ritzer (2015) and others, the surplus value of commodities is increased by incorporating the labour of the consumer into production at the moment of consumption; and as well as automation and the internet, this includes the affective and cognitive commodities of the ‘experiential economy’. The derivation of new financial products and debt encouraged by low interest rates remain buoyant. These accelerating forms of production-consumption have special relevance for capitalism’s commodification of the historic built environment, as a historic building or site, with all the affective, cognitive symbolic value imbued by its past and present contexts, becomes a “heritage asset” (World Bank, 2012).

As heritage objects have been enthusiastically commodified for tourism, retail and prestige property development, all in a spatial competition for consumers, they have fuelled the elaboration of a distinctively capitalist heritage practice. Its deconstruction and its complex traces in the historic built environment will be the main concern of the empirical work in this thesis.

Heritage Practice under capitalism: all that is solid melts into air

Conceptualising capitalism’s production of intangible commodities and commodification of existing objects highlights the way socio-economic value systems are constructed above and around the material world. Similarly, conceptualisation of heritage in academia and the profession has moved on from a positivist concern with conserving artefacts, via social-constructivist critique, to an interest in heritage as a discursive process (Harrison, 2018) and its intangible dimensions. This has born redefinition of heritage as a practice of caring and attributing value, rather than a canon (Winter, 2013; Harrison, 2015); and by stressing the necessary future orientation of practices which selectively care for (“assemble”) inheritance from the past, Rodney Harrison has drawn attention to the plurality of value systems, epistemological “modes” and ontological “domains” that may be party to heritage (Harrison, 2018). Heritage is a practice concerned with transmitting value “from the past, in the present, for the future” (Harrison, 2015), and all such activity can be considered heritage practice.

Thus can capitalism be said to have a heritage practice: it assembles futures out of the material and ideal resources it uses in production. Commodification and consumption may entail the valorisation, use, transmission or destruction of these. As the immaterial attributes of commodities specifically are also more valuable than ever before, so capitalism also engages increasingly with objects that are the subject of socio-cultural heritage practices. Historic buildings in particular combine material utility with abundant symbolic content.

Plural value systems and multiple heritage practices overlap in the historic built environment; but, as Laurajane Smith (2006) has argued, the “physicality of place and

object” is “de-privileged” by heritage practices increasingly concerned with process and intangibility (237-8). Smith pioneered a discursive account of heritage as a social process: in her studies, ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ (AHD - an expert-constructed account of the past and its value) (29-30) is performatively “contested and subverted” by community heritage practices. AHD traditionally stressed material authenticity, validated by the conservation profession; but through the self-reflection aided by academia, heritage as a contemporary process has come to be “more about meaning than material artefacts” (Graham, 2002, 1004). Smith’s account suggests that this dematerialisation of heritage is ambiguous in its effects: it allows, she says, the historic built environment “to foster community cultural and economic growth” (Smith, 2006, 238). And yet, clearly, these two claimed goods may very well stand in conflict.

Dematerialised, discursive inquiries focus on how widening participation and access could bring the community’s cultural interests and economic growth into alignment (e.g. Robertson, 2012; Beecksma & De Cesari, 2018; Sennett, 2019) (Dominguez Pérez, 2019). But they remain curiously uninterested in the fate of the old urban fabric that is typically signalled in the discourse (Harrison, 2018). Nor do they reflexively engage with economic growth and the distribution of its proceeds as a sustainable prospect on which to rest community heritage practices. For one thing, bottom-up heritage processes are left to focus on “‘doing’ and ‘being’” – a relational and discursive process, with limited means to possess, control or access material heritage. And alternatively, absent sustainable growth and its economic-symbolic revalorisation, dereliction and demolition can dematerialise the site instead, leaving only a heritage of “memory” and “change” (Smith, 2006, 238).

The limpness of the focus on meaning and discourse for addressing the practicalities of heritage under capitalism and climate emergency has not gone unnoticed in the past decade of heritage studies. In one of various alternative, more material ontologies of heritage which will be expanded in the literature review below, DeSilvey (2017) draws on case studies of selective abandonment of historic buildings and borrows from non-Western perspectives on heritage as a substance with its own cycles of life and death to trace an approach of ‘curated decay’ which can be termed post-preservationist, even post-humanist. But we cannot leave urban built heritage to ruin or rewilding because much of it stands in urban places where it cannot feasibly be abandoned. The forces of nature have no greater claim on it than does our own survival and wellbeing. We need to keep living in these buildings to realise a culturally-rich, environmentally prudent urban life, rather than demolish and replace or intensively reconstruct and re-engineer them.

A research question

So, the historic built environment – as appropriated or abandoned – is the object of a heritage process integral to capitalism by which it assembles its own preferred future of growth, characteristically leading to uneven (heritage) development. Thus the intrinsic context of the heritage(-sustainable)-development complex is its absence from areas of Europe where growth-seeking development is relatively inactive. In a future which must deal with scarcer resources, growth-seeking solutions would anyway be neither possible nor desirable; but meanwhile they perpetuate uneven development and attendant structural inequalities. And there is, besides, an actual loss of built heritage through dereliction, demolition and appropriation by redevelopment. As loss of a material resource this is economically and environmentally unsustainable; as loss of a

cultural resource it is socially inequitable; and in sum neither heritage nor sustainable development is supported.

This thesis develops a conceptual framework around a research question about socio-cultural practice in relation to a material, spatial phenomenon under particular politico-economic conditions: *What can we learn about the possibility, prospects and promise of urban heritage beyond growth from examining the material heritage practices structured by capitalist urbanism?*

State-of-the-art

Between Critical Heritage Studies and Critical Urban Studies

In trying to explore the character of capitalist material heritage practice and the possible conditions of its alternative, with explicit socio-spatial and environmental concerns, this thesis is planted in the rich recent theoretical grounds of both Critical Heritage Studies and Critical Urban Studies.

Responding to the route of discourse in both these fields, and because of the framing of the problem described above, the thesis mediates between interpretative constructivist and more contextual political-economic research paradigms, particularly by thinking with materiality and material culture, as have scholars in both these disciplines in recent works reviewed in this section. Insights in the two disciplines from comparable ontological debates – with social-constructivist accounts succeeded by attention to materiality and object-agency, both challenged by structuralist and political-economic perspectives – increase the scope for learning across disciplinary boundaries.

This review first considers the critical position attained in urban studies and heritage studies through debates towards the end of the last century and their perspectives on the global spatio-political and -economic contexts that are typically a fundamental concern of the critical stance in academic inquiry. In urban studies this debate has been extremely broad, but the focus here will be on theorising the dynamics of capitalistic urban development and unevenness as pertinent to the existing built environment. In heritage, which has a sparser theoretical past, community and economic development and more recently sustainability have been central concerns. A more method-focused section of this review will consider the two disciplines in their contemporary forms with specific concern for the fallout from debates on their parallel ‘turn to things’.

Urban Studies: conceptualising unevenness in the built environment

Neil Smith (1982) argued that uneven development, for instance in the form of gentrification, was the intrinsic product of capitalism’s contradictory spatial tendencies to equalisation and differentiation. The existence of peripheral or lagging areas resistant to equalisation as the social product of the flows and circuits of capital seeking accumulation, as theorised by David Harvey (1978), was challenged by the endogenous growth theories of the New Economic Geography developed by Paul Krugman (e.g.: 1998). These held growth as normal or intrinsic to economic activity, enhanced and driven more by “second-nature” attributes such as agglomeration than by spatial or geographical contingencies. The normality of growth notwithstanding-geography remains an influential and mainstream economic perspective: in Europe, under the auspices of international organisations and institutions, investment and development is promoted as a “process of convergence” towards EU average growth, and regions and countries with lower GDP growth rates are theorised as “poor performers” suffering from “peripherality” (e.g.: Duarte & Carmen Pascariu, 2017).

Yet the intransigence of unevenness and peripherality has returned the attention of economic geography to theorising the systemic processes that produce them. Past phases of capital investment in space – a burden to capital in Harvey’s thinking, contributing to Smith’s forces of differentiation – can also influence investment,

productivity and growth. The commodification of the built environment has been theorised as a spatial manifestations of Neoliberalism in the form of “regeneration” of lagging locales competing for financialised capital (Jessop, 2018). The crisis conditions experienced in these areas – labelled “left-behind” (Sykes, 2018) or “places that don’t matter” (Rodriguez-Pose, 2017) – are identified with wider political reactions to globalisation. Recently, scholars combining global with local scales of analysis have revealed the complexity of this systemic trend, connecting uneven development and path dependencies in places across the world (Brenner & Theodore, 2012). Even under the new logic at these multiple scales, the urban social process exhibits consistent tendencies: “gentrification as global urban strategy” (Smith, 2012, 94-6).

The concept of economic cores and peripheries also persists in explanations of unevenness. Manfred Kühn has argued for a modification to this model, which instead recognises socio-economic polarisation as a process by which spatial inequalities are produced through social relations with political, economic and cultural dimensions, between metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions (2015). Relationality is gaining ground as a conceptual lens through which to consider persistent regional spatial differentiation, and growth-oriented policies are recognised to be ineffective and pertinent mainly to metropolises (Kinossian, 2017). But alternatives advance little beyond the compensatory potential of cultural policy, including heritage as (re)distributing “aesthetic value and a sense of sentiment” (Kinossian, 368), to encourage solutions such as ‘vicarious habitation’ and subsidy (Knudsen, 2017). A relational, even discursive analysis suggests social-constructivist approaches feel powerless in confronting intractable material and structural trends (e.g.: De Cesari & Dimova, 2018).

Heritage Studies: Heritage as sustainable development

A discipline without an obvious academic home, heritage studies always had links to history, archaeology and anthropology, but was preoccupied with a practice-based scientific attention to the object and its materiality (Winter, 2013). Political and cultural critiques of official heritage discourse and practices grew towards the end of the last century, and geographers concerned with tourist economies who theorised the spatial manifestations of the social production of heritage. Ashworth, Tunbridge and Graham (2013), proposed heritage as “how the present invokes the past in the service of many and diverse contemporary needs,” considering its role in place marketing and tourism, but as in the rest of the discipline offering little critique (see e.g.: Holtorf, 2013).

The rise to centrality of sustainable development as the political and economic paradigm in which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were couched, brought attention to heritage (e.g.: Auclair & Fairclough, 2015; Avrami, 2016; Pereira & van Oers, 2011). Although its social role was typically stressed over its environmental and economic contributions (e.g.: Holtorf, 2013), nonetheless, “the role of the historic built environment in promoting economic growth is now fully acknowledged,” it was claimed, integral to a framework aiming to realise the 1987 Brundtland Commission’s call to economic growth without environmental damage (Pereira & van Oers, 2011). The discursive alliance of heritage and sustainable development is highly evident in texts relating to the MDGs, and now characterises Smith’s AHD: the public body Historic England declares that it “supports and promotes the role of heritage and the built historic environment in sustainable growth” (2019) and regularly produces statistics detailing the financial returns on capital investment in heritage, conceived of as an externality offering windfall gains (Ashworth, 2014).

Conversely, critical attention to sustainable development has supported reconsideration of the potential contribution of heritage. Heritage practices as facilitating learning and self-organisation have been posited in a context of tourism studies, but little researched (Wall, 2018). A connected resilience perspective in heritage studies is strongly focused on the materiality of tangible heritage, and recovery after environmental or human-inflicted catastrophes (e.g.: Luciani & Del Curto 2018). Meanwhile Harrison (2013) has questioned the intrinsic sustainability of authorised heritage practices, borrowing a critical stance on capitalism to propose a crisis of heritage accumulation in an actual “material excess” beneath the Late Modern heritage aesthetic. Nourished by a wider ontological turn in heritage studies, he also examined heritage as an ethical positioning towards non-human actors alongside other critical heritage scholars.

New critical stances: ontological and epistemological turns

Critical Heritage Studies has emerged since the turn of the century from an attempt to engage more closely with heritage as object, in response specifically to the need to decolonialise the practical and theoretical discipline, and, connectedly, to think reflexively about its historic suffusion with scientistic materialism (Winter, 2013). Smith’s development of the notion of AHD, described above, was an important milestone (2006). Led by attempts to deconstruct heritage discourses, themes of participation, diversity and inclusion have predominated in critical heritage studies – a self-identifying sub-discipline for 10 years or so. Social constructivist accounts typically stress the staging and negotiation of relational heritage practices (e.g.: Meskell, 2018, Beeksma & De Cesari, 2018); but influenced by ontological questions, they also deconstruct AHD notions of loss and endangerment as they underpin material attachment in western heritage practices (DeSilvey & Harrison, 2019).

Generally, critique of practice struggles to coincide with theoretical stances (Winter, 2013), and considerations of embeddedness, contingency and structure can fall into the gap. They cede the field to irreconcilable heritage “dualisms”, in Iain Robertson’s critique (2012): materiality versus intangibility; significant versus insignificant; authorised versus community-led; optimism or pessimism about the outcomes of heritage practice itself. His formulation of *Heritage From Below* pushed beyond duality to alternativity, borrowing a cultural-materialist lens to look for structures of feeling in heritage practice attached to local and counter-hegemonic culture. Explicitly claiming succession to Robertson, Hamzah Muzaini & Claudio Minca, develop the theme of resistance to AHD to propose contemporary heritage practices as a time *After Heritage* (2018) in which they are diffused to the point of becoming individual and transient, and thus resistant to domination. Still somewhere between discourse and materialism, deconstruction has in this way served to locate greater agency in the individual or consumer as a subject of heritage.

But judged by the discipline’s large population of archaeologists and anthropologist students of material culture, this has not gone far enough. These dynamics of the individual subject as agent of heritage have been more directly interrogated by borrowing affect theory, via anthropology, from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The ‘affective economies’ identified at work in heritage practice would seem to link social process and negotiation with the tangible and intangible heritage objects underlying them (e.g.: Beeksma & De Cesari, 2017) (Harrison, 2018). Looking deeper into these relationships of care and wider ethical ideas about heritage objects, Anna Bohlin studies the circulation of second-hand goods in European markets (2019; Bohlin

& Appelgren, 2015). An economy of feeling circulates around the economy of materials, and a revised ontology of heritage values emerges from the mixture.

The ongoing ontological reappraisal embraces the scope of heritage itself, with the effect of promoting the place of tangible, material heritages in both theoretical discourse and its view of professional and wider ethics of heritage practice. Bjørnar Olsen and particularly Þóra Pétursdóttir are challenging the way anthropocentric and value-focused approaches to heritage neglect the involuntarity of inheritance and the ethical significance of un- and de-valued heritage objects. The “obnoxious and immature spoils of history” – nuclear waste, domestic waste, drift matter, modern ruins – are heritage too. Against a dualism distinguishing valued heritage from rejected waste, a heritage practice for the Anthropocene would recognise that we do not only pass on what we value. This is “sticky heritage”, “lived-with things” with significant materiality and human-independence (Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014a). Harrison observes that these conceptualisations take concern for the plurality and negotiation behind practice out of discourse and into the ontology of multiple “particular worlds” of heritage, multiple “modalities of caring for the future” (Harrison, 2015).

The new Anthropocene ontologies of heritage are emergent, but arguably theorise a simultaneously emerging return not only to things, but to materiality in heritage. DeSilvey’s work on abandonment was preceded by a project titled *Repair Acts* on the materiality of the craft of mending (Bond et al, 2013). There is a growing body of work on waste, both as heritage in itself (see Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014a), and, through the Waste Heritage Research group, with a more explicit formulation as heritage practices in the form of systems for deconstruction and re-use (Ross, 2017). Heritage, as a practice of present care for things from the past as part of a wished-for future, is facing-up to the existential threat to the material conditions of human life by theorising the materiality of things and the thingness of materials.

There is evidence that the ‘turn to things’ is common to humanities and the social sciences. Scholars in both disciplines cite Jane Bennett’s *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (2010) as a key text (e.g.: Anderson & McFarlane, 2011; DeSilvey, 2017); but the ontologies of heritage studies have apparently been more radically altered so far than urban studies. The object-ethics of Anthropocene critiques draw on Bennett’s ideas about object agency, and this is an operative concept in the influential assemblage theory derived by Manuel De Landa from the work of Deleuze and Guattari which has irrupted into urban studies. In their 2011 debate in *City*, Brenner *et al* critiqued Colin McFarlane’s argument for an assemblage ontology of the city (McFarlane, 2011a, 2011b), in which he cited the importance of comprehending the properties and manipulation as of building materials agents in the social assemblages of Indian slums. They pointed out that the “materials under discussion... are highly polysemic and promiscuous. Graffiti paint, unadorned brick, dirt in back yard gardens, corrugated metal—each can be an expression of precarious impoverishment or of dominating, aestheticized prosperity, depending upon its context” (Brenner, Madden & Wachsmuth, 2011, 234). Ontological attachment to the notion of the horizontal assemblage results in interpretatively “inert”, “passive-voice” descriptions, according to their critique, which lack a political outlook (236). They acknowledged the pertinence of materiality, but rejected “an ontology of naïve objectivism” for being deaf to the “structuration of urban processes”, and pleaded the pertinence of the “context of contexts” – essentially, anticipating Brenner & Theodore on Neoliberalism (2012), some sort of multiscalar political economy.

The body of their critique recalls the curious way discourse analysis of heritage processes in the historic built environment often say very little about the object buildings; and the way Anthropocene materialist enquiries in heritage studies prefer circulating affects, waste, drift matter, ruined buildings – displaced objects – to objects located and in use. As Ashworth *et al* observed from a somewhat different standpoint in 2013, the economics and politics of heritage is the least well theorised aspect of its sustainability; and “the economics of conserving heritage resources – a question distinct from the economics of heritage”, least of all (367). The ‘post-human’ insights of some recent approaches are not appropriate in the context of urban communities, which remain the likely, and possibly the most sustainable, spatial form of human settlement. In the meantime, as they contemplate their own endangerment, they face real loss of cultural and material resources of their inherited built environment dereliction and demolition, and ongoing cycles of economic and increasingly climate-induced displacement. There is often not even an AHD-approved bureaucratic heritage practice present to be resisted.

The economic growth paradigm offers few solutions (Kühn, 2013), or exacerbates the symptoms. Yet the tools of radical political economy have apparently been laid down by urbanists and heritage scholars alike; though there are signs of recognition of this dearth, and a return to this challenge (e.g: Krause, 2016; Su, Bramwell & Whalley, 2018; De Giosa, Marquart & Cheung Ah Li, in development).

The Research Gap & Methodology

'Building Materials': framing the historic built environment as object and context

THE conceptual and geographical frame of the heritage-(sustainable-)development problem sets up a critical project to reveal spaces of alternativty in heritage practices in relation to the historic built environment. The objective is not to prescribe ways to (re)valorise heritage ignored by capital, nor to academically interpret excluded or erased heritage values, but to provide the means for perceiving heritage practice as it instrumentalises the built environment for capital, the better also to see the shadow of this phenomenon and the gaps it leaves. Urban heritage beyond growth happens within urban capitalism, but 'beyond' its operative paradigm, in spaces composed by context and object, structure and encounter. Careful framing should set-up richly contextualised case study and furnish thick, exploratory description, rather than a breadth of data.

Capturing that which lies outside any paradigm is necessarily difficult because the paradigm designs and labels the tools of practice and even the lens of the search. Still, understanding the heritage practices of capitalism as just that – practices, patterned and even systematic, of attributing value in the present to extant objects – is a step in their deconstruction, lifting off the discursive and aesthetic justifications that sustain their ubiquity. The special project of this thesis is to connect the insights generated by this preoccupation, which have deprived heritage studies of traction on pressing problems of spatial justice and material waste, back to the object and context of heritage practice in the historic built environment.

In order to be exploratory as well as empirical, the method will be conceptual as well as analytical in its both its framing and hermeneutics. The latter needs to engage both technical knowledge and more revelatory insights, even a kind of phenomenology. In investigating and encountering the built environment, both eye and body must be recruited, both trained and subjective, as an urban critic and a participant.

Case selection and Covid-19

The theoretical framing of this thesis was completed and the methodology unfolding in spring of 2020, just as normal socio-spatial practice and the possibility of encounter with historic buildings were disrupted more dramatically in most European cities than at any other point since under conditions of total war. But during the window available for empirical investigation of this practice, much public, shared heritage practice was effectively suspended, or at best profoundly disrupted, as businesses were closed, travel suspended and Europeans confined to their homes, to delay the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

An intended pair of comparative case studies of heritage practice from an urban environment under intensive reproduction by capital and another in its lea proved impossible. The main empirical work in this thesis is an instrumental case study of Madrid's historic built environment and particularly the way this composes a built heritage reproduced through urban development and investment. Amid dramatically reduced activity and access, the principal empirical tool was my own observation and participation, analytical and phenomenological. A deep reading, with both the analytical

and embodied eye, produced a rich and exploratory description of the physical and social life of Madrid's historic built environment and a picture of capital's heritage practice, modified by the context of its spatial dynamics of capital. The patterned picture produced should give an image of the shadows and voids into which heritage places peripheralized by the economic complexes described at work in Madrid are cast. These insights are used to sketch a potential investigation of alternative heritage practice beyond growth, positing the industrial heritage of the conurbations of the cities and valleys of South Wales.

Focusing on the heritage of the later 19th and earlier 20th centuries and periods of industrial growth is useful but not essential to this study: as well as drawing attention to the way capitalism leads to expansive waves of novelty and obsolescence, the built heritage of this period is typically consensually considered to have social and cultural value (unlike, for instance, more modern buildings). That said, the point in their urban trajectories at which Madrid and South Wales are encountered, at present, seems a significant consideration: their socio-economic contexts point to very different material futures for this built heritage.

Empirical methods

This work uses an emergent, phenomenologically-inflected mixed methodology. Descriptions are made 'thicker' by the resistance against reduction afforded by multiple methods of encounter. Encounters with historic buildings are multi-sensual, but through my professional background as an accredited practitioner in historic building conservation, my eye is trained to analytically regard material qualities and visual appearance, and in practice this epistemological mode will be the first I bring to the heritage objects of my case studies. Visual methods remain almost taboo in humanities and the social sciences (Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014; Rose, 2016); yet the analytical eye's partial accounts can borrow 'thickening' complexity from techniques in critical heritage studies to develop methodologies that engage with materiality and alternative, more object-centred ontologies. Work by Bond *et al* (2013) and Littlefield (2012) was closely focused on material heritage objects, not with a flattening interest in them only as incidental assemblages, but with attention to their particular, contingent archaeologies. The eye can also be enriched by embodiment: heritage objects are phenomenologically encountered in participative readings made as an urban subject, insights recorded *in situ*, aiming to invoke the perspective of 'adhomination' posited by Roland Barthes' semiological and mythological methods of cultural critique.

Between material encounter and socio-spatial practice, the archaeologist and anthropologist Christopher Tilley has recently developed a phenomenological hermeneutics of the built environment (2019), "a substantive study of the relationship between material culture and the practices of everyday life in the city". Those undertaken by "by social historians or human geographers or sociologists" are not "particularly concerned with discussing... the sensuous agency of places as material things". Rather, "strangely dematerialised", they stress "social and political relations, social class, ethnicity and multicultural" (xxi-xxii). In the context of a tightly conceptualised and geographically framed study, phenomenologically-inflected interpretation and discussion could offer findings with relevance to structural concerns. Thick description of heritage practice would gain critical urban import. Equally, the findings would sit between solely discursive interpretation of symbolic systems of heritage and the political-economy of exchange and value regimes.

Brenner *et al* (2013) criticise the way assemblage approaches can simply displace the categories of structural analysis by simple alternative ontological description. In this self-consciously exploratory piece of work with a partly emergent methodology, it will be important to contextualise object and practice by drawing broadly on critical heritage theory, but particularly on a deep tradition of critical urban theory to situate and discuss its findings.

Madrid: a Case Study

Heritage, myth and growth

THE first case study in this thesis aims to illustrate and characterise the appropriation of the historic built environment within the contemporary system of urban development. It takes two premises: that socio-cultural systems of valorisation are plural and implicated in human spatial activity, but that contrastingly the production of space is hegemonically dominated by capitalism. ‘Heritage’ is our subject within this field, and the spatial and temporal diameters of the ‘growth’ complex are our parameters. Heritage is still to be understood as the process and product of social practice – the evaluation of inheritance with a view on the future: it has intangible dimensions, but the focus in this study is spatial and so basically physical.

Madrid is the topos of this first case study: that is, this complex urban entity, the whole city, is taken as the ground and real context of a case of urban heritage practice, of which the object is the city’s historic built environment. As such, a sample from this case population will be under consideration. This case study is decidedly instrumental to the objective of scoping and deconstructing heritage practice in an urban site organised by capitalist imperatives, and so the population and sample is intended to be illustrative rather than scientific in the sense of being fully verifiable or objective, or being either exhaustive or truly representative. Nonetheless, definition of this population, the criteria for sample selection, and the manner of data collection merit greater consideration.

Sampling

Though private dwellings mixed with minor commercial or office uses account for a very large part of the built centre of Madrid, they are the objects of dispersed and private, background-noise heritage practice, which though relevant and notable, lacks the amplification or frequency to communicate forcefully about capitalism. Principally, this case study will focus on buildings and spaces of the public realm: that is not only buildings open to the public, but housing the functions and habits of public life: work, art, education, bureaucracy, shopping, recreation, transportation, etc. Noting how spaces of encounter entail the densest charge of signification, Roland Barthes insisted that examining exactly these “great habits of humanity” as played out in cities would expose the metaphorical chains which animate urban subjects under capitalism (1967, 13). The buildings and sites of these habits are those most exposed, most functionally involved in the commerce, leisure, tourism and development investment that bring capital to cities under Neoliberalism (Harvey, 2001, 354-9).

Engaging the buildings and sites under study for the investigative purposes of this study is a function of their framing as historical objects encountered in context, rather than of any criteria generated from current heritage discourse. The sample was generated by daily life in Madrid, profoundly affected by the severe constraints imposed in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. I recorded almost 10,000 words of in more than 20 dictated notes on-site during more than 30 study visits among encounters with dozens of other historic buildings in Madrid (see Appendix).

The possibility of combining elicited and other forms of photography as evidence alongside the records of my own encounters was an intriguing potential raised by the methodological explorations above, but proved unfeasible under the circumstances.

Similarly, interviews might have informed the concerns of this study insofar as they could focus on encounter, but in practice only occasional, informal discussions with fellow *Madrileños* were possible, and were gathered as notes. In effect these notes became a source of both my critical-analytic and phenomenological insights, recorded in situ, and otherwise uncited information in this chapter comes from them.

The corpus of information gathered about this sample could not of course be held to be representative of any carefully-defined population of historic buildings in Madrid; rather, it provides a ground and critical information for thinking about encounters with historic buildings. Wherever possible, examples are drawn from buildings with official protected heritage status as *Bienes de Interés Cultural* (BIC, a national designation) or *Bienes de Interés Patrimonial* (BIP, locally determined), where all actors understand themselves to be engaged in some kind of heritage practice; but these are understood simply to be the most prominent, the clearest objects in a vastly more extensive historic built environment.

The point in their material lives at which they are encountered currently is significant though. I aim to look at historic buildings or sites that are subject to a renegotiation of their material existence – that are the object of the heritage practices of a new group of subjects, or involving a new form of encounter or use. This would operationalise the concept of material inheritance, and capture the sense of the historic built environment as providing a resource and space for alternative “modalities of caring for the [urban] future” (Harrison, 2015).

An interesting precedent for such a loosely historicised, typographical, geographical, biographical survey has recently been published by Douglas Underwood, a classical archaeologist, in *Re-using the Ruins* (2019), his study of the afterlives and reappropriations of Roman buildings in the period 300-600 AD, during and after the Western Empire’s fall. Focusing on baths and aqueducts and on spectacle architecture, he considers different regions of the empire and structural considerations in their disuse and reuse across time, concluding from observations on his cases that “their vibrant, yet variable, development was closely tied to significant shifts in urban ideologies”. The result is a kind of demography of the Roman built environment, with case studies substituting for the impossibility of a survey of an unknown population: a pattern-finding in the population of the historic environment; a methodological route akin to the study of Madrid which follows.

Establishing the case: literature review

Madrid’s urban built heritage is easily comprehended terrain for a case study thanks to its clear chronology of the late arrival of industrialisation – that is a first major phase of capitalist urbanisation – and a subsequent expansive neoliberal urbanisation after the fall of Franco’s dictatorship. Madrid is a major city of western capitalism, but has a compact historic core. Industrialisation only crept into the edges of the Spanish capital late in the last third of the 19th century and failed to overpower or displace a conservative bourgeoisie and aristocracy attached to their investments and self-representations in the still-tight historic core. Until the middle of that century, many of the city’s main manufactures were limited by their domination by royal patronage or indeed had been established and held by the crown (Madrid History Museum, nd). This meant that deep into the 20th century, a mix of classes remained resident in the urban centre of Madrid, as in many other historic metropolises of mainland Europe, and unlike

those of the early-industrialised vanguard where the bourgeoisie fled inner-city proletarianisation earlier. Though well set-up by the urban devastation wrought by the Civil War from 1936-39, a systematic evacuation was only initiated in the era of Francoist economic and housing dirigisme (Pardo Abad, 2004). Incentives to peripheralisation and transformed rental regulations leaving many *barrios* of the variegated centre not only little-developed but depressed and physically decaying by the end of the regime, their properties low-yield and undesirable for rentiers (Sorando & Arduro, 37-38). At its nadir the historic centre had lost 40% of its population (98), left moribund by war then dictatorship.

A sharp political-economic structural account of Spain's post-dictatorship transformation into a liberal-market capital, its 2008 crisis and recovery, is given by the Marxist economic geographer Daniel Morcillo (2017). Distinctively, he tries to identify a clear corresponding spatial pattern of development, taking Madrid as a case. He identifies a neoliberal imposition of financialised, consumption-focused patterns of urbanisation over older spatial manifestations of the social relations of production. Defined by a sustained period of peripheral growth and central transformation, Morcillo argues this growth/transformation pattern is part of an integral spatial system: centre and (urban) periphery are two sides of the neoliberal spatial coin. His pattern locates capitalist revalorisation processes, through the reorganisation and symbolic resignification and redistribution of central Madrid ("the transformation of the structure and the image of the centre"), precisely in the inherited built environment of the historic core. This was the corollary of the growth by expansive production in the periphery: "the financial system has been searching for the most appropriate place to fix the profits obtained in the production of the periphery" (6). In the neoliberal period of urbanisation in Madrid, "public and private investors brought about an intensive transformation of the periphery, leaving the urban centre as a decorative space, an attractor of tourism and focus for secondary activity" (5).

The attempt to identify a structure-generated pattern draws Morcillo into a more detailed consideration of the dynamics of neoliberal urbanisation in Madrid – specifically a "particular competition" of spaces (6). Apart from the centre-periphery mechanism, there is a second, finer-grain, smaller-scale pattern in Madrid's neoliberal spatial dynamic. Indebted to Bourdieu, Morcillo presents the neoliberal logic as a matter of consumption, citing Lefebvre to assert that it manifests in "space as the site of representation of the social status of the individual". In his Marxist analysis, the social function of this system is to reproduce the hegemony of "the dominant classes" through an urban socio-symbolic discourse. Spatially this looks like the reproduction of urban space as a "mosaic" of spatial units "differentiated, segregated, and indicative of the position of the individual within the discourse of excellence and prestige" (7). These units compete by means of acquiring positions of competitive advantage; specialisation to attract investment; exclusivity to attract consumption. Specifically regarding Madrid:

"the bourgeoisie, as the dominant class, and the high-salaried sectors – basically intellectual and technical workers – would come to occupy prestigious historical space with the end result of elitizing it and thus producing a type of spatial commodity which could be consumed by the rest of the classes." (10)

In addition to the trade of land and property as a market commodity itself, differentiated urban space is thus brought into a competition-based system of production for consumption. Morcillo is interested in identifying this dynamic on the ground in Madrid;

but at a wider scale it is recognisable as nourishing soil for the network of global or world cities functioning as nodes of neoliberal production and service agglomerations posited by world city theory and scholars such as Brenner & Theodore (2002).

Following Brenner, and recalling Harvey's spiral, Morcillo perceives a neoliberal dynamic in which "the existing historic networks of capitalist society dissolve, producing new ones and in an extensive process of transformation... [which] is never complete" (2017, 8). The objective and scale of action of the state has adapted to this neoliberal dynamic, pursuing an order which subjects social reproduction to competition and precarity as means of capital accumulation. Morcillo argues that in central Madrid, the state has been co-agent of this process, especially through facilitating with policies or sponsoring with investment a socio-symbolic transformation supporting this spatial restructuring in favour of the dominant classes. Thus a capitalist heritage practice – a process of revalorisation and transmission of the inherited built environment – was part of the story of Madrid's expansionist Neoliberal phase of urbanisation.

Less tied to a class theory of spatial structure, in their unpacking of gentrification Daniel Sorando & Álvaro Ardura (2016) have nonetheless agreed in perceiving a socio-symbolic process playing out in the spatial reorganisation of Madrid in service of the economic imperatives of capital accumulation. Like Morcillo, they note increased spatial segregation and differentiation, on a quite particular grain. They theorise and detail a process of creative destruction which appears to have moved district to district with a cyclical logic: abandonment, stigmatisation, regeneration, marketisation; with policy and discourse focused especially on the third of these – an "exorcistic urbanism". Public and private actors come together in urban governance policies across a range of hard and soft interventions. At the harder end, the entrepreneurial state identifies investment opportunities, and often shoulders the risk of early speculative interventions; yet even then, flexible investment not only targets the greatest direct return, but through a "spatial infrastructural fix" flows wherever it can optimise conditions for capital reproduction through infrastructure, facilities and uses that encourage its accumulation (Morcillo, 11). After withdrawing, capital can "strategically refill" cheap, devalorised urban space (Sorando & Ardura, 22). This echoes the softer process of Richard Florida's 'creative class' thesis in which, as devalorization makes areas that are affordable for young, creative members of the precariat, these soon become a front in labour market battles to attract their richer peers as workers and customers of the knowledge-economy. "Against the social and cultural homogeneity of the urban peripheries, the historic centres emerge as the place in which to construct... the most attractive urban environments"(82).

Many Spanish urban scholars agree that a process with global dimensions is transforming and representing historic centres to fit and reflect desired labour and consumer groups, producing spatial and cultural change which makes them "connectors with the global" (e.g.: Borja & Castells, 1997). Looking at this process as produced in Spanish urban space, Gil & Sequera (2018) have studied the development of "tourism monoculture" while Limón (2018) tries to describe the "production of globality" more broadly. Blanco, Bonet & Waliser (2011) refer to "urban governance and regeneration policies in historic city centres", while Perez (2014) describes "mechanisms, both discursive and legal, that are contributing to the processes of gentrification, which today rely on regeneration and rehabilitation as a new production niche". Reflecting on Madrid, Morcillo puts the state's role in this bluntly: "public investments have facilitated morphological change with the implantation of uses in which a global image is consolidated and dominant values are represented" (2017, 9).

Sorando & Ardura identify the symbolic justifications for this transformative cycle as mainly discursive, citing “three principles of redemption” by which areas are said to be regenerated: social mix, culture and civility (77). Yet as they observe: “thus, even if the processes of abandonment and stigmatization are not exclusive to historic districts, regeneration is almost always concentrated in their territory”. Why this concentration? They acknowledge the role of spatial centrality but also that of the architectural and historic legacy, which is combined with beautification, construction of emblematic buildings and cultural infrastructure. Yet these multiple particular “emblems of diversity, culture and civility” (82-83) are not directly considered by these or other scholars as the physical form of regeneration discourses, the interface of capital and representation.

The focus of this case study of Madrid is these objects of capitalist heritage practice: Madrid’s historic built environment as the site of neoliberalism’s socio-symbolic discourse and commodification of the city (Morcillo) and the physical and spatial resignifications involved in gentrification (Sorando & Ardura). How can the material lives of these buildings be interpreted, in their context, as evidence of capitalism’s values at work in the reproduction of urban space, and as evidence of capitalist heritage practice?

Methodology: a hermeneutics of capitalist heritage practice

Qualitative empirical study of the built environment is led by visual epistemologies. The scholar of visual methods, Gillian Rose, suggests Foucault as a theorist of visual approaches to architecture, built and conceptual; and Foucault was careful to nest the visual object in a constitutive context. But his *dispositif*, “a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions” primarily enables a kind of discourse analysis (1977; in Gordon, 1980). Architectural forms and social institutions alike seem mainly appreciable as the necessary cultural framework of a “system of relations,” but obscure or only conceptual – as with the celebrated example of the Panopticon – as artefacts. A hermeneutics of built heritage practices – of the built environment as object – needs a conceptualisation that can get at the material form and detail of these artefacts.

Roland Barthes wrote very directly about the relationship of architecture’s ideal content to its form: “architecture is always dream and function,” he argued in his essay on the Eiffel Tower. That structure’s very functionlessness was its special fascination for Barthes as it increased its metaphorical capacity. Nonetheless Barthes asserted the “infinitely metaphorical nature of urban discourse” more ubiquitously. Developing from metaphor, much of Barthes’ career was spent developing semiotics as a method of critical analysis – systems of signs – but in his writings relating the discipline most directly to the city, he evaded explicit discussion of methods. In *Semiology and Urbanism*, he argued that a semiology of the city must be iterative, not expository, and the product of readings by urbanites: “the best approach, in my opinion, as indeed for any semantic enterprise, will be a certain ingenuity on the reader’s part. It will require many of us to attempt to decipher the city where we are, beginning, if necessary, with a personal report” (1967, 418). Thus, in interpretatively reconstituting the codes and images read, the urban semiotologist, like Barthes, would be producing urban texts.

Urban space as an ultimate site of exchange supplies rich sources for Barthes’ semiological realm. “The deep images” that derive from urban form, such as waterways or transport interchanges compose a “metaphorical chain, the chain that substitutes for

Eros" linked with the "great categories... the great habits of man," such as shopping, eating and travel (417). Barthes stresses the city also as a site capable of holding the flux entailed by such an imperfect system of signification. There is no lexicon of systematic correspondence but a correlative system, in which signifiers can survive historical shifts in the signified, and vacated signs become ripe for appropriation as signifiers in turn. And for Barthes, the unevenness of the urban text is important: signification may accrue to or leave a place. Barthes is dealing with precisely the way systems of value – such as exchange or heritage – can possess and influence the immutable forms of the world around us.

The apparent ability of a semiological system of value to wholly appropriate the content a building derives from other orders of value – the ideology of its design, its functionality, materiality, power relations – resembles the fetishising power of commodification observed by Marx in relation to labour and utility. Barthes' avowed project was to contribute to wresting "a liberation of the 'significant'" from "the mystification which transforms petit-bourgeois culture into a universal nature", for which more than unmasking would be needed: it would take a detailed and critical account – "semioclasme" (7). In urban semiology the city's fabric could be described as its constant form, but the cultural content or value it signifies is in flux as its image and the structural system of signification is made and remade. Barthes thus sets the scene for a critical, revelatory reading of a heritage semiology in the structure of the capitalist city.

But how can we be assured of any purchase on the real objects of the historic environment? Epistemologically, Barthes' concept and conceptualisation of myth, "the conversion of reality into speech", is most useful. "Can anything be a myth? Yes, I believe, since the universe is infinitely suggestive. Each object of the world might pass from a closed, mute existence to a vocal state, open to society's appropriation... the language of myth is formed of materials that have already been worked to suit them to communication by appropriation: this is because all the materials of myth, whether representative or graphic, presuppose a signifying consciousness." Barthes' *parole mythique* is not strictly linguistic but is available to multisensory perception in the realms of action and representation. Yet it is chiefly a matter of images: though he does not directly state it, Barthes' method is dominated by the visual – but as perceived by the *embodied* eye, a receptor subject.

Barthes stressed the contingent, historical nature of myth – its necessary independence of anything essential, its potential disdain for the enduringly substantial – but also asserted that myths do require form to which to append their meaning, they demand material. And in fact, the material must already be "worked" with historical signification, to make its composite symbolic meaning as a sign appropriable by myth. A first *langage-objet* system voices a second *méta-langage* of myth. It seems clear that architecture – built forms filled with ideal, social, functional, expressive meaning – makes for a first semiological system which is prime appropriable material for a second system of myth. Thus, the historic built environment should have special potential as the form for mythologies: the diachronic significations presented by the city's historic buildings are the threads of contemporary *paroles mythiques*, speaking a semiotic language of heritage.

Mythologies of urban heritage

“WE can say that the fundamental character of the mythical concept is to be *appropriated*” – that is, the result of appropriation – but “the form does not suppress the [appropriated] meaning, it only impoverishes it, it puts it at a distance, it holds it at one’s disposal”. Barthes asserted the irreducibility of different domains of meaning and even systems of value, and was particularly interested in the conflicts posed by the physicality of the urban realm: “for example, some urbanists or urban planners are obliged to observe that in certain cases there exists a conflict between the functionalism of one part of the city, say some neighbourhood, and what I would call its semantic content (its semantic power)”; indeed the irreducibility of the orders to a total system “is the despair of urbanists” working in the positivist mode of the technician (1967, 414). Each *ordre de phénomènes* engages in processes of signification and valorisation proper to their own motivations – regarding art, money, materials or technology for instance; and further that the object of these different orders, operating across space and time, is the same (changing) city. Urban meanings overlay, but irreducibly and therefore with different spatial rhythms: “it is in this way that... Rome offers a permanent conflict between the functional necessities of modern life and the semantic charge which is imparted to it by its history”. It is clear that the urban manifestations of architecture, capital and utility have to make symbolic claims by appropriation of the same space, the city, and that they may very well therefore stand in conflict.

In *Mythologies*, Barthes applied this model at length to the cultural artefacts of emerging Fordism in Postwar France. What might a hypothetical mythology of today’s historic built environment look like? Do the urban processes of capital such as gentrification only overlay or conflict with the metaphorically rich, ludic spaces of encounter represented by built heritage, or do they appropriate and foreclose them as they privatise and exchange-valorise them?

Heritage, as a social process of valorisation, is part of Barthes’ semiological realm, but it is only a part. And Barthes is clear not only that systems of signification plural and potentially contested, even internally they are not consistently or entirely codified. Accordingly, neither the technical systems of urban planning, nor the academic discourses in heritage and urban studies, have produced even a shared or stable vocabulary of the historic built environment. There are multiple semantic systems even in the field of meaning we call heritage. Compare two texts on Le Corbusier’s UNESCO World Heritage list-inscribed 1945 Unité d’Habitation in Marseille. The first is from the ICOMOS papers on its inscription:

“Founding work of architectural Brutalism, Unité d’Habitation was a major prototype of a new housing model based on the balance between the individual and the collective and intended for mass production. After World War II, with Europe’s housing problems worse than ever, Le Corbusier put his urban theories into practice with the construction in 1945 of the Unité d’Habitation, a synthesis of four decades of his thinking on collective living. Seventeen storeys high and designed to house 1,600 people, the Unité d’Habitation incorporates various types of apartment, as well as shops and communal rooms, all connected by raised ‘streets.’ It is now a popular address for Marseille’s middle-class professionals.” (ICOMOS, 2016, 217)

The second is from an advert of sale from the specialist estate agency *Architecture de collection*:

“Marseille’s La Cité Radieuse is an icon of the work of Le Corbusier... This superb inverted duplex enjoys a sumptuous view of the sea from its loggia balcony. Situated on an upper floor, it disposes of 70m² of habitable floorspace... With its two levels of services which include a shopping arcade for groceries and a hotel, as well as a nursery school, solarium, swimming pool and an open-air theatre on the roof, along with constant porter-service, La Cité Radieuse offers an exceptional quality of life.” (Architecture de collection, n.d.)

The texts share a subject and relate to the valorisation and use of a real historic object, but they talk across one another: “prototypes” against “icons”, “model” or “floorspace”, “collective living” or “services”, even “middle-class professionals” or “exceptional quality of life”. They overlap on the historic built environment, and contest the field of heritage. Imagine the different ways actors within these systems of value would monopolistically use, treat and curate the actual buildings – their different heritage practices. That difference is the subject of this thesis.

The heritage processes at work in the built environment seem to leave as evidence semiotic systems denoting very different value systems: not only subtly different approaches to symbolic-cultural value (architectural history versus heritage protection systems, for instance), but the exchange value systems of the property market, and the social or use values expressed in the semiology of living, working and playing. They offer a degree of epistemological unity insofar as we are interested in heritage as a process of valorisation, and the historic built environment as its object and as an objective realm important to us precisely because of its richness of signifying capacity. The discursive contest of the semiotic systems is not the focus of this study, though: it is the results of the contest within the built environment – their different traces and, potentially, the spaces between them.

Semiological method

This thesis must try to look through the semiotics then, to the objects beneath, for two reasons: first, because although the epistemological path through semiology is relevant and useful, the ontological incoherence of the systems leaves them at irreducibly crossed purposes, upon which it is the project of this thesis to find a holistic perspective; and second because, anyway, as in the example above, they become evident as facets of the already-prevailing system that produces space – a bounded system, the obvious screen that needs to be stepped past in the project of glimpsing and perhaps exploring alternative modes, ways which lie outside it. Therefore, in the first case study in this thesis, which takes the terrain of mainstream, capitalist production of urban space and the built environment playing out in Madrid, the methodology needs to make use of the epistemological grip on the case and access to multivalent heritage processes that reading urban semiotic systems can provide, but to try to move lightly and without losing sight of the object.

Context

Two varieties of structuralist approaches, both in different ways inheritors of Marx, have been reviewed so far in this chapter: the socio-spatial take on structure of Morcillo, and Barthes’ more socio-cultural take on the deep structure of phenomena conventionally considered super-structural by materialists. Both involve a deconstruction

of social phenomena with an analytical eye that reveals their thorough and complex composition by the forces of a broader context.

Barthes though, far from fixing on a fundamental explanatory force, insists on the need for breadth and depth of analysis; and this is the methodological advantage of his approach for this thesis. Readings of urban signifiers and signified must be made across a scale of forms and concepts, from system to single artefact, engaging with the “constitutive mechanisms” of the “extended myths” woven into urban space. In the essay ‘Myth Today’, Barthes uses a tricky and rather artificial example of a Basque chalet transposed to Paris to illustrate how the language-object of architecture can be appropriated to support mythologies of bourgeois taste; but this example from pastiche inverts the more routine appropriation of built environment as forms apparently in situ but received in a new semiotic context (1957, 232). Barthes’ interest in this example is architecture as a language of design spoken through buildings set deliberately and provocatively in a cultural context for ‘adhominate’ purposes. This study looks at how the representation and disposition of an historic building’s reappropriation can ‘adhominate’ urbanites in the interests of a capitalist urbanism.

Object

Barthes advises that attention to the appropriated object itself is still possible – and necessary to the task of its liberation from the systematic capitalist myths we seek to understand. In urban myths, the “stolen”, “appropriated” *language-objets* have an internal prior sense established within Barthes’ first system of signification, implicating simultaneously the conceptual and real world. Barthes’ language-objects are capable of resistance to the actions of myth upon them in the second, political-cultural system of signification. Indeed, he argues, “the more the language-object resists initially, the greater its eventual prostitution” (1957, 236).

Beyond resistance, in his later work Barthes became increasingly interested not only in the resistance of mythologised objects, but in escaping language and the appropriations of semiology altogether, towards the illegible and unrepresentable (Gallix, 2015). The inquiry sketched in the second part of this thesis tries like Barthes to unveil the effable and encountered from behind the semiotic and representative systems employed by the growth economy, proposing a more embodied and multisensory approach as a hermeneutic lens on activity beyond growth.

However, with the focus on capitalist heritage practice, it takes both object and context to “attach the mythical scheme to a general history, explain how it corresponds to the interests of a particular society, in short, to pass from semiology to ideology,” the adhominate myth must be encountered (1957, 234). As Barthes argues in his guidance for treating mythologies, we mustn’t be too analytically cynical or demystifying, but must try to live and experience myths in their full force, playing out with their proper dynamics, within the urban experience. Barthes’ urban reader, the subject not only as analyst but as embodied, emplaced, historical citizen, is essential to the project of decoding contemporary myths.

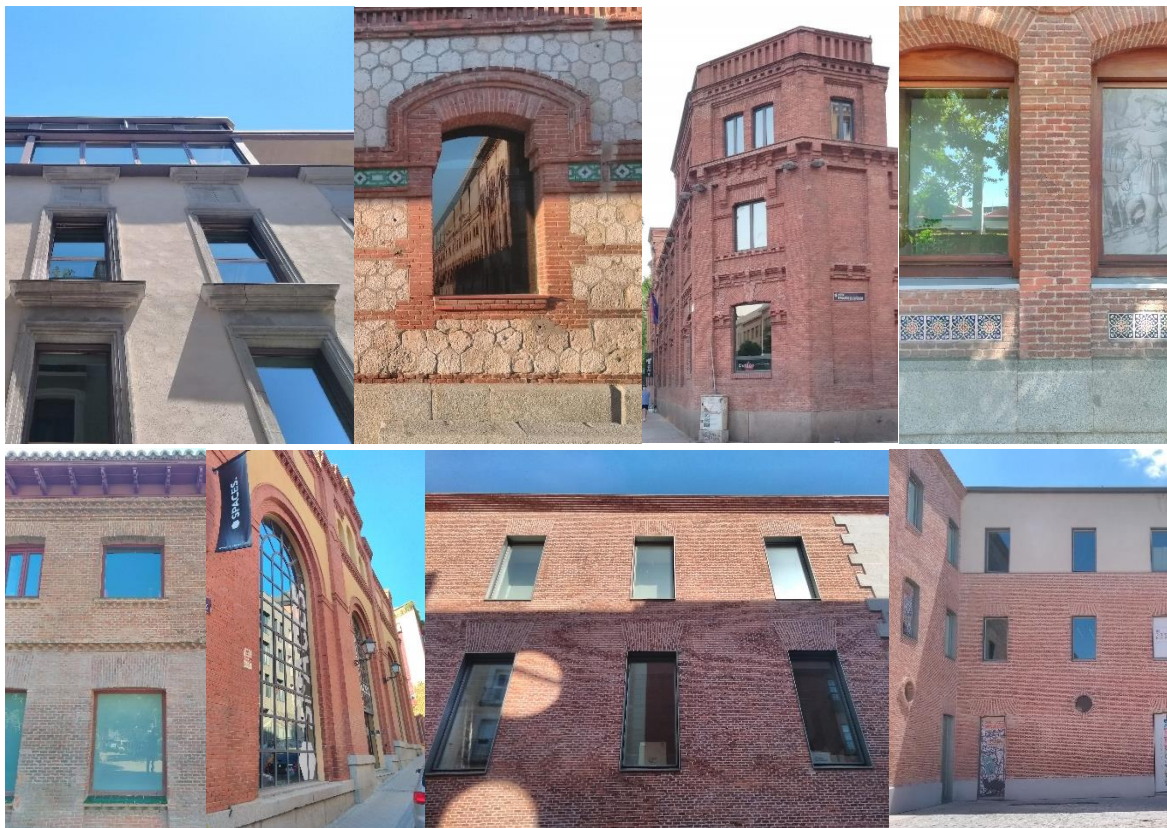
Post-crisis Madrid has hosted an “operation of symbolic appropriation, or of representation of space” (Morcillo, 2017, 10) in which the selective transformation of its historic environment has been central. How do the real objects of the historic built environment show through the mythical images of the semiotic world of daily life in the

Madrid of 2020?

Results and discussion

The heritage aesthetic: distinction and ruination

Contemporary life in central Madrid – roughly, the *almendra* of its 19th-century bounds – takes place in an historic built environment varied in age, but visibly valued and revalued through the evidence of its presence and continuing reuse. Abandoned buildings are rare; hoardings around renovation sites are common. Many buildings of landmark status, spatially, economically or culturally, subtly signal and advertise the distinction of their age and historic architecture; indeed, they frequently do so in similar ways. A walk taking-in cultural, commercial and tourist sites in central Madrid reveals visual motifs that add a puzzlingly uniform aspect to the city's extraordinary range of adapted historic buildings. Reddish brick is the classic historic building material of Madrid, from the 1620s Palacio de Santa Cruz to the fascist-era Edificio España. Today it is everywhere found on historic elevations, landmark and minor, punctured with modern fixed or chunky metal-framed windows, from the 1710s Conde Duque barracks (now cultural centre) to the 1910s El Águila brewery (now library and archive). The very particular but ubiquitous architectural effect of the strikingly new accentuating the recognisably old, by no means unique to Madrid, is a potent contemporary-heritage signifier that is easily ignored.



Figs 1-8 | L-R T-B | Espacio COAM, Matadero, Teatro Galileo, Complejo El Águila, Real Fábrica de Tapices, Google Campus, Centro de Cultura Contemporánea Conde Duque (twice)

Roha Khalaf identifies a consensus behind visual “distinction” as an aesthetic rationale for architectural interventions compatible with the cultural value attributed to

the historic environment: apparently contradictory, “compatibility and distinction are actually two sides of the same coin” (2016). The approach emerged out of a conservationist turn, championed by the critic John Ruskin, against loosely historicist interventions by the likes of Viollet-Le-Duc in the 19th century. Out of the Modernist concern for legibility arising from function, and the conservation movement’s assertion in the 1964 Venice Charter of the importance of authenticity in historic buildings as artefacts, a respectful aesthetic distancing or distinguishing new from old became an architectural norm in the 20th century. It reflects a built heritage practice which increasingly values age and survival; yet whose total effect is often the radical aesthetic transformation of the altered or extended historic building. The mechanism is complex: policies and markets are necessary but not sufficient explanation, and an apparent taste for the modern coexists with a hyper-modern skyscraper boom. Various actors seem to be involved in a shared heritage practice that (re)values these diverse historic buildings by approaching their form and materiality in similar ways, adapting them to produce heritage objects with striking resemblances.

The ability of this architectural language to signify and cultivate a widespread contemporary valorisation of signs of the past is testified by its translation to ordinary buildings and contexts. Coffee shops’ glazed windows and polished concrete floors meet walls stripped back to brick and preserved, decontextualised architectural flourishes. Developers proclaim the ‘heritage’ quality of luxury refurbished housing. The way visual and design motifs become the means of producing need in consumers, unrelated to the essential activities of social reproduction to the advantage of exchange value over use, is a rich seam of critical study taking in Theodore Adorno’s work on the ‘culture industry’ (1947), Jean Baudrillard on *The System of Objects* (1968) and Pierre Bourdieu on *habitus* (1977); but it is beyond the scope of this study.



Figs 9-11 | L-R | Instagram advert, Darya Homes (June 2020); Shopfront, Madrid Centro; Coffeeshop window, Madrid Centro

What semiotic images are at work here? It seems that the architectural techniques applied in adaptive reuse seem to resignify the built environment by, inter alia, introducing a tension of oldness and newness. A renovation palette of stripped, scarred bricks-and-mortar juxtaposed with precision-engineered steel and glass, to put the cliché trope, suggests something old that has been cleansed, made presentable and saved by the new. The new forms have their own makers-marks signifying computer and machine, and a material language that signifies engineering as hard and obscure as metal, intentions as

transparent as glazing. The undesirable is made desirable, the obsolete transformed to novelty. This resignification pattern adds depth in the symbolic dimension to the cyclical urban development dynamics of creative-destruction described by Sorando & Ardura. Mythology seems to have to engage with two levels here: the architecture or the material intervention is perhaps a *langage-objet*, Barthes' first semiological level of basic signs; the buildings produced – heritage sites, urban symbols – are a *méta-langage* (1957, 227-8). Somehow associated, on the second level, is the myth of the ruin: the seductive aesthetic pointed to by Pétursdóttir and Olsen (2014b), like a *memento mori*, also situates the viewer in time – specifically a desirable now, temporarily safe from past or potential ruination.

Unsurprisingly, some relative of this ruin or old-new myth can be observed in products as close to the cause of consumer capitalism as advertising and fashion. In 2020, interrupted by Spain's extreme Coronavirus lockdown, Nave 16 at the Matadero cultural complex mounted the exhibition *Doce fábulas urbanas* ("Twelve Urban Fables"). It featured an audio-visual archive installation, titled *Selling Bricks*, by Bartlebooth (Pablo Ibáñez Ferrera & Antonio Giráldez López) noting how the "premature ruins" of past modernist and brutalist phases of urban development have been appropriated for representation as imagery of urban marginalisation by musicians of the Spanish 'Trap' scene, diffusing this abandoned architecture through millions of video views (Veredes, 2019). Hungry youth culture incorporates the decaying fabric of peripheralised past development as the stage set for their production-designs evoking conspicuous consumption in gold chains and branded sportswear. Simultaneous with the exhibition, in the busy Plaza del Callao, the high-end Spanish label Loewe was promoting its latest collection with a video campaign featuring models shot against crumbling, scaffolded structures, displayed on vast LED screens among the prestigious historic facades. What is disused becomes a resource for new production, its image appropriated by (or merely accent to) the novelties available for consumption. Layers of appropriative games play out, as urban ruin is owned by the marginalised of the periphery for their assault on capitalist order, which appropriates their urban counterculture and its ruin semiotics in turn; and capital always wins.



Figs 12-13 | L-R | Still from *Selling Bricks*, Matadero, June 2020; LED advertising screen, Plaza del Callao

There seems to be a rich chain of metaphor here of the sort Barthes thought typical around the sites of infinite encounter concentrated in urban centres, and considered to "substitute for Eros" in endless iterations (1967, 13), a kind of intercourse

of representation that should be elucidated in discussion of the cases in this chapter. New-old tensions, recovery of the rejected, and the historic represented as novelty do seem to carry a special charge of this sort, composing a theme of capitalist heritage practice recurrent in the resignifications of the historic built environment in this chapter.

The city as enterprise or as museum

The games of urban representation played by capital in its construction of consumers are naturally of concern to the entrepreneurial city, posited by Harvey, which wishes to excel in international tourism, commerce and business (1989, 9). Though complex processes and agents facilitate it, assembled inside and outside city halls through processes of urban governance, the state is strategically and systematically implicated (Blanco, Bonet & Walliser, 2011): for instance, the Ayuntamiento developed, owns and funds the Matadero's avant-garde art spaces, and authorises the huge display screens used for luxury-brand advertising in the centre of the city. If the image of the historic built environment has signification value for luxury brands, it is no surprise that the entrepreneurial city should cast it in a major role in the production of its own brand image. Hidalgo & Palacios (2016) have shown the prominent role of Madrid's historic built environment and especially its BIC and BIP protected buildings in the city's tourist marketing. City authorities have also reproduced Madrid's built heritage for partly entrepreneurial ends. Buildings with landmark status or significant architectural interest have been conserved under the auspices of the different levels of city government and their governance partners and stakeholders through adaptive reuse, and sometimes spectacular representation: the Ayuntamiento funded the 2000 conversion of a former Belgian sawmill into MediaLab Prado as a "citizen's laboratory" for "open cultural projects". The facility is free and public but carries a semiotic load: the transformation was signalled by a LED-wall fixed to the full height of the building – a literal juxtaposition of hopeful technology with the abandoned remnants of industry – and is supported by a popular cafe franchise (Layuno, 2016; EsMadrid, 2020e). The model has since been adapted for more directly entrepreneurial objectives and spread from the historic core to the modern heritage of the edges of the *almendra*. In 2003 the Ayuntamiento acquired the dramatic modernist 1940s Boetticher lift factory, known as La Nave for its vast hall, and in 2009-11 led its multicoloured conversion into "a space dedicated to entrepreneurialism", "geared towards innovation, the dissemination of new technologies and collaboration between social agents as a driver for growth in the city" (EsMadrid, 2020c). The semiotics of adaptive reuse have evolved for appropriation of different buildings and spaces.

In 2005 the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (COAM) published *Ideas y estrategias para Madrid centro*, arguing precisely to embrace the historic centre's ornamental qualities as an attractor of tourism and consumption (Morcillo, 2017, 5). COAM was invoking a model of civic, cultural and consumption uses combined into unprogrammed spaces behind an historic facade which had already been pioneered by the city authorities at MediaLab Prado. By 2012, COAM had partnered with the Ayuntamiento to transform the BIC Escuelas Pías de San Anton into its new seat, retaining only its 18th-century façade to erect huge office floorplates shared with corporate tenants and civic facilities, with fully glazed elevations onto a modern internal courtyard and a modern roof storey above (EsMadrid, 2020b). COAM led by example with the old Escuelas Pías to successfully influence city governance strategy towards dramatic architect-led conversion of historic buildings into institutions fostering the virtues of the

entrepreneurial city. The example of the Matadero complex and the plans for EVA, discussed later, indicates the continuing influence of this public-private, architect-heritage, civic-commercial, culture-consumption combination as a model for central Madrid urbanism. This analysis is not cynical: these institutions are clearly cherished by users and visitors, but they also construct urban subjects around the creative-industry, consumption, service and start-up activities they serve, and their heavy trade in aesthetics of adaptive reuse make them urban *paroles mythiques* of a certain value system of the historic environment.

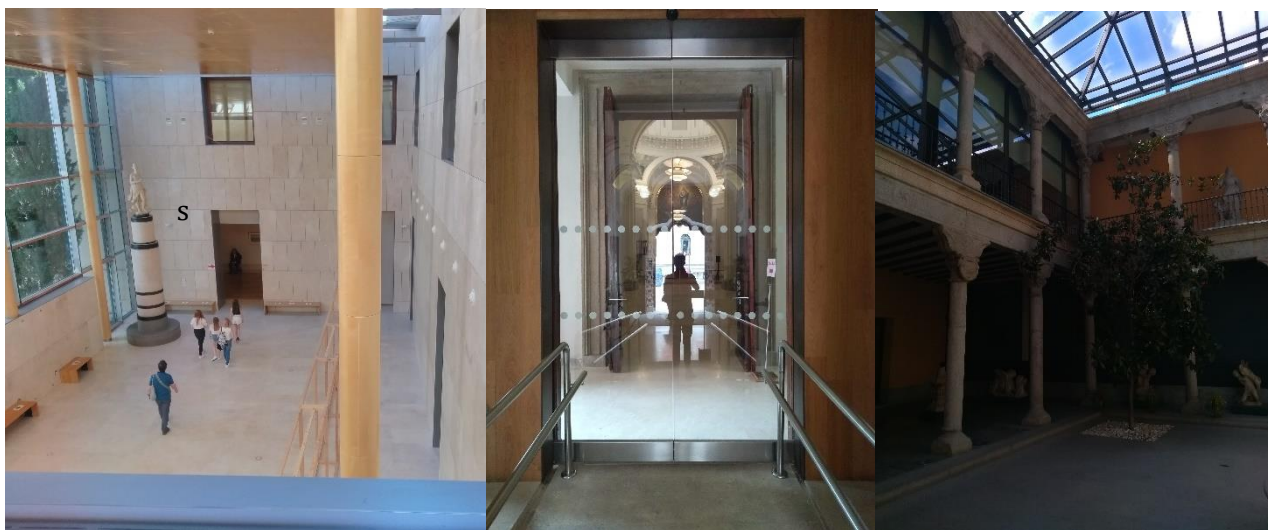


Figs 14-17 | L-R | MediaLab Prado; CaixaForum; Espacio COAM (exterior & interior)

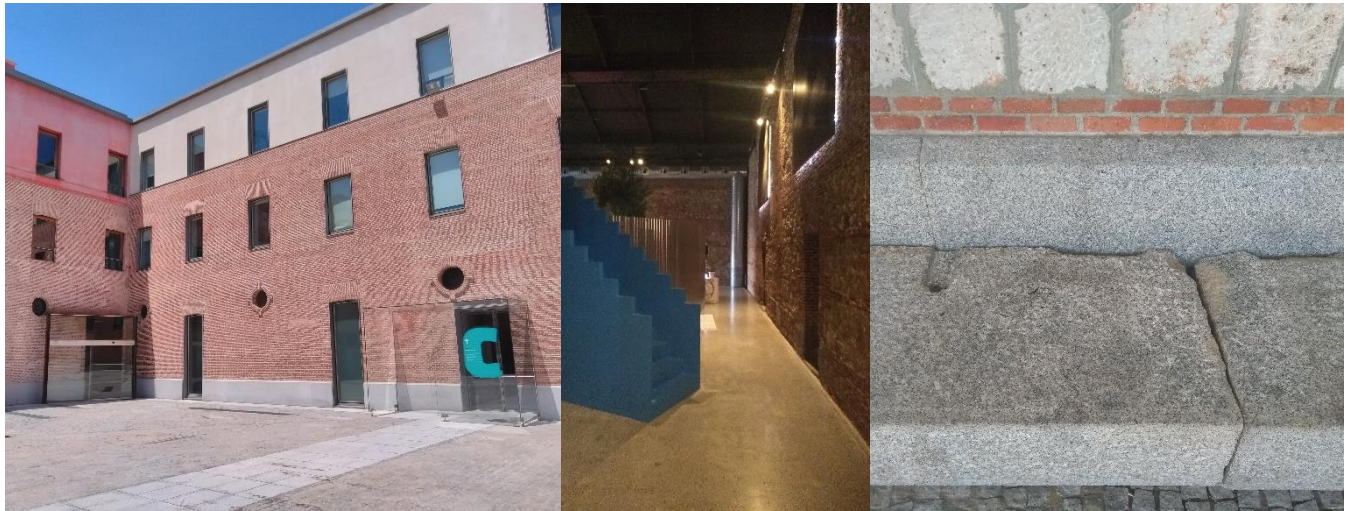
The symbolic dynamics manifest a spatial and economic development logic. Though La Nave Boetticher extended the strategy selectively into Madrid's industrial suburbs, it grew from the cityscape of the historic core, as Ángeles Layuno Rosas has expounded in her work on the spatial function of cultural institutions in contemporary urbanism (2016). Since the 1980s morphological and economic problems in the Atocha area of Madrid had been linked with the potential of the monumental, BIC-protected General Hospital San Carlos. Madrid in its Movida moment saw culture as the solution for the site from the outset, but over thirty years the site became the locus of progressively elaborate spatial and symbolic strategies: the vast cellular form of the hospital interior was converted into an Arts Centre in 1980-86; its promotion to National Museum status followed with further works in 1987-92 turning the building's historic main façade to serve a civic function integrated with a reanimated Plaza de Juan Goytisolo; but by 2001-05, an international competition invoked by the expectations that multiple interested layers of government placed on the building's transformation as the Reina Sofia National Museum had resulted in 'starchitect' Jean Nouvel's spectacular extension and a second public square (149-50). Ambitions grew from concern for the historic building and its setting, to visions for the whole city and eventually, in moves evoking the now archetypal 'Guggenheim Model' of cultural regeneration, its economic attractiveness as a world city with a global image. In 2003, the Ayuntamiento adopted into its spatial policy a Recoletos-Prado Special Plan for a larger urban-regenerative cultural axis still hinged on Atocha, before in 2015 a World Heritage Site incorporating the Reina Sofia under the name Sitio del Retiro y el Prado was proposed to UNESCO (146). As the escalation of political

economic objectives for culture and the built environment entails ascent through spatial scales, so symbolic inflation surely follows.

Layuno is interested in museums as “architectural objects”, but specifically in the new additions themselves as an urban artform (156-7), and this preoccupation with urban surfaces may be why she scarcely considers the matter of their intervention in historic buildings, though this unites almost every Madrid example she cites. Yet a version of Layuno’s concept seems applicable both inside and out where historic buildings are conserved as converted containers for culture. Using the modern architectural language of honest intervention, many of Madrid’s heritage cultural containers are themselves presented rather like artefacts, displayed and interpreted not unlike the exhibition designs that order their contents. The Madrid History Museum is housed in the retained frontage of another former hospital, San Fernando; and although its reoccupation as a museum dates to 1929, in 2014 it was given a substantial extension in glass and steel with wholly modern interiors (EsMadrid, 2020f). The Baroque facade of the hospital by Pedro Ribera is presented behind the modern hard landscaping of machine-cut paving, haunted by a security guard. Inside, the historic chapel of the hospital is visited through two sets of glazed automatic doors and a corridor lined with modern-finishes, giving it the unmistakable character of an old object displayed in a glazed case. There is a jarring sense, in crossing the threshold from conditioned modernity to drafty chapel and back again, that it is encountered *ex situ*, like a museum object. Comparable effects are achieved at the chapel and corrala-style Renaissance courtyard at the Museum of the Origins of Madrid, San Iglesias, converted with a cavernous concrete extension behind the foremost rooms of the former house (EsMadrid, 2020g). At Matadero, the building walls, inside and out, bear the scars and ghost signage of the abattoir, overlaid with modern interpretation of the site, and scarred stones redeployed as seating; but the landscaping is pristine right up to their edges. At Conde Duque, the spaces occupied by the drill yards are set with dazzling, uniform stone and access to the historic ranges is mediated by glazed boxes. These sites, pertaining to the institutions of church, military, agriculture, are among the most important in the capital’s history and are promoted as a tourist itinerary, a dispersed museum of the city. The addition of legibly modern treatments in concrete, glass or steel, but above all the tendency to set converted buildings as artefacts amid modern hard landscaping, cleansed of traces of their historic interface with the city, semiotically suggests antiquarian preciousness but also the obsolescence of their fabric.



Figs 18-20 | L-R | Madrid History Museum atrium behind Ribera’s Baroque facade and the entrance to 17th century chapel; Renaissance corrala courtyard at the Museum of the Origins of Madrid, San Isidro



Figs 21-23 | L-R | Centro de Cultura Contemporánea Conde Duque; Matadero interior and exterior

This museum-like approach to city's built history as artefact seems a conservationist, curatorial ethic; yet the heritage practice is more ambiguous than appearances suggest: though represented comparably, these buildings are managed materially and aesthetically in a way totally alien to the way we treat artefacts. Madrid's cultural container model for adaptive reuse has repurposed many notable buildings, though it has sometimes preserved only their facades. Historic buildings – even museums – are made into signs that represent the city's heritage as old stones salvaged by their new growths. In shopping centres and coffee shops, banal and routine, this more clearly echoes ways old-new myths lend a tension that fuels novel trends for production-consumption in, for instance, fashion retail. Unlike museum artefacts, built heritage hosts growth: both literal architectural extension, and economic innovation or cultural activities which support formerly secondary, increasingly favoured, even monocultural economic activities such as tourism. As a result, and as will be seen, corporate investments and partnerships are an important engine of cultural appropriation of Madrid's historic environment (Blanco, Bonet & Walliser, 2011). First, the detailed ways that growth – directly and indirectly economically productive uses – are aesthetically represented and physically accommodated are considered.

Representation and accommodation: surfaces and volumes

Accommodating new use in an historic building of a different function typically involves compromising its interior for the sake of its envelope, or else altering the latter by extension; yet in many cases, adaptations go far beyond practical exigency in these measures, playing with surface and volume in ways that suggest determined resignification, stretch the notion of adaptive reuse – and these to spectacular effect.

The earlier example of the 25-year transformation of the Hospital San Carlos into the Reina Sofia National Museum with a Nouvel extension as imposing, though less substantial, than its host, illustrated a tendency to physical and symbolic inflation when historic buildings concentrate ambitions for their adaptive reuse. Rather than obviously facilitating or catalysing regeneration, the sign created by the dramatic modern extension can seem to signify myths more connected with the motives for adaptation than the use or the building. Layuno calls it “the promotion of a culture policy based on prestigious

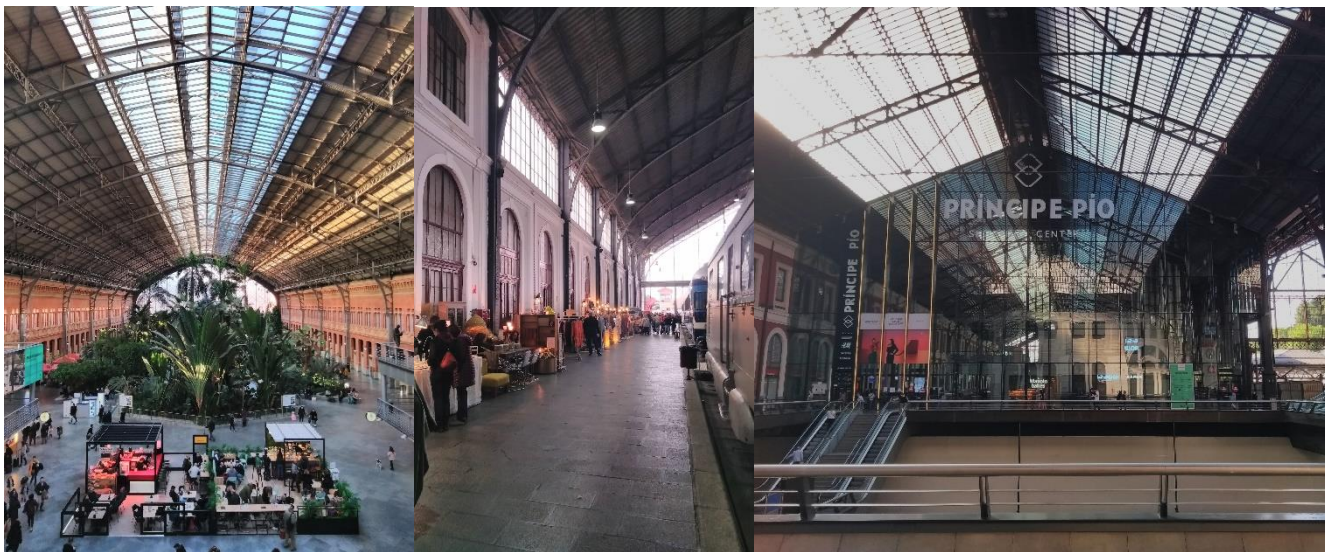
architectural interventions” (2016, 140). When the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection was unable to expand its seat in Lugano, an international competition was held to identify a new seat, in which the Spanish government offered the eighteenth-century BIC, the Palacio Villahermosa, with substantial investment. A match was ostensibly made between the collection’s ambitions and a disused historic building, but the cost was substantial physical alteration and extension: Rafael Moneo converted the building with an atrium extension in 1990-92 (Layuno, 2016; EsMadrid, 2020i). The economic benefits to the city of such a major transformation were not regenerative so much as expansive: tourist and cultural agglomeration in the Prado quarter. The ultimate extension-play in Madrid is by masters of the genre, Herzog & de Meuron, who produced CaixaForum (2004-07) for the bank’s cultural foundation. Their design was not adaptive reuse of the Mediodia power station, built 1899, but its disassembly and fragmentary grafting to clad a new art centre building (EsMadrid, 2020a). Yet the overscaled, fractionally overhanging, top-heavy form of the Corten steel roof storeys deliberately implies extension, so that the vast cantilevered undercroft can expose the truth – the disappearance of the original granite base (Layuno, 151) – and deliver the architectural punchline of the inverted, hovering building. The extension inflated the building to bursting, and wears its skin. Again, the point is not cynical: these are stimulating cultural institutions and striking, even important architecture; but considered as heritage practice or evidence of our ethics of the built environment, they have a different aspect.

The sense of a disorientating game of volumes recalls Jameson’s observations on the lobbies of LA’s Bonaventure Hotel as a postmodern hyperspace designed to immerse the visitor in an environment as unnavigable as global capitalism (1984, 80-4). At CaixaForum, Herzog & de Meuron make their joke about a building without a ground-floor inside too: in the large white void of the main staircase, ingress, egress and floor levels are almost concealed in order to dislocate and overscale; and the staircase descends several storeys below the external ground level such that no sense of the dimension or form of the enclosing building is available. What is striking about the volume games is that in each case there is a major physical intervention in the surviving fabric of the historic building, extending, stretching or subenclosing them. They describe new functions prescribed for historic buildings not quite apt to contain them.



Figs 24-26 | L-R | CaixaForum, from plaza through atrium to staircase

Historic buildings are reoccupied by means other than spectacular extension, but few in this sample seem to be refilled as ready containers. Referring to Tokyo, Barthes noted the coincidence of erotic metaphors of transit and transaction in the collocation of shopping centres and train stations (1967, 13). This psychological account elides the major physical transformations and commercial investments involved in so enclosing and commodifying station spaces that historically tended to function as public (Bertolini & Spit, 1998). The phenomenon is now ubiquitous, and both Madrid's BIC-protected railway stations, Atocha (1851 & 1892) and Príncipe Pio (1882 & 1928) host shopping complexes. Even the Estación de Delicias (1880), now a railway museum, is known for hosting a much-loved monthly Mercado de Motores. At both main stations, the complicated engineering of railway upgrades has wholly rearranged concourses and platforms, and Príncipe Pio was demoted to an interchange. While at Atocha the trainshed's light and space was given over to a spectacular botanical garden (1985-92), at Príncipe Pio (1993-95) it is partially occupied by a vast glass box which seals-in a galleried mall full of frenetic signage arranged in postmodern nods to the platforms and displayboards nearby. To the rear, via an atrium beneath a white steel-framed extension emulating the original, the shopping centre extends underground, away from the vast, still largely void historic station envelope. Rare are the adapted historic buildings which house a new use that seems to really appropriate both envelope and volume; the possible sense of spatial comprehension thus missed is considered in the phenomenological part of this case study.



Figs 27-29 | L-R | The concourses at: Estación de Atocha, Estación de Delicias (Museo de Ferrocarril); the former Estación del Norte (Príncipe Pio shopping centre)

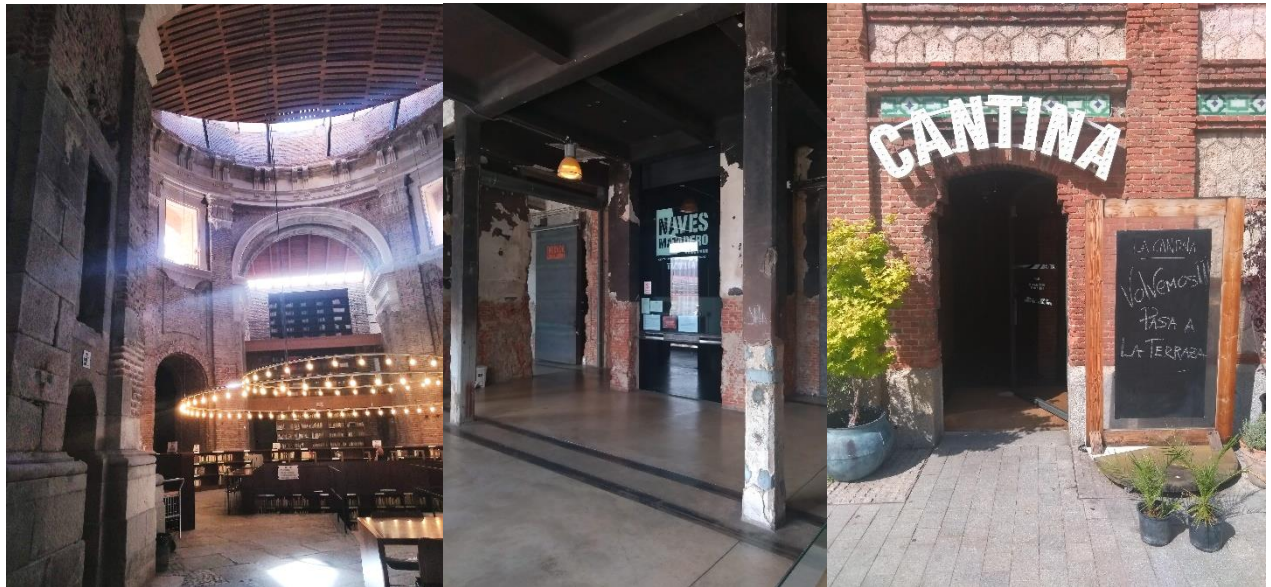


Figs 30-33 | L-R | former Estación del Norte concourses and interior of Príncipe Pio shopping centre

These examples suggest slipperiness around the historic environment's ability to contain and enclose the current demands made on it, and this plays out on its surfaces too. Glass has already been shown to be seminal in the mythology of contemporary urban heritage practice. In the *langage-objet* of architectural intervention in the historic environment it is key vocabulary. The historic station building of Príncipe Pio has been cast in a new role, giving it new sense as a signifier: its converted architectural form makes it a new urban sign, serving a myth still dealing in erotic metaphors of transit and transaction but with shopfronts and cash registers through the station doors. The old station's role is expressed by glass through its special properties as a surface. Yet the effect of the glazed walls is a sense of thorough separation from that station environment, of which the organising interior elevations are not reappropriated as a meaningful or interactive enclosure, but are a specimen looked at under glass. The shopping mall gathers and boxes-off most activity, leaving empty the shell-like interior architecture and transitional – for Barthes erotic – spaces of the old station and concourse. Jameson observed at the Bonaventura the way the window as frame and reflection as representation generate images appropriated and abstracted from the real environment (1984, 80-4). The glass box inside Príncipe Pio appropriates the concourses beyond as backdrop images of urban life for the consumption activities of its customers within, framed by its own structural framing, and the reflected internal elevations of the station as its own ghostly architectural skin. Spaces are organised and delimited by consumer function; but moreover, the station's diminished historic activity mix of lingering and transit is parodied by the shopping and consuming within the glass box set inside it, like a cuckoo in the nest, which appropriates and transposes its historic architectural form by reflection and transparency.

Two other surface dynamics in adaptive reuse are facadism and feature walls – architectural gestures scarcely a brick deep. COAM's shared premises only wear the skin of the Escuelas Pías San Anton: the historic stone facades support themselves somewhat more than the mere brick wallpaper of the CaixaForum; but the truth of both buildings is the same – that they are wholly modern structures. CaixaForum's roof extension reveals the illusion of the historic brickwork by its overhang, that COAM's recessed roof extension sustains by suggesting the support of the disappeared stone building beneath. Despite Herzog & De Meuron's acrobatics, the favoured backdrop for selfies at CaixaForum is Patrick Blanc's green wall which dresses the blank flank of the gallery's neighbour, recalling MediaLab's LED wall just metres away. A variation on these superficialities is the cultivation of an aesthetic of ruination as scenery. The 1729 BIC Escuelas Pías San Fernando were destroyed in 1936 by the Civil War and stood ruined in the poor neighbourhood of Lavapiés. Authorities' identification of the site with regeneration of the area bore no fruit until a 2001-04 scheme occupied the shell for the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED). The design by Jose Linazasoro is titled 'evoking ruin – shadows and textures' in his monograph on the project (2004), and deliberately cultivated ragged brick, roofless spaces and scarred masonry. It seems specifically to summon the ghost of the Civil War and the unregenerated decay of Lavapiés – traumas of the 20th century – as well as the humane and pious ideals invoked by the Baroque and Renaissance elevations, and hold these spirits "like an instantaneous reserve of history, a tamed richness, which it is possible to call and dismiss in a sort of rapid alternation" with the cool transparency of new glass and concrete (Barthes, 1957, 231). Linazasoro called his building a 'cultural centre for Lavapiés', and Madrid's newest such facility in the old slaughterhouse of the Matadero learns from his trick: a palimpsest of facade signage conjures the gore of the defunct slaughterhouse from the faded labels of the abattoir

("degüello") for juxtaposition with the crisp uniform wayfinding of the cultural centre ("Factoría Cultural"). Inside one of the buildings, the internal elevations are left in ruin, the abattoir finishes haphazardly hacked-back and not replaced. In unresolved architectural stories, new uses dress themselves with the authority of industry or classical learning and religion, but claim by their expansive reoccupation to exorcise the ruin and the city of its ghosts. The significance for capitalist urbanism is this exorcising power: destigmatisation – or regeneration – part of Sorando & Ardura's creative-destructive system, by which profitable reproduction of space proceeds from the ventures of socio-cultural rescue convened through urban governance.



Figs 34-36 | L-R | UNED library (former Escuelas Pías San Fernando); interior at Matadero, cleansed of food production finishes and, outside, signs of new gastronomic consumption

Resignification, destigmatisation, superficiality

The Trap artists of *Selling Bricks* borrow architectural degradation and a brutal aesthetic for symbolic alliance with their own imagery of marginalisation, of outsidership, such as shocking face tattoos and ugly sportswear. Yet resistant or heterodox heritage practices and their objects are always open to recapture by capital, as when countercultural symbols are adopted by luxury fashion. Brutalist social housing by the most idealistic modernist architects commands substantial prices as private real estate and, as at Marseille's Unité d'Habitation, the industry has noticed. The near paradox of street art tours commodifying the anti-gentrification graffiti of Lavapiés is a more insidious example. Of course artists and actions have creative agency: Michel De Certeau studied the scope for tactical dissent, even through consumption. But a mark of neoliberalism is the near-universality of commodification (Appadurai, 1986); resistance founders on hegemony.

Understood as systemic, as by Morcillo, or as a cycle, as by Sorando & Ardura, peripherality and politico-economic marginality are produced simultaneously: "a strategy based on the stigmatisation or the demonisation of the working classes and, specifically, of their neighbourhoods" (Sorando & Ardura, 56). Rather than triumphantly owning marginality like Trap culture, agents concerned with inclusion or relief of those socio-

economically disadvantaged by marginalisation frequently work on the symbolic capacities of the historic built environment to determinedly resignify space. This usually amounts to the urban strategy known as regeneration, which though generally state-led or sponsored, plays on the terrain produced by flows of capital. Regeneration can have unintended consequences or is frequently ineffective against powerful systemic trends. Not far from La Nave Boetticher, San Cristóbal de los Ángeles is a working-class housing estate developed in the 1950s on former brickyards. Bypassed by a flyover carrying the Avenida de Andalucía, the *barrio* was stigmatised for immigration, joblessness and crime by the turn of the century after the flight of Franco-era industry. Catalysed by artists and architects with various kinds of support from multiple arms and agencies of local government, in 2012 a community-development project titled *Autobarrios* grew around a project to reclaim and resignify the flyover underpass, half as old as the *barrio* itself (Saccone, 2015). Not a valued piece of architecture, but a prominent piece of infrastructure beside a shady greenspace with the spatial significance of a threshold, the cavernous space was decorated by locals guided by designers, with furniture assembled under its shelter. As with capital, this effort of resignification played with the semantic capacities of the surfaces of the historic built environment: hoping to valorise by representation, the underpass repainted became the ‘Puente de Colores’. Promoted in film and media as a model for “self-made neighbourhoods”, six years on, the space is once again substantially decayed (Basurama Crew, 2013): the much-pictured mural, “*mi barrio es San Cristóbal*” has been defaced to read “*mi barrio es muerto*”. On the Paseo de la Castellana in the very centre of Madrid, the underside of a 1970 overpass hosts the Museo de Escultura de Aire Libre. On a weekday afternoon, readers sit on benches, young people play football, paving shows evidence of use by rough sleepers and skateboarders, all amidst sculptures by Miró and Serrano. The urban history of the overpass itself as a monument of Madrid’s Fordist urban expansion is presented on the Ayuntamiento’s museum website (AdM, 2018). Official heritage valorisation of this historic infrastructure has achieved, between central offices and shops, an appropriability and accommodation with capitalist urbanism that social action in the periphery could not. Despite the genuine involvement of local associations and significant corporate and charitable support, as stigma resurfaces the superficial appropriation of the historic built environment in San Cristóbal seems to have foundered on spatial logic – specifically “a symbolic system where the city and individuals find representation in a symbolic central space” (Morcillo, 26).



Figs 37-38 | L-R | Puente de Colores, Autobarrios in June 2020



Figs 39-41 | L-R | Museo de Escultura de Aire Libre, Paseo de Castellana

Variegated materiality, new or decaying, is the visible surface of the historic built environment, a patination that describes momentous value shifts beneath. Sometimes the semantic realm aligns with this material evidence to tell a clear story: on the north side of Plaza de Castilla at the top of Madrid's grand avenue is the sweeping entrance to a leaning glass-and-steel tower labelled 'The Icon' and emblazoned with the huge logo of Bankia; just south stands a weathered and littered concrete monument to the assassinated proto-fascist politician, Calvo Sotello. (That the monument still stands at all puts in question how thorough has been the change in political values since the ascent of exchange value in post-Franco Spain.) The picture is of deep productive forces (re)forming the surfaces and the spaces behind the facades of the historic built environment. Capitalist urban development thus entails a systematic if not always deliberate heritage practice which is what substantially determines the social and material lives of historic urban objects. Morcillo accuses "a competition between individuals, and in some way between spaces which tends to result in a heterogeneous production of space that gives a show of universal access, but appropriation of which is determined by capacity for consumption and by capacity to interpret the symbolic value of the same" (2017, 23).

Availability, accessibility and autonomy

Like some revalorising efforts of resistance such as Autobarrios, the foregoing, primarily visual semiotic analysis seems, stranded on the surfaces of the historic built environment. The material, spatial life of urban heritage under capitalism is harder to perceive. Re-embodying the analytical eye, what does a more phenomenological attention to encounters with the historic built environment in Madrid, as a participant observer, tell?

The limits of access and the power of consumption in alliance with symbolic value, referred to by Morcillo, have been discussed in the prominent contemporary example of La Tabacalera de Lavapiés, a *Centro Social Autogestionado* won by resistance to an insensitive regeneration strategy. Artists' and squatting communities using empty industrial buildings in central Madrid found the landmark BIC tobacco factory Lavapiés simply too large to be squatted. In a paper by two participants in the CSA, they set the Spanish government's initial plan to convert the building for a National Centre for the Visual Arts in the context of "megalomaniac... largely empty" cultural buildings of the previous twenty years (Durán & Moore, 2015, 54). The financial crisis forestalled another

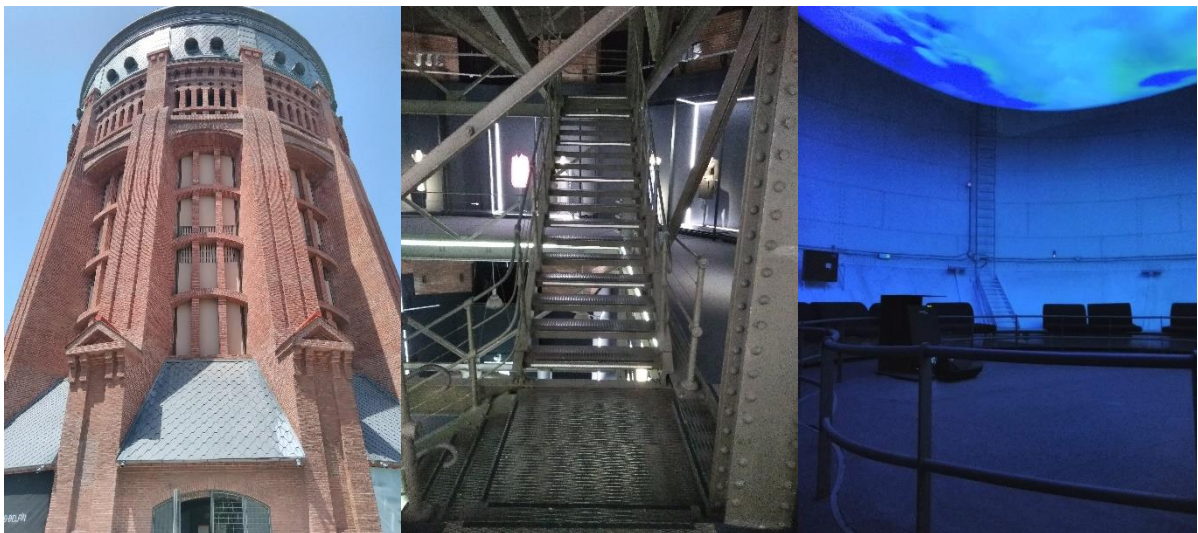
instance. It provided a glamorously ruinous backdrop for temporary exhibitions, but facing the need to provide for the building's maintenance, the government agreed to its temporary occupation and care by an artists' group under a regime of renewable two-year contracts. The CSA negotiated a first contract with the objective of "social profitability," and the space has proved highly valued; but at each renegotiation the authorities hold the condition of the building against its users and require terms for usage, access and security. Voluntariness has proved inadequate to ensure maintenance (67). Other parts of the building now house the government-operated Espacio de Promoción del Arte, and while the CSA holds out its principles of free access, it mainly self-manages only its own organisation, and the commodified spaces of the gentrifying *barrio* around it have intensified. Lavapiés has, despite the CSA's resistance as tenants of La Tabacalera, become a hub for the resignification of the urban centre. The resistant street art fostered among the communities behind the CSA has become the *barrio's* chief – officially promoted – tourist attraction (EsMadrid, 2020j). Airbnbs and coffee shops follow: "consumption and leisure as the sole socio-spatial references, the contemporary expression of historical class relations" (Morcillo, 25).

Autobarrios and La Tabacalera appropriated the historic built environment in different ways to resist patterns of urbanism imposed on them by capitalism: stigmatisation and gentrification. Yet socio-economic forces defy their work resignifying the surfaces and spaces of the historic built environment. Participative encounters with historic buildings more directly appropriated by capital investment reveal how ownership and programming appear to delimit the availability, accessibility and autonomy of historic buildings as potential objects of heritage practice. Their valorisation is subject to the spatial conditions established by capitalism.

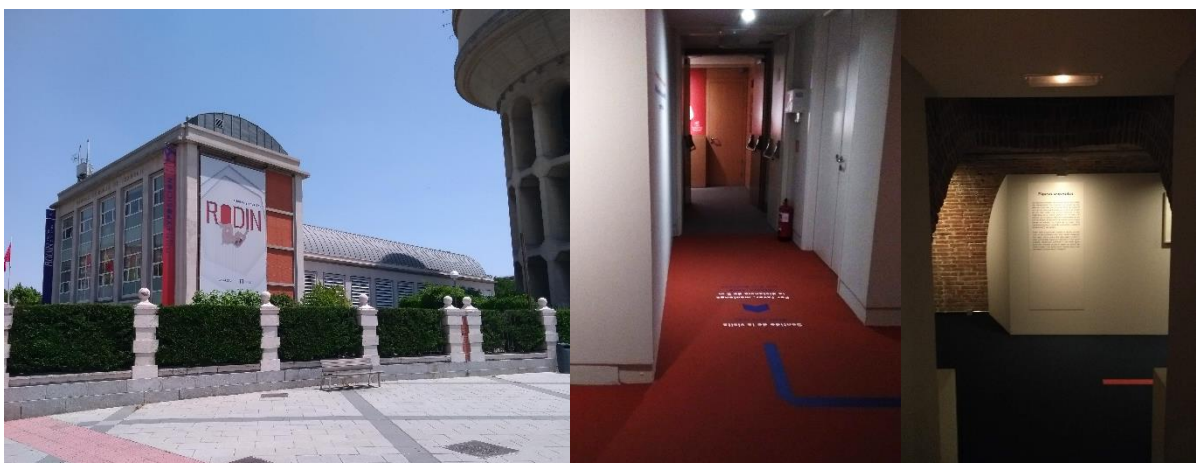
Spain's commercial capital, Madrid hosts multiple charitable foundations attached to major business interests which pursue Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) agendas through investment in the historic built environment. The conspicuous heritage practice creates (re)valorised social and cultural goods from historic buildings which again furnish, along with corporate logos, cafes and cultural activities, a *méta-langage* of CSR confluent with heritage-sustainable-development myths. Substantiating Barthes' assertion of the "petit-bourgeois" values of myths under capitalism, the new products of the regenerated CaixaForum or Matadero are, in place of electricity or meat, cultural objects – avant-garde visual art and film – which discursively reflect and reinforce the values of dominant classes.

Encounter reveals how narrow this CSR heritage practice, this revalorising appropriation of historic buildings can be. In the comparative case of food banks detailed below, La Casa Encendida, a high-spec cultural centre in former bank offices, established and operated by the bank CSR body, Fundación Montemadrid, proved, despite its charitable objectives, a more rigidly programmed and so less accommodating host than largely disused, haphazardly adapted former market buildings. Exceptional is the Sala Canal Isabel II, a photography and fashion exhibition space adapted from Madrid's first elevated water tower, built in 1907-11 in an eclectic monumental style. The 1982 conversion won a Europa Nostra heritage award and the facility is owned and operated by the Comunidad regional authority, though corporate sponsors support its exhibitions (EsMadrid, 2020h). Visiting this building involves close encounters with the exposed interior structure of the tower via a central atrium staircase that winds through the members, with exhibits set around the cylindrical walls and appropriating the whole interior space of the metal drum, refitted as an extraordinary auditorium. The sense is of a

new function that embodied the inherited building and assimilated all of its intrinsic attributes, its objective potential as a cultural container. The experience contrasts with those at conversions of more recent decades. The (public) company that vacated the tower, Canal Isabel II, established its CSR body, Fundación Canal in 2000 with the mission ‘art and environment’ and refurbished an attractive modernist building at the Plaza de Castilla as its public-facing seat in 2002-04 (Fundación Canal, n.d.); but a visit to the basement galleries via the corner of a corporate atrium is a placeless experience, involving the frustrating occlusion of its characterful brick vaulting by a box-like linings and generic exhibition furniture. The sense of spatial comprehension realised in the water tower contrasts most markedly with Madrid’s most celebrated CSR cultural container, Caixa Bank’s 2007 CaixaForum. In the windowless exhibition rooms, meanderingly approached through the disorientating foyer and staircase, inconspicuously signposted, the low-lit encounter with exhibits is wholly immersive and radically abstracted from even the memory of the Mediodía power station.



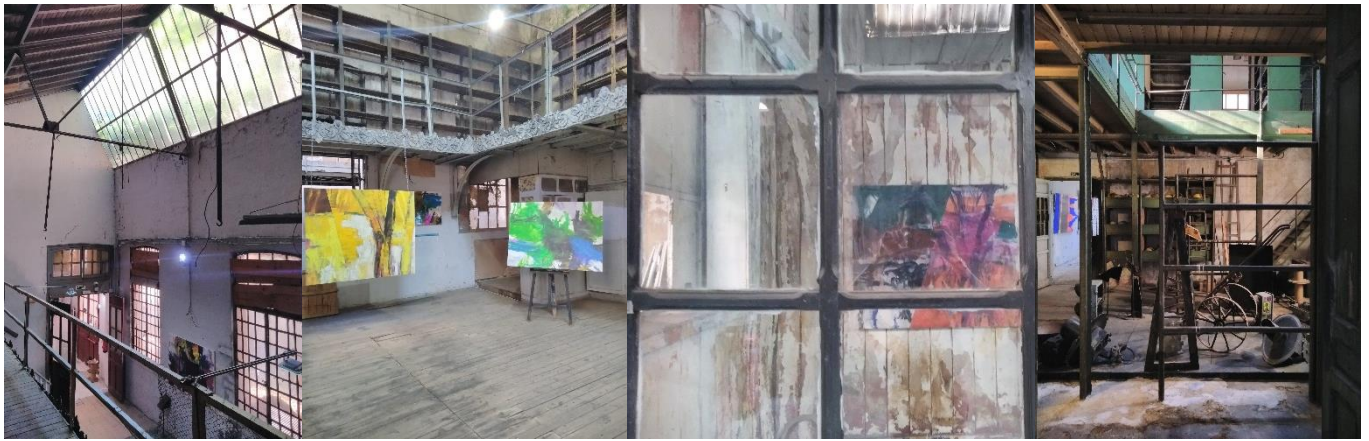
Figs 42-44 | L-R | Sala Canal Isabel II, exterior, interior atrium, interior water drum



Figs 45-47 | L-R | Fundación Canal exterior and exhibition space interiors

The above examples suggest the importance of ownership and public or private interests in the way heritage practices of urban development treat historic buildings, even as part of the same neoliberal trend towards the consolidation of leisure and consumption activities in the historic core. This trend and variation is a complex picture: investigation of design and planning processes might illuminate the dynamics and their relation with capitalism.

There is evidence that private appropriation of space can enable a radically different heritage practice of urban fabric though, made in negotiation with capitalist processes of exchange. A striking case in Madrid is La Neomudéjar, a self-organised centre for visual arts occupying the historic workshops of the state railways company, Adif, near Atocha station. It stresses its site as a “revalued representative space of the Madrid’s 19th century industrial archaeology...” intended “to recover the material and immaterial memory of the space for the city of Madrid”. It operates a self-organised model without subsidy, pursuing civic collaborations, and charging entry fees, and operating a press, shop and cafe; but unlike the ineffective voluntariness of CSA La Tabacalera, stewardship and engagement with the material as well as the symbolic value of its building, and its site as a resource, feel central to the experience of the place. Though an art gallery, the first words of its staff to visitors are: “this is industrial heritage”. The spatial experience feels unprogrammed, and without a map, route or audioguide, moving around is an exploration. Canvases must be distinguished from the undecorated walls; and the exhibition itself appears in places a co-creation with the fabric: works may be hung from the joists rather than regularly spaced, and in a room with historic hooks, hoists and winches from some past function, pictures are hung from a mezzanine, free-floating in a way that seems to echo this use. Signage, programming is subtle, and without dogmatic design; it must be encountered and deduced, amid moments of surprise. Art commodities have not simply been retrofitted into the building: the exhibition is hosted by the fabric. There is much that is illusion, supportive semantics, such as picturesque displays of salvaged objects. But the contrast with exhibitions at the CaixaForum is dramatic and felt: there is a different affect in the muddled materials, precarious structures – slow, strange, multisensory. It is neither disorientating nor easily understood. In these ways, the avowed material and heritage ethics of the organisers seem to translate into the embodied encounter cultivated by heritage practice at the site. It has been achieved within a space made and protected by mechanisms of exchange – an entry fee and retail: a strategic compromise with commodification that La Tabacalera declined in favour of all-consuming resistance, with consequences for the urban heritage space it curates.



Figs 45-48 | L-R | Interiors at La Neomudéjar

A month in the life: Covid-19, June 2020 and the Holiday of Exchange Value?

Among all that was ‘unprecedented’ about the Covid-19 pandemic in the first part of 2020, most radical was the advanced-capitalist world’s reaction to it. Disregarding neoclassical economics’ insistence on market forces as the indispensable ground of social order, many governments immediately largely suspended the jobs market and so the normal, independent circulation of money. In consequence they inaugurated what economist Will Davies has called ‘the holiday of exchange value’ (2020). He defines exchange value as that represented by the price system. Although much media coverage engaged with governments’ cost-benefit calculations – through exchange value – for efficient models of response to the pandemic, weighing jobs or lives (Mair, 2020), Davies identifies broader turns against capitalist values. Many have asked which jobs really contribute to human wellbeing and flourishing, and attention has turned to the space made in our lives for non-commodified pleasures. Fixed, state-ordered arrangements or else charitable efforts – furloughs, basic incomes; or food banks and crisis services – replaced or compensated the normal price mechanisms for distributing labour and goods. Public cultural institutions simply closed, and attempted digital outreach, but also surfaced in anguished media debates about the sustainability of their funding models with gift shops and entry fees suspended.

More metaphysically, perhaps the abstraction and enchantment of the priced and exchangeable commodity – what Marx called its “fetishism” – has also been suspended. The “spell is briefly broken: things and humans are now on an equal footing, albeit equally trapped” (Davies, 2020). The fetish quality of commodities shares much with their role in Barthes’ semiological realm: they conjure a capitalist language of values serving market interests, above all profit. These values have great power of signification in our urban experience, in the visual ubiquity of signs of money and commerce, but also in the subtler semiosis explored so far.

How much did the great value shift of 2020 register in the semiotic and phenomenological realms of heritage? Could it be traced in the looks and uses of historic built environment? With the hegemonic relationship of exchange value with signifying value (temporarily, slightly) disrupted, is there any evidence of tentative (re)valorisations of built heritage, any hints towards alternative built-environment heritage practices in the Madrid of the *desescalada*?

Encounters with the historic built environment in Madrid displayed as many continuities as disruptions. Before citizens were allowed to venture more than 1km from home, work had recommenced on intensive reformation of the 1945 Teatro Albeníz by the Mazabi investment fund, constrained to keep the building from demolition retain its theatre by a BIP designation thanks to a campaign following a 2003 permission for its conversion into a shopping centre (*ElCierreDigital*, 2020). While citizens were still confined, its exact contemporary, the modernist Cine Real had been demolished following a failed campaign by Madrid Ciudadanía y Patrimonio for its BIP protection, as part of a €34m investment by a hotel group (*LaRazón*, 2020). Still in June, the developer Daria Homes was advertising its 18 new apartments in Santa Isabel 9 on Instagram: “a historic building which will combine all the authentic details of its classical architecture with the comfort and amenities of contemporary developments” (fig 9, above). Capital in its second circuit continued to flow and fix in urban space, appropriating, accommodating or erasing heritage objects as obliged by negotiation with the separate value systems of heritage protection.

While Madrid was in the strictest Phase 0 of lockdown measures, the regional government negotiated an exceptional Phase 0.5 to allow an early reopening of non-essential shops. Another triumph of exchange value? Madrid was only permitted to enter Phase 1 on 25 May, yet by 6 June, a dramatically restricted Prado Museum reopened its doors – without the possibility of tourist visitors, and at first for free – for a poignantly-titled new exhibition *Reencuentro*. Risk and expense were shouldered to give *Madridileñxs* the possibility to encounter this historic building and its art as soon as possible: its sheer semiotic charge gave it a value to the city able to outweigh economic costs. Moreover, though the Prado had launched digital outreach efforts during confinement, embodied encounter with this exceptional group of heritage objects was held specially important.

In unexpected ways like this, Covid-19 seemed to strip away normal practices of exchange to better reveal other systems of value, like heritage, that they normally dominate. Conversely, new protocols accentuated patterns of embodied encounter with urban objects. To visit CaixaForum on a timed ticket, when it reopened on 1 June, was to be swept ever faster from undercroft to darkened gallery, without even the excuse of a visit to cafe or giftshop for a less structured encounter with the building, independent of its corporate purpose. With Covid-19 signage and protocols strictly regulating human traffic between the concourse and the glass-box mall at Príncipe Pio, the juxtaposition of separation and transparency is profoundly felt. Distanced from shared objects as much as from each other, new rituals and restrictions problematised and intensified experiences of the physical environment.

More directly, confined by proximity to home, modest, historic places – squares then kiosks, then cafes – became more valued spaces: in effect, their heritage value may have been increased. We have evaluated our built environment and discerned the future we need for it at a moment of change. It was in the wake of the financial crisis with capital at bay that La Tabacalera won space for *autogestión*: was any more space won from capital in 2020?

One example from Madrid’s *desescalada* is richly illustrative. The confinement increase in precarity and poverty constituted a need for solidaristic distribution of food, and symbolically and socio-spatially the need was served by an architecturally significant historic wholesale market. The former Mercado de Frutas y Verduras de Legazpi, built 1932-5 by Francisco Javier Ferrera and described by DOCOMOMO as “an extraordinary

testimony of Spanish architecture of the 1930s” survived the Civil War but closed in 1983 with the opening of a consolidated peripheral wholesale complex, Mercamadrid. Ayuntamiento plans for its conversion to municipal offices prompted formation of a campaign for its dedication to public amenities. An architectural brief generating a scheme proposing partial demolition to host cross-financing towers, fell foul of the financial crisis. While plans for a transport interchange gave way to a shopping centre, gourmet market and spa, a network of social movements in the district formed the Espacio Vecinal Arganzuela (EVA) to “recover” the market as a community space: much as at La Tabacalera, they profited from the contested process of urban governance to win meanwhile use of the markets. In 2015, they reopened the market offices EVA proposed a permanent citizen-managed market, but the Ayuntamiento pursued its plan through a participative process, yet failed to find accord with architectural heritage bodies or with EVA, who continued to insist on recovery of the space led by citizen action. A private developer won the Ayuntamiento contract and demolition began and stalled in 2019 over unbudgeted engineering costs, while EVA continues to use a suite of generically-partitioned office rooms near the market entrance vacated by the municipality, under threat of eviction (PFyV, 2019).



Figs 49-52 | L-R | Interiors at La Neomudéjar

Despite the meanness of its accommodation, EVA inhabits its premises in ways that made it a richer resource of social and use value in 2020 than other prominent, expensively adapted historic sites nearby. Having suspended normal activity on 15 March, by May EVA was part of a network of community groups operating a *dispensa solidaria* food bank, supplementing some municipal funds with donations of food. Operating initially in the Arganzuela district from the Legazpi markets and La Casa Encendida, the two operations separated in June. EVA implemented new protocols for volunteers at the markets, recovered and again reappropriated the administrative rooms of the market for a new function. A windowless room at the centre became the dry food store, a ventilated room on the edge that for fruit and veg. Improvised signage programmed and reprogrammed the rooms and storage spaces as needs evolved. Beside the bus terminus, the broken-pediment plan of the markets and the wide loading area at its mouth physically direct approaching visitors towards EVA’s concession and facilitate pick-up and drop-off. This is despite the security gates and hoardings installed by authorities: between the perimeter and EVA’s open doors, a canopied garden with planters hung on the metal

bars. In contrast, the public interface of Matadero, metres away, has been secured with a perimeter wall on the pavement edge control access to any part of its public space. Whereas EVA negotiated with the police and sanitary authorities from early in the confinement to improvise a reopening of their premises, the large, well-provisioned spaces of Matadero remained entirely closed until 15 June, some days after a reopening visit by the king and queen (AdM, 2020b). Architectural interventions for adaptive reuse as public civic and CSR public facilities have cleansed the Matadero and La Casa Encendida of the traces of their historic modes of interface with the city, in a way that inclined towards their loss of social and use value at a moment of need. Self-, citizen-managed, EVA's corner of Legazpi markets recovered its food distribution potential.

In contrast with EVA's, the *dispensa* at La Casa Encendida was informally hosted, with no lasting claim on a space: when, in late June, the large internal courtyard where food boxes had been assembled on long tables was needed for a public event, the *dispensa* was moved to a classroom suite on the fourth floor, without storage space for goods and peppered with trip-hazard floor boxes for electricals. Recipients collecting boxes couldn't directly approach this space, distant from the streetside. Volunteers had little or no extensive opportunity to encounter the building – either appropriable fabric that have could have fostered their work, or the full symbolic wealth of the adapted 1911 bank offices. The building, for all its symbolic profile and the architectural product of investment, served more as container than resource.

Heritage practice under Covid-19 has privileged the capacity of historic fabric already imbued with attributes and meaning to resource social needs, and highlighted the need of value systems – social and cultural, during the suppression of exchange – for manifestation, materially and symbolically, as in a community space or an art gallery. As at the market in Legazpi, dormant use values, preserved in memory and fabric, emerged again, in part as if from the very material itself: a *reencuentro* with the historic built environment that entailed a revaluation, and a freer heritage practice than the spatial and aesthetic logics of capitalist urbanism normally allow.

Sketching a study of urban heritage beyond growth

Beyond Growth

THE two sorts of structural analysis presented in the last chapter – Morcillo's Marxist economic geography (2017) and the critical semiology of a methodology influenced by Barthes – describe Madrid's centre and its periphery as bound together, functionally separate but distinctive components of a system of an expansive Neoliberal phase of capitalist urbanisation. An economic growth machine (Molotch, 1976; Cox, 2017) operates across the territory and animates the whole urban entity of Madrid. More specifically, the physical growth of the spatial periphery entailed the development transformation and resignification of the historic built environment of the centre.

At a different spatial scale in Europe, but on a comparable timescale, capitalism has been peripheralising urban areas formerly central to production in industrial economies, and has siphoned capital and 'command-and-control' functions into an extended web of leading world cities. In those peripheries, a different spatial dynamic produced by an absence of capital, by its withdrawal or the sparsity of its flows, is integral to the systemic phenomenon, the underside of its booming growth.

These processes of historical change share time but are distinguished by space. Their historical dimension is nonetheless present in the inherent diachronism of the built environment, manifest for encounter and study in space, in the present moment. The urban physical form of neoliberal expansion in Madrid has been new-build condos in muddy fields and the transformation of historic buildings in city streets. Neglect and dereliction in deindustrialised conurbations characterises an urban heritage in the shadow of metropolitan inflation.

Peripheral, sticky heritage

What is obscure about the peripheralised historic built environment is the lives of its heritage objects "sticky" physical survivals of the past (Olsen & Pétursdóttir, 2014a), sometimes protected for their cultural value, but apparently devalued by the prevailing economic system. The last chapter learned from Barthes how deconstructing the mythologies of the built environment opens a diachronic perspective on the way capitalism works them: it reveals a kind of capitalist heritage practice. Barthes saw liberating, revelatory potential in his mythologies; and indeed viewed with his diachronic scope on cultural artefacts, spaces produced by past phases of production might seem infused with possibility and potential. Absent the myth-making of capital, the underside, sparse spaces of the capitalist growth economy may, then, have a certain freedom. In Barthes' terms, this is a space where the *langage-objet* of the historic built environment is not 'troubled' by the *méta-langage* which speaks for capitalist urbanism: the historic buildings are not disused or abandoned, but latent with its own diachronic attributes. temporarily ahistorical. They are human signs in a form independent of the contingencies of our own time, almost "arbitrary and natural" in relation to them (1957, 231); and they wait to be appropriated and encountered, beyond the concern of the hegemonic motives and concepts of urban capital.

Of interest, for inquiry into heritage practice through spatio-economic alterity, in a short and apparently isolated 2012 project called *Estranged Space*, the architectural theorist David Littlefield and collaborators analysed the York Street Vaults, a non-public

space connected to the UK's Roman Bath UNESCO World Heritage Site. They conceptualised an exploration of "the relationships between normative spaces and those that lie at or beyond the "periphery" – out of sight and subject to different social, economic and aesthetic values." The project's method was creation of an installation to "re-present" and "celebrate... the space as found" – layered, incidental – rather than as defined either by its commodified function as a public-facing visitor attraction, or by the heritage value being appropriated, that of an authentic Roman site (Littlefield, 2012, 129-30) Drawing on an earlier work with Saskia Lewis (2007) on architects' design encounters with meaning in disused buildings under redevelopment, this attempt to destabilise authorised or exclusive notions of authenticity through creative representation had aesthetic-discursive objectives; however, importantly, it conceptualised peripherality as an absence of commercial and symbolic valorisation, leaving a space in which an alternativity could emerge in encounter.

A case in the frame: South Wales and deindustrialised dereliction

The linear and dispersed settlements of the valleys of central and eastern south Wales, and the port cities of Swansea, Cardiff and Newport along the coast, were among the first industrialised areas in the world, extracting, forging and exporting coal and metal ores across the world and Britain's empire. A flourishing, distinctive, mainly working-class urban culture developed for a century or so. Cutting-edge industrial technology survives or is evidenced at sites from the early-days of industry, railway lines and stations, coal and shipping exchanges and civic buildings are in many places designated for heritage protection. Most distinctive though are the social and cultural infrastructure, often built and maintained mutually by workingmen's associations, of halls, libraries and co-operatives, and thousands of chapels scattered across the region pertaining to the many different non-denominational sects to which many of the working classes belonged.

The eve of the First World War was the high tide of chapel building in Wales, with around 5,000 already completed in a country of only 2.25 million inhabitants. Both population and religious buildings were and remain concentrated in the industrialised valleys and coast of the south and south-east. At the peak of Nonconformity in Wales, the 1851 UK census found that there were more than twice as many chapels (2,784) as Anglican churches (1,176) in Wales and that 87% of all regular worshippers were Nonconformist (Cadw, 2003). They were cultural and educational community hubs, sustaining the Welsh language, for instance, during its official suppression. Chapel builders avoided the programming for ceremonial ritual associated with the Anglican church and designed instead adaptable preaching theatres prioritising the sermon and the gathering. Welsh chapel architecture exhibits a free style typically within a consistent Classical framework which developed through a number of distinct phases. Congregations' social and cultural development was reflected in architectural embellishment (ibid). As a type to furnish a potential historic built environment sample, chapels exhibit helpful consistencies of form and programmed functionality, but a wealth of semantic charge and architectural affect for contextualised comparison.

After a great religious revival around 1905, a long, slow decline began, advanced by the withering of Welsh coal mining, secularisation encouraged by return from the First World War, and the emergence of mass entertainment. The waves of religious movements and revivals of the 19th century led to the opening of a chapel a week; whereas by the end of the 20th century, they were permanently closing at the same rate (BBC, 2020b). Industrialisation beyond the developed West, decolonisation, and the shift to a Post-

Fordist economy entailed the deindustrialisation of South Wales. Impoverishment and a dramatic collapse of social and cultural institutions has followed, leaving Wales one of a handful of 'Least Developed Regions' identified in Western Europe under EU regional policy (EUDGRegio, 2014). Today, the region has a dispersed population of around 2 million.

More than a century after Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the potential socio-economic traction of religious ideals needs no substantiation. American architectural historian and anthropologist Jeanne Halgren Kilde has recently studied the careers of religious buildings as real estate commodities in US cities. She describes how passing through the possession of expanding minority religious congregations, they become community assets in faith communities' self-narratives of growth and development: "a reoccurring story about buildings and identity amounts to a religious articulation of the American Dream" (2019, 170). In a way that is already familiar to this thesis, Kilde finds that the urban careers of historic buildings as cultural artefacts have to be understood in their capitalist socio-economic context: religious buildings can become commodities in spatio-symbolic competition, conspicuous evidence of arrival and success and "claims of legitimate presence in... [the] landscape" (172). Kilde's cases in US metropolises tend to chart a trajectory of growth, with old buildings taken up by new waves of often immigrant religious groups; and strikingly, she finds, examining these congregations' spatial self-narratives, that "the buildings themselves are rarely discussed in detail. Whatever meanings were originally associated with them in the hearts and memories of their congregants appear to have dissipated over time." (171) The semiology sown and reaped in space by these buoyant forces experiencing economic good fortune seem to attach only lightly to the built environment.

Wales's historic religious infrastructure tracing the inverse trajectory of its congregations' socio-economic and religious fortunes, the threat to valued chapel buildings was first officially recognised in the 1990s. The UK Parliament encouraged action, leading the Welsh state heritage body, Cadw, to commission a report under the auspices of the Wales Council for Voluntary Action (WCVA) in 1996, which in turn resulted in the establishment of *Addoldai Cymru* – the Welsh Historic Buildings Trust (Wools & WCVA, 1996). This division of labour reflects the early disavowal by agencies of the state of responsibility for sustaining and protecting historic buildings of which they had nonetheless asserted the social and cultural significance. The 1996 report included a list of 129 chapels "to be preserved at all costs"; yet this small charity promotes and oversees the cause of historic chapels in Wales with very limited funds to invest directly in a tiny proportion of the total number of chapels facing redundancy. *Addoldai* encourages chapels in this condition to diversify their use and to open themselves to their communities – essentially to make themselves appropriable without commodification. Many conversions take place; many others simply stand awaiting reappropriation or intervention of a *deus ex machina* (BBC, 2020b).

Hermeneutics: illegibile but affective

As an analyst Barthes was not content to remain playfully superficial, and the deconstructive intent of his semiology was to expose context and to depower structure. He was interested in the quality of illegibility and the way it can draw attention to the materiality reality behind meaning. He explored 'asemic' writing and, connectedly, writing as an embodied act, the inscription of a hand (Gallix, 2015). Barthes seemed to hold out the potential of an epistemology not only beyond semiology but even beyond socially-

constructed meaning: to borrow a theme of his literary theory, an historic building encountered in its context is not a 'book' but an 'album'. From the moment of its construction the building has been implicated in a process of resignification and the undoing of its inceptual integrity. Barthes reached towards this analogy himself, proposing that "the future of the book is the album, just as the ruin is the future of the monument" (1978-80, 191). Does the historic building retain objective integrity at least in the disorganised potential of its collection of actual attributes, as found?

This recalls Olsen & Pétursdóttir's (2014b) work on the richness of encounter made possible by the diachronic presence of ruins and waste, which they argue can be recorded when these objects are allowed to speak through an archaeology of fabric, document and affect. The critical shift they seem to be encouraging is away from linearity and analysis and towards unmediated encounter. The past is present in the object's presence, unmediated, when it is a sign only of itself. Barthes' work-in-progress, as in the archaeologists' methodological enquiries, was resolving the epistemological challenge of capturing, documenting and working with encountered qualities. In asemic writing, the notion of the punctum in photography, and that of the biographeme of a life (Gallix, 2015), Barthes reached for the potential of these elements for unmediated eloquence which can be more lasting than the contingent forms in which they can be recorded. Learning from Barthes, it seems there may be two modes of knowing historic buildings, neither invested in its original conception or some fixed notion of its meaning: one, through semiological readings of the mythological register in which we know it as a meaningful object; and potentially, uncohering to a structured significance, through embodied encounter.

There are ethical, ontological implications to this subjectivity: it positions humans in a less dominant relationship with a physical world. Liberating the historic built environment from its contingent and conditioning structures of meaning and appropriation might open alterity, in a world of objects with potential. Its diachronic potential for affect might be explored as emergent value arising from between the dominant structures of culture and the residue of the past, as Raymond Williams supposed – a space cut against current prevailing structures of feeling (Williams, 1977).

Where heritage is sticky and capital's waves ebb, is there a corollary of the rather ephemeral role Kilde finds for religious buildings as commodities in the advancement of their communities' expansive dreams? The challenge for inquiry is the need to describe an alterity constituted in large part by absence. The chapels of South Wales are diachronic residues of capital beyond growth, troves of affect made illegible by secularisation. The theoretical framing constructed by this thesis would cast this unique corpus of heritage objects, embedded in comparable urban communities subject to much the same structural socio-economic context, as the potential laboratory of an exploratory empirical investigation focused on material appropriation and improvised use of these heritage sites.

Conclusion: Urban Heritage Beyond Growth

A STUDY of urban heritage practice in Madrid showed patterns that reveal the structuring dynamics of both material-geographical and economic-symbolic contexts. Within these patterns of activity distributing value in the built environment, exchange valorisation motivated by the pursuit of economic growth seems decisive. The work of the case study in this thesis has been to trace the multivalent semiotic activity of (re)signification which disposes the historic built environment in this production of space, as part of its ordering myths. From the macro scale of speculative development to the micro scale of an architectural facade detail, there is telling evidence of an urbanism motivated by growth which selectively appropriates the historic built environment to its cause. Heritage practices, bundled-up with other value systems, contest this shared material resource: an urbanism couched in sustainable development discourse engages heritage as a conspicuous sign of its virtue.

An attentive mythology of heritage practice in the urbanism of the Madrid growth machine grounds a critique of this heritage-(sustainable-)development complex. Its heritage signs suggest a questionable ethics of the historic built environment: an urban museum conceals machine-made spaces for the knowledge economy behind a heritage of facades, but the architectural signs cast capital in the role of advanced, respectful, transparent saviour of ruins. Heritage objects are costume or prop for architectural games of inflation, or for a timeless, placeless total subjection. Historic urban forms are subjected to invasive appropriation, foreclosure and privatisation to serve as signifiers for urban mythologies which naturalise consumer capitalism and accommodate the exigencies of an era of sustainability. Regeneration turns out to be a euphemism for expansion: efforts of resignification or resistance often founder.

Working at the systems of meaning that erected bourgeois capitalism, Barthes observed that the resistance of objects to their appropriation is at best futile, at worst feeds the myths capitalism made of them. It is tempting to see a parallel in the struggle of La Tabacalera to decommodify a space in the symbolic heart of Madrid's presumptive growth by the very means – counter-culture, street art, the experiential economy – fuelling its gentrification. Is this an urban language too legible to resist capital's urban mythmaking? Conversely, the resignification of a structurally devalorised built environment that Autobarrios attempted was speech without meaning, belied by its context. Illegibility was for Barthes the key to some other meaningful realm of irreducible particularity, dignified singularity.

In a rigged contest of values, is invaluableity a trace of the same? The political-economy critique of assemblage urbanism warns against necessarily regarding La Neomudéjar's heritage-themed art-space as radical urbanism: its polysemic material forms speak within a certain context. But it does curate something that feels unusual: a slow, situated, unprogrammed encounter which incites a different relation to its built heritage object. There is alternative affect here, from an object allowed to be present but dormant, used but unvalorised. La Neomudéjar's historic fabric does not so much resist the system as remain alternative within it: a clever trick, part illusion, achieved at the same price (entry fee, cafe, giftshop) as any other presumption attraction on Madrid's cultural, tourist circuit. But the space it wins celebrates qualities of disorder and particularity which seem incomprehensible by a capitalist heritage semiology, incommensurate with hegemonic valorisations of the historic built environment (if not of spaces and functions within it). A different ethical stance seems to underpin heritage

practice described with different words and signifiers: EVA “recovers” Legazpi market; the residue of past uses remains, it is not regenerated.

In this kind of practice, value is immanent: it is not imparted to the historic built environment, measured by a system extrinsic to it, but is already laid down there, potentially to (re)emerge. Knowing that rigorous spatial and aesthetic logics structure the historic built environment under capitalism, embodied attention to the illegible and affective in the sticky heritage of the underside of the growth economy might trace an already-existing realm of particular, independent value there. This is not value measured by receipts, but the ‘donor value’ known to ecosystem studies. Facing spatial injustice and catastrophic climate change, a different ethical foundation of our relationship to the physical world is needed, and it applies as much to the legacies of our own human past as to the non-human realm. The built environment peripheralised by the economic processes of capitalism is our urban-future laboratory, our hypothesis that:

Structural conditions beyond growth

create a peripheral socio-spatial context

in which alternative heritage practice

can engage historic material resources differently.

Where capitalism is depowered, space can be won; and perhaps even where the losses entailed hurt badly, there remain historic reserves of potential: urban heritage beyond growth.

Bibliography

- Anderson, B. & McFarlane, C. (2011) 'Assemblage and geography', *Area*, 43:2.
- Appadurai, A. (1986) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Architecture de collection (n.d.) *Duplex Moderne: Le Corbusier architecte 1952, Marseille 13* [online] <https://www.architecturedcollection.fr/product/duplex-moderniste-cite-radieuse-marseille-lecorbusier/> (accessed 1 November 2020).
- Ashworth, G.J. (2014) 'Heritage and Economic Development: Selling the Unsellable', *Heritage & Society*, 7:1.
- Ashworth, G.J. & Tunbridge, J.E. & Graham, B.J. (2013) 'Decennial reflections on A Geography of Heritage (2000)', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:4.
- Auclair, E. & Fairclough, G. (2015) *Theory and Practice in Heritage and Sustainability: Between past and future*. London: Routledge.
- Avrami, E. (2016) 'Making Historic Preservation Sustainable', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 82:2.
- AdM (2018) *Museo de Escultura al Aire Libre de La Castellana* [online] <https://bit.ly/3k6zthK> (accessed 30 October 2020).
- AdM (2020) *El alcalde acompaña a los reyes en su encuentro con representantes de la cultura en Matadero Madrid* [online] <https://bit.ly/2GF26EP> (accessed 30 October 2020).
- Barthes, R. ([1957] 2010) *Mythologies*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Barthes, R. ([1967] 1971) 'Sémiologie et urbanisme', *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, 153.
- Barthes, R. ([1978-80] 2011) *The Preparation of the Novel*. New York: Columbia.
- Basurama Crew (2013) *Autobarrios San Cristóbal* [online video] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u6hVXOyYWko> (accessed 1 November 2020).
- BBC (2020a) 'Chelsea town houses collapse forces evacuations' [online] <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-54794723> (accessed 3 November 2020).
- BBC (2020b) 'One Man's Mission' [online] <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/Vow7nKBPo/welsh-chapels-one-mans-mission> (accessed 3 November 2020).
- Beeksmas, A. & De Cesari, C. (2019) 'Participatory heritage in a gentrifying neighbourhood: Amsterdam's Van Eesteren Museum as affective space of negotiations', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25:9.
- Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke.
- Blanco, I, Bonet, J. & Walliser A. (2011) 'Urban governance and regeneration policies in historic city centres: Madrid and Barcelona', *Urban Research & Practice*, 4:3.
- Bohlin, A. (2019) '"It will Keep Circulating": Loving and Letting Go of Things in Swedish Second-hand Markets', *Worldwide Waste: Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 2:1.

- Bohlin, A. & Appelgren, S. (2015) 'Growing in Motion: The Circulation of Used Things on Second-hand Markets', *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, 7.
- Bond, S., DeSilvey, C. & Ryan, J. (2013) *Visible Mending: Everyday Repairs in the South West*. Axminster: Colin Sackett.
- Brenner, N., Madden, D.J., & Wachsmuth, D. (2011) 'Assemblage urbanism and the challenges of critical urban theory', *City*, 15:2.
- Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002) *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cadw (2003) *Capeli yng Nghymru: Cadwraeth a Thrawsnewid / Chapels in Wales: Conservation and Conversion*. Cardiff: Cadw, Welsh Historic Monuments.
- Cox, R. (2017) 'Revisiting "the city as a growth machine"', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Cambridge Political Economy Society*, 10:3.
- Crawford, K., Johnson, C.E., Davies, F., Joo, S., Bell, S. (2014) *Demolition or Refurbishment of Social Housing? A review of the evidence*. London: UCL Urban Lab.
- De Cesari, C. & Dimova, R. (2018) 'Heritage, gentrification, participation: remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25:9.
- De Giosa, P., Marquart, V. & Cheung Ah Li, L. (2020) Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology: *The Global Political Economy of Cultural Heritage* [online] <https://www.eth.mpg.de/3534616/heritage?page=3> (accessed 18 November 2019).
- DeSilvey, C. (2017) *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*. Minneapolis: U.Minn. Press.
- DeSilvey, C. & Rodney Harrison, R. (2019) 'Anticipating loss: rethinking endangerment in heritage futures', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 26.
- Dominguez Pérez, M. (2019) 'Del patrimonio como la cristalización de la historia de la comunidad urbana y su identidad', *RevistaPH (Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico)*, 97.
- Duarte, A. & Carmen Pascariu, G. (2017) *Core-Periphery Patterns Across the European Union: Case Studies and Lessons from Eastern and Southern Europe*. London: Emerald.
- Durán, G.G. & Moore, A.W. (2015) 'La Tabacalera of Lavapiés: A Social Experiment or a Work of Art?', *Field*, 2.
- EsMadrid (2020a) *Welcome to Madrid: CaixaForum Madrid* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/caixaforum-madrid> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020b) *Welcome to Madrid: Espacio Coam* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/espacio-coam> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020c) *Welcome to Madrid: La Nave (antigua Fábrica Boetticher)* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/nave-antigua-fabrica-boetticher> (accessed 31 October 2020).

- EsMadrid (2020d) *Welcome to Madrid: La Neomudéjar* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/la-neomudejar> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020e) *Welcome to Madrid: MediaLab Prado* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/medialab-prado> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020f) *Welcome to Madrid: Museo de Historia* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/museo-de-historia> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020g) *Welcome to Madrid: Museo de San Isidro. Las Orígenes de Madrid* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/museo-de-san-isidro-los-origenes-de-madrid> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020h) *Welcome to Madrid: Sala Canal de Isabel II de la Comunidad de Madrid* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/sala-canal-de-isabel-ii-de-la-comunidad-de-madrid> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020i) *Welcome to Madrid: Thyssen-Bornemisza National Museum* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/tourist-information/thyssen-bornemisza-national-museum> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EsMadrid (2020j) *Welcome to Madrid: Urban Art in Madrid* [online] <https://www.esmadrid.com/en/urban-art-madrid> (accessed 31 October 2020).
- EUDGRegio (2014) *Investment for jobs and growth: Promoting development and good governance in EU regions and cities (Sixth report on economic, social and territorial cohesion)*. Brussels: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Europa Press (La Razón) (2020) *El derribo del Real Cinema podría acabar en los tribunales* [online] <https://www.larazon.es/madrid/20200216/rboy7sbdkzdb5ddhbk34zrmqia.html> (accessed 28 October 2020).
- Eurostat (2019) *Regions & Cities: Background* [online] <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/background> (accessed 18 November 2019).
- Fitchett, J.A. (1997) *Cultural Commodification: The Case of the Museum as Commodity* (PhD thesis) University of Stirling [online] <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/9047693.pdf> (accessed 10 June 2020).
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972—1977*, ed. C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon.
- Fundación Canal (n.d.) *Quiénes Somos?* [online] <https://www.fundacioncanal.com/quienes-somos/> {accessed 1 November 2020}
- Gallix, A. (2015) 'Signs and Mythologies', *Andrew Gallix* blog [online] <https://andrewgallix.com/tag/roland-barthes-by-roland-barthes/> (accessed 20 July 2020).
- González, D. (El Cierre Digital) (2020) *El futuro del Teatro Albéniz en el aire: Se retrasa su inauguración prevista en septiembre de 2020* [online] <https://elcierredigital.com/cultura-y->

ocio/394661292/teatro-albeniz-obras-inauguracion-retraso.html (accessed 28 October 2020).

Graham, B. (2002) 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?' in *Urban Studies*, 39:5.

Hamilakis, Y. (2017) 'Sensorial Assemblages: Affect, Memory and Temporality in Assemblage Thinking', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 27:1.

Harrison, R. (2013) 'Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the "crisis" of accumulation of the past', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:6.

Harrison, R. (2015) 'Beyond "Natural" and "Cultural" Heritage: Toward an Ontological Politics of Heritage in the Age of Anthropocene', *Heritage & Society*, 8:1.

Harrison, R. (2018) 'On Heritage Ontologies: Rethinking the Material Worlds of Heritage', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 91.

Harvey, D. (1978) 'The urban process under capitalism: a framework for analysis', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2:1-3.

Hidalgo, C. & Palacios, A. (2016) 'El patrimonio industrial declarado Bien de Interés Cultural en Madrid: Su integración en la oferta cultural y turística de la ciudad', *Pasos: Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 14:1.

Historic England (2019) *Heritage and Sustainable Growth* [online]
<https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/planning/heritage-and-growth> (accessed 18 November 2019).

Holtorf, C. (2013) 'Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of Sustainability', *Heritage & Society*, 6:2.

ICOMOS (2016) *The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement: Advisory Body Evaluation* [online]
<https://whc.unesco.org/document/152362> (accessed 1 November 2020).

Jameson, F. (1984) 'Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, 1:146.

Jessop, B. (2018) 'Neoliberalization, uneven development, and Brexit: further reflections on the organic crisis of the British state and society', *European Planning Studies*, 26:9.

Kilde, J.H. (2019) 'For Sale or Let: Religious Space as Commodity in a Globalized World' in Hovorun, C. (ed.) *Sacred Architecture in East and West*. Los Angeles: Tsehai.

Kinossian, N. (2018) 'Planning strategies and practices in noncore regions: a critical response', *European Planning Studies*, 26:2.

Knudsen, J.P. (2017) 'Vicarious living: Reinterpreting the role of peripheral living in the Nordic context', *European Planning Studies*, 26:2.

Krause, S. (2016) *The Production of Cultural Heritage Discourses: Political Economy and the Intersections of Public and Private Heritage in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia*

- (PhD thesis) U. of South Florida [online] <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/6285> (accessed 18 November 2019).
- Krugman, P. (1998) 'What's New about the New Economic Geography?', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 14:2.
- Madrid History Museum (n.d.) *permanent collection*. Calle de Fuencarral, Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid.
- McFarlane, C. (2011a) 'Assemblage and critical urbanism', *City*, 15.
- McFarlane, C. (2011b) 'The city as assemblage: dwelling and urban space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29.
- Molotch, H. (1976) 'The City as a Growth Machine', *American Journal of Sociology*, 82:2.
- Kühn, M. (2015) 'Peripheralization: Theoretical Concepts Explaining Socio-Spatial Inequalities', *European Planning Studies*, 23:2.
- Linazasoro, J.I. (2004) *Evocando la Ruina: Sombras y Texturas – Centro Cultural en Lavapiés*. Madrid: J.I. Linazasoro Rodríguez.
- Littlefield, D. (2012) 'Heritage at the Periphery: the York Street vaults, the Roman baths, Bath', in R. Morrow, & M. Abdelmonem (eds.) *Peripheries*. London: Routledge.
- Littlefield, D. & Lewis, S. (2007) *Architectural Voices: Listening to Old Buildings*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Liverpool City Council (2019) *Homes for a Pound* [online] <https://liverpool.gov.uk/housing/homes-for-a-pound/> (accessed 18 November 2019).
- Luciani, A. & Del Curto, D. (2018) 'Towards a resilient perspective in building conservation', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 8:3.
- MCyP (2020) *Madrid Ciudadanía y Patrimonio: el Blog de MCyP* [online] <https://madridciudadaniaypatrimonio.org/> (accessed 1 November 2020).
- Muzaini, H. & Minca, C. (eds.) (2018) *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage from Below*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Meskell, L. (2018) 'Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25:9.
- Olsen, B. & Pétursdóttir, Þ. (2014a) *Ruin Memories: Materialities, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*. London: Routledge.
- Olsen, B. & Pétursdóttir, Þ. (2014b) 'Imaging Modern Decay: The Aesthetics of Ruin Photography', *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, 1:1.
- Olsen, B. & Pétursdóttir, Þ. (2016) 'Unruly Heritage: Tracing Legacies in the Anthropocene', *Arkæologisk Forum*, 35.
- Pardo Abad, C.J. (2004) *Vaciado industrial y nuevo paisaje urbano en Madrid: Antiguas fábricas y renovación de la ciudad*. Madrid: Ediciones La Librería.

- Pereira Roders, A. & van Oers, R. (2011) 'Editorial: bridging cultural heritage and sustainable development', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 1:1.
- Plataforma Frutas y Verduras (2019) *Plataforma FyV: Mercado de Legazpi* [online] <http://mercadolegazpi.org/> (accessed 1 November 2020).
- Ritzer, G. (2015) 'Prosumer Capitalism', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 56:3.
- Robertson, I.J.M. (2012) *Heritage From Below*. London: Routledge.
- Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2017) 'The revenge of the places that don't matter (and what to do about it)', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 11:1.
- Rose, G. (2016) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, 4th Ed. OUP.
- Ross, S. (2017) 'From Salvage to De-construction of Heritage Places: Rethinking Waste Values in Canadian Cities', *What Does Heritage Change?* Montreal, 2016: Association Critical Heritage Studies conference.
- Schumpeter, J. (1942) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Sennett, R. (2019) *Building & Dwelling: Ethics for the city*. London: Penguin.
- Smith, N. (1982) 'Gentrification and Uneven Development', *Economic Geography*, 58:2.
- Smith, N. (2011) 'Uneven Development Redux', *New Political Economy*, 16:2.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Soja, E. (1980) 'The Socio-Spatial Dialectic', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70:2.
- Soja, E. (2009) 'The City and Spatial Justice', *Justice spatiale / Spatial Justice*, 1.
- Sorando Ortín, D. & Arduro Urquiaga, Á. (2016) *First we take Manhattan: destrucción creativa y disputa de los centros urbanos*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata.
- Su, R., Bramwell, B. & Whalley, P. (2018) 'Cultural Political Economy and Urban Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 68.
- Sykes, O. (2018) 'Post-geography worlds, new dominions, left behind regions, and "other" places: unpacking some spatial imaginaries of the UK's "Brexit" debate', *Space and Polity*, 22:2.
- Tilley C. (ed.) (2019) *London's Urban Landscape*. London: UCL Press.
- Underwood, D. (2019) *(Re)using ruins: public building in the cities of the late antique West, A.D. 300-600. Late antique archaeology (supplementary series)*, Vol. 3. Leiden: Brill.
- Veredes (2019) *Selling bricks and exposing architectural avant-garde*. Bartlebooth [online] <https://veredes.es/blog/en/bartlebooth-selling-bricks-and-exposing-architecture-avant-garde/> (accessed 1 November 2020).
- Wall, G. (2018) 'Beyond sustainable development', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 43:3.

Winter, T. (2013) 'Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19:6.

Wools, R. (1996) *Redundant historic chapels in Wales: Report of the working party*. Cardiff: Wales Council for Voluntary Action.

World Bank; Licciardi, G. Amirtahmasebi, R. (eds) (2012) *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development (Urban Development Series)*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Green Building Council (2019) *Bringing Embodied Carbon Upfront: Coordinated action for the building and construction sector to tackle embodied carbon* [online] <https://www.worldgbc.org/embodied-carbon> (accessed 5 November 2020).

Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism & Literature*. Oxford: OUP.

Appendix

Table of voice notes recorded on-site at major heritage sites visited, with other heritage sites mentioned in the thesis.

Note topic / Heritage Site	Date <i>time</i> of note	Word count	(Original) historic building	Date of original construction	Heritage status? BIC/BIP	District of Madrid
CaixaForum	2020-06-13 <i>17:16</i>	92	Central de Mediodía	1899		Centro
EVA	2020-06-13 <i>21:49</i>	254	Mercado Central de Frutas y Hortalizas	1926-35		Arganzuela
General reflections 1	2020-06-18	318				
ABC Serrano shopping centre	2020-06-18 <i>16:09</i>	114	Edificio de Blanco y Negro	1899 & 1926	BIC	Centro
Public Art Museum	2020-06-18 <i>16:13</i>	274	Paseo Elevado de Eduardo Dato	1960s		Centro
Underpasses	2020-06-18 <i>16:20</i>	138	Puente de Pacífico	1960s		Retiro
Museums	2020-06-18 <i>17:50</i>	105				
Príncipe Pio Shopping Centre	2020-06-18 <i>19:37</i>	755	Estación del Norte	1882 & 1928	BIC	Moncloa-Aravaca
Conde Duque Cultural Centre	2020-06-19 <i>15:36</i>	328	Cuartel del Conde-Duque	1717	BIC	Centro
CaixaForum	2020-06-19 <i>21:53</i>	595				
Madrid History Museum	2020-06-20 <i>12:00</i>	271	Museo de Historia de Madrid	1673	BIC	Centro
Autobarrios	2020-06-20 <i>14:45</i>	154	Paseo Avenida de Andalucía	1960s?		Villaverde
La Neomudéjar	2020-06-21 <i>19:04</i>	532	Workshops of the Madrid, Zaragoza & Alicante Railway Company	Late 19 th century		Retiro
Matadero	2020-06-22 <i>21:15</i>	577	Matadero y Mercado Municipal de Ganados	1911		Arganzuela
Sala Canal Isabel II	2020-06-25 <i>13:59</i>	514	Primer Depósito Elevado del Canal de Isabel II	1907-11		Chamberí
Fundación Canal	2020-06-25 <i>15:46</i>	1040	Unknown	1950s?		Chamartín
Matadero	2020-06-26 <i>17:31</i>	150				

EVA	2020-06-26 <i>17:54</i>	176				
La Casa Encendida	2020-06-27 <i>17:10</i>	1931	El Monte	1911		Centro
La Casa Encendida	2020-06-27 <i>17:30</i>	483				
General refelctions 2	2020-06-28	371				
Espacio COAM			Escuelas Pías San Antón	1753	BIC	Centro
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia			Hospital de San Carlos	1787	BIC	Centro
UNED Library			(Ruinas de las) Escuelas Pías San Fernando	1735 & 1761	BIC	Centro
MediaLab Prado			La Serrería Belga	1920s		
Museo de las Orígenes de Madrid, San Isidro			Casa de San Isidro	16 th century (reconstructed 1970s)	BIC	Centro
Museo Nacional del Prado			same	1786	BIC	Centro
Museos del Ferrocarril			Estación de Las Delicias	1880	BIC	Arganzuela
Estación de Atocha			same	1851 & 1892	BIC	Arganzuela
Complejo El Águila			Fábrica de Cerveza El Águila	1912-14	BIC	Arganzuela
Real Fábrica de Tapices			museum	19 th century		Retiro
Teatro Galileo			Sociedad de Pompas Fúnebres	1889		Chamberí
Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum			Edificio del Palacio de Villahermosa	18 th century & 1805	BIC	Centro