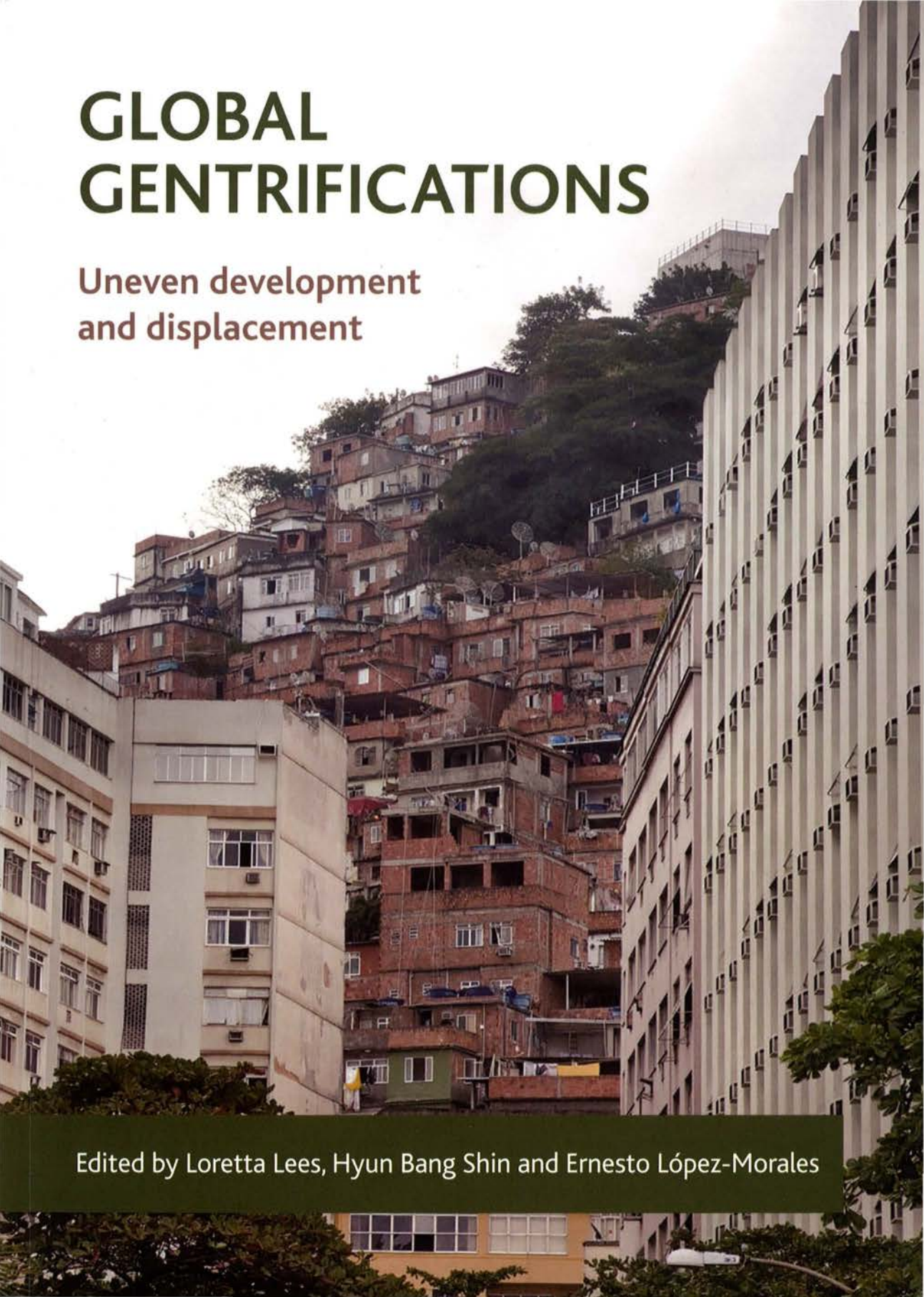
GLOBAL GENTRIFICATIONS

Uneven development and displacement



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NINETEEN

Gentrification dispositifs in the historic centre of Madrid: a reconsideration of urban governmentality and state-led urban reconfiguration

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Introduction

Fuelled by major social, political and economic transformations occurring since the early 1990s, the historic centre of Madrid, home to roughly 145,000 inhabitants, has undergone a series of fundamental re-articulations that have boosted its functional role and symbolic imaginary. Among others, the implementation of different urban renewal programmes[1] has strategically targeted its economic revalorisation. Additionally, specific master plans[2] for the area have structured the investment policies around joint and coordinated actions between public administrations and private initiatives, chiefly aiming to bolster capital investment in commercial, cultural and real estate activities. Beyond this, an extensive 'touristification' of the area has been taking place. As a consequence, many parts of the historic centre of Madrid (such as the neighbourhoods of Malasaña, Chueca and the Las Letras quarter) can now be considered as gentrified or at least as spaces that have been experiencing intensive processes of gentrification. During the long boom decade between 1995 and 2007, the price increases in real estate transactions in the central district outperformed all other neighbourhoods of the city, and since then, the historic centre's housing prices have consolidated at above-average prices – both for purchase and rental agreements.

Public administrations have played a crucial role in this reconfiguration of the historic city centre (Blanco et al, 2011), configuring contemporary geographies of gentrification and creating a symbolically and strategically unique space within the metropolitan area (Díaz Orueta, 2007). In this chapter, by exploring the powerful logics of the private and public interventions that are causing gentrification in Madrid, we develop an understanding of the locally specific adaptation of neoliberal urban policies in a Spanish city so far little discussed in the gentrification literatures. It is our contention that debates about gentrification in Spain must move beyond the two iconic examples of Barcelona and Bilbao that have been dominating the literature (egVicario and Martínez Monje, 2005; Ribera-Fumaz,

2008; González, 2011). In this chapter, we move beyond these 'usual Spanish suspects' and consider two contemporary gentrification frontiers in the historic city centre of Madrid: the neighbourhoods of Lavapiés and Tribal. Both areas have recently experienced significant public and private reinvestment, but they are related to quite different policies and the strategic targeting of gentrification in Madrid. Lavapiés is an example of how cultural production can be considered as a principal driving force behind gentrification. By way of contrast, our second case study, Tribal, is a gentrification frontier that has been established primarily by private investors targeting the area for revalorisation via commercial branding (Justo, 2011). In addition, they are of a different size,[3] and the social composition of their populations varies substantially. The latter has made researching these neighbourhoods extraordinarily interesting, but also a very challenging endeavour, both analytically and intellectually.

In analytical terms, the discussions presented here are based on empirical work that included participant observation, the analysis of official planning documents and media reports, 26 semi-structured interviews with key actors in both neighbourhoods, and 12 group discussions with neighbours.[4] The interpretation draws on the concept of governmentality – a perspective that helps us to explain how *gentrification dispositifs* can be considered simultaneously as a biopower and disciplinary power that disguise the arts of governing the self and the population (Uitermark, 2005; Foucault, 2006; Huxley, 2007; Ettlinger, 2011). We will focus on three specific gentrification dispositifs in Madrid that are comprehensively developed through the empirical examples, related to (i) creativity and cultural production, (ii) retail and design, and (iii) the governance of public space to both enforce and promote gentrification. However, before moving on to this, we provide a characterisation of contemporary gentrification discourses in Spain to point out some of the key differences from those in anglophone gentrification studies.

Gentrification discourses in Spain and Madrid

Although certain evidence suggests that gentrification processes have shaped Spanish cities such as Madrid and Barcelona since the early 1990s (Vázquez, 1992; Sargatal, 2001), it was not until the mid-2000s that gentrification emerged as a powerful discourse across the Spanish-speaking scientific community. Many scientists initially failed to recognise and adapt the concept to the social, political and urban contexts in which gentrification was occurring, especially as its symbolic and material expressions differ notably from the iconic cases in London and New York that have dominated the perception of gentrification for decades. However, to a certain extent, this delay also responds to scientific trends. For instance, the 1992 Olympic Games provided a significant impetus for the tracking and 'selling' of the 'success story' of Barcelona's regeneration processes (Monclús, 2003; Marshall, 2004). On the other hand, discussions from Bilbao concentrated on the 'Guggenheim effect' (Gómez, 1998; Plaza, 1999; Gómez and González, 2001), and since the mid-2000s, major attention was paid to the consequences of

transnational migration processes (Arbaci, 2007; Parcja-Eastaway, 2009; Portes et al, 2010) and the real estate bubble (López and Rodríguez, 2010). Such prominent debates relegated gentrification research in Spain to a secondary place.

The situation, though, has changed, and gentrification is now being regularly applied to the study of urban transformation in all major Spanish cities. Among others, gentrification discourses shape a broader criticism of the social and spatial consequences of contemporary urban policies such as segregation, classism, inequalities and displacement – especially as the term has not been depoliticised or naturalised as a non-critical concept thus far. As such, in this chapter, we critically engage with contemporary gentrification as a crucial expression and key outcome of urban neoliberalisation – a process that has been widely recognised in Spanish cities as a very specific form of urban capital accumulation (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; López and Rodríguez, 2011; Naredo and Montiel, 2011). This necessitates reconsidering gentrification through the territorial and sociolinguistic lens of Spanish researchers, enabling critical dialogues with the mainstream anglophone discourse. Additionally, this performs an emancipatory approach that emphasises the distinctiveness of gentrification outside of the anglophone core (see Lees, 2012; Maloutas, 2012), so as to provide 'nuanced, complex and contextual accounts' of urban realities and processes (Robinson, 2011, p 18). Spanish researchers have brought in new and, at the same time, challenging perspectives that have contributed to decentring theoretical approaches for a better understanding of contemporary gentrification through a 'Spanish' lens (Janoschka et al, 2013). Following this lineage, we develop four key points of argumentation here, which help us to better frame our empirical case studies in Madrid.

First, it should be acknowledged that gentrification in Spain has been taking place within the context of a massive influx of more than 5 million migrants to the country. Many of them settled in inner-city areas that were at the same time subject to renewal schemes, as described earlier. Lavapiés and Tribal illustrate this perfectly; in both neighbourhoods (mostly non-European) foreigners made up nearly 40% of the total population. In Lavapiés, the arrival of immigrants and gentrification took place simultaneously, which introduces the interesting question of how both mechanisms can coexist in Spanish city centres. Based on empirical work, Arbaci (2008, p 595f) displays the discontinuity of gentrification, a process that apparently has not transgressed to entire neighbourhoods. This means that at least two sharply differentiated and separated housing markets coexist in the same place (Sargatal, 2001), perpetuating segregation and spatial exclusion. In other words, Tribal and Lavapiés stand for other Spanish cities that represent non-homogeneous areas of revalorisation and fragmented territories in a continuous struggle about the re-appropriation of space (Janoschka et al, 2013).

Second, gentrification in Spanish cities cannot be fully understood without attention to the key role that the different levels of public administration play within the promotion of policies that target tourism-related and other symbolic gentrification processes, especially those linked to an institutionalised cultural production. In this regard, it is important to consider how urban tourism has

increasingly appreciated cultural assets, establishing different logics of spatial appropriation that have paired themselves with gentrification induced by tourism (Janoschka et al, 2013). We suggest that this 'state-led tourism gentrification' can be noticed in the daily activity of the neighbourhood of Lavapiés, due to its multiculturalism, museums and cultural facilities, as well as its nightlife and multi-ethnic gastronomy. Furthermore, the rhetoric of the creative city as a *leitmotiv* for urban renewal is also a key issue for recent discussions. Not only in Bilbao and Barcelona, but also in Madrid and specifically in Lavapiés, public policies have applied Richard Florida's creative paradigm, attempting to establish a discursive environment that attracts cultural entrepreneurs. In a meaningful critique of this logic, Rodríguez and Vicario (2005) state that urban marketing only covers evident gentrification strategies, while it displaces urban problems instead of resolving them. In Madrid, the long-term consequences of urban renewal have been interpreted as an introduction of new lifestyles based on distinctive practices of consumerism and models of citizenship (Sequera, 2010). Delgado (2008) names this effect 'artistification' (*artistización* in Spanish): a process that is enacted by urban policies that embrace the entrepreneurial and consumerist re-appropriation of a city transformed into a cluster of thematic parks and a place for cultural performances. Such strategies are a key factor in the renewal schemes applied in Lavapiés, converting a working-class neighbourhood into a place for new knowledge economies. The relationship has been labelled by Dot et al (2010) as 'productive gentrification' – creativity and knowledge appear as new resources that express the paradigmatic shift towards post-Fordism.

Third, in this chapter, we propose placing a major emphasis on the policies related to the reconversion of working-class neighbourhoods through commercial restructuration. To a certain degree, this is related to the previous aspect, but it responds primarily to suggestions that retail can be considered a key issue for explaining contemporary gentrification processes (see Kloostermann and Van der Leun, 1999; Zukin et al, 2009; Wang, 2011; González and Waley, 2013). In Madrid, commercial gentrification is taking place in several neighbourhoods, and similar aspects have been reported from Barcelona (Ribera-Fumaz, 2008). In some cases, such as the Las Letras neighbourhood, these transformations are primarily related to urban tourism and/or nightlife. However, Triball is the most important and, at the same time, aggressive attempt to reconstruct a neighbourhood as a specific commercial product (*barrio marca* in Spanish). Such policies aim at the general gentrification of the area: first symbolically, by producing a favourable environment for the middle- and upper-middle classes; then through the renovation of buildings and the construction of new housing units to attract new residents with higher incomes – with both aspects then necessarily inducing the displacement of lower-income residents. Triball can be considered an exemplary case of this. While the issue is different in Lavapiés – where although new shops have also begun to mushroom, the process is more associated with the incoming cosmopolitan middle classes with high cultural levels than with a specific entrepreneurial strategy – nevertheless, there is an impact on the neighbourhood.

Finally, the Spanish gentrification debate should also take into consideration how resistance against gentrification is theoretically framed by a close collaboration between academics and social movements. Following the legacy of Manuel Castells (1983), the literature on urban social movements has an important presence in Spanish urban studies. This has motivated many gentrification researchers to focus their arguments towards neighbourhood struggles and demands (Gómez, 2006; Delgado, 2007; Díaz Orueta, 2007). The case of Lavapiés is no exception: since the very beginning of the implementation of the renewal programmes, the residents' demands have attracted the attention of academics. In line with our own observations, different studies have recognised that activism in Lavapiés is symbolically loaded with a pronounced left-wing atmosphere. It allows maintaining the fight against speculation, evictions and indiscriminate immigrant detentions, as well as the police state that has besieged the neighbourhood. The situation is similar in Triball, for important struggles against gentrification, as well as the increasing policing strategies, emerged as soon as the commercial association was founded. Since then, the area has been subject to different squatting initiatives. Additionally, several militant researchers have studied the transformations that are taking place by visualising and contextualising the gentrification strategies applied, while the city has been suffering a profound economic and social crisis. As further discussed by Janoschka et al (2013), the close relation between activists and academics is something that is a key feature in gentrification debates in Madrid and, in more general terms, also in other Spanish cities.

'Gentrification dispositifs' as a conceptual perspective

The conceptual underpinnings to this chapter stem from the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, in which he reflects upon how discipline is exercised through bodies, and how security is performed upon the collective population as a whole. Ettlinger (2011, p 538) states that this governmentality approach 'offers an analytical framework that is especially useful towards connecting abstract societal discourses with everyday material practices'. In relation to the city, governmentality provides us with an understanding of how social relations have been incorporated into productive relationships (Negri, 2006), especially as the city can be considered to be an encoded objective of the strategies of political extraction (Agamben, 2006). In this regard, Domínguez (2008) affirms that a sharp diminution of social spaces that escape the logics of capitalist exploitation and domination has been taking place in Spanish cities. Resulting from these dynamics, a series of dispositifs transform the processes of urban restructuration into a mechanism to discipline citizens (Delgado, 2007). Within neoliberal governmentality, the governed apparently possess the autonomy to decide their doom, but 'technologies of the self' make them suffer procedures of individualisation and self-coercion (Vázquez, 2005). Zukin (2010) has approached this empirically, investigating how individuals look for a supposedly authentic lifestyle. However, such a quest transforms the subject itself into an enterprise, and it stimulates the creation of new

markets and ways to commercialise additional parts of everyday life. Hence, the governance that is established within neoliberalisation processes is a specific form of governmentality – built upon the illusion that allegedly free subjects establish non-hierarchical relations (Lorey, 2008). However, in the terms of Elias (1990), such apparently free individual governance is at the same time a disciplinary act that strengthens internal fears. As a consequence, figuratively, sovereign individuals can be considered as governed through the practice of invisible power relations.

This makes us wonder how public administrations actually understand the governance of a population: in the handling and naturalisation of specific scripts and procedures for a population that self-regulates in relation to the resources that it has previously been provided with (Foucault, 2006). Such a government can be considered as reflexive – it does not directly manage the living conditions or the productive relations of its population, but produces subjectivities that are closely related to biopolitical technologies and disciplinary practices (Coleman and Agnew, 2007). Taking into consideration the relationship between subjectivities and space, this can mean the application of disciplinary dispositifs (spatial policing practices, CCTV surveillance and control over or the appropriation of public space). Governance also makes use of the proper biopolitics of the neoliberal era – liquid relations, creative production and consumerism. Such a perspective helps us to understand how distinctive practices unfold in relation to public space and how discipline, security and biopower model the 'exemplary neighbour'. In addition, we may discover how these practices are able to co-opt ongoing hybridisation processes and how they create a new gentrification dispositif that includes discourses, institutions, architecture, rules and laws, administrative measures, scientific production, philosophy, and much more – a grid that brings together all these elements (Foucault, 1980 [1977]). Following Agamben (2011), a dispositif is considered to be: (i) a heterogeneous set that includes both the linguistic and the non-linguistic aspects of our life: (ii) a specific function that is inscribed in a power relation: and (iii) a network, understood as an episteme that includes everything considered as legitimate or not in a society. Together, these three aspects create a position that allows us to investigate more subtle power relations than those considered by Foucault (eg asylums, prisons and schools), and the ways in which they are implemented in contemporary urban societies. This perspective will be further developed during the subsequent empirical discussion about the application of governmental technologies in Lavapiés and Triball, especially with regard to those dispositifs applied to the control of public space.

Gentrification dispositifs in Lavapiés and Triball: creativity–cultural production–retail

> The city needs the drive of the creative class, and the centre must receive the talents that will trigger economic competition. The new creative classes, university students and small-scale R+D entrepreneurs will be extremely well received in the centre. (Municipality of Madrid, 2011, p 55)

In recent years, the knowledge economy has become a key battlefield for urban competition between cities, especially if the social, economic and spatial reconfiguration of symbolically important city centres is considered (Peck, 2010). This situation is similar in Madrid: one of the key elements is the strategic importance that has been given to 'creativity' as a signifier for a whole array of symbolic transformations taking place. This narrates broader trends on the global scale, through which discourses about creativity, culture and other knowledge-related activities have been strategically reinforced (Pratt, 2008). In the case of Madrid, there are policies that explicitly track and demand qualified human capital to relocate to the city in general, with a specific emphasis on the historical city centre (Méndez et al, 2012, p 6). One of the priorities is to strengthen creative industries, and in comparison to other cities, Madrid is especially successful in this task. Roughly a third of all jobs in Spain's creative businesses are concentrated in Madrid, which is double the national gross domestic product (GDP) share of the metropolitan region (Méndez and Sánchez, 2010). The promotion of creative industries and its human capital has been increasingly boosting processes of gentrification. Furthermore, the place, in itself and in its socio-historical context, promotes a type of cultural inertia that defines the character of some of the creative work – an essential aspect that directly relates to planning policies. Since the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial city, public administrations have been decisively supporting a type of employment that cannot be easily relocated: it requires the city and its physical and cultural environment, heritage and traditional cultural activities (eg museums, libraries, festivals, crafts, etc), arts, media, science, and design (eg software, digital content, advertising, architecture, etc) to be addressed by this strategy. As culture and creativity are a main source of economic growth, this sector should also be understood as a way of producing the contemporary capitalist city: innovation, entertainment, performances and tourism play very similar roles in attracting capital and investment and enhancing international competition between cities. Moreover, instead of competing for the largest or the cheapest factory, the metropolis itself competes now as a product and as a factory of multiple 'creative' necessities and of symbolically charged cultural products. In this context, innovative cultural practices have become the new 'production line' that is enhanced by public administrations – for example, to 'transform the centre of Madrid into an international reference of culture, projecting its creative potential beyond our borders' (Municipality of Madrid, 2011, p 69). Such a statement underlines the key focus of public policies to foster gentrification dispositifs in the two areas discussed in this chapter, Lavapiés and Triball.

By means of a series of interventions by public administrations, Lavapiés has been symbolically reconstructed, with a new, if artificial and somewhat pretentious, identity, as a fancy neighbourhood and a place for new culture and

art trends (Pérez-Agote et al, 2010). Lavapiés, which has the highest percentage of immigrants in the city, has a rich social and cultural mixture, and was targeted as an 'exotic' environment in which alternative and artistic realms could reaffirm themselves as globalised and attract the 'creative classes'. Díaz Orueta (2007) asserts that Lavapiés can be evaluated as a laboratory for new lifestyles that can draw, simultaneously, on representations of bohemian and left-wing identities. Accordingly, the discourses of many of the incoming younger professionals include, simultaneously, an instrumental relationship to the neighbourhood, based on its centrality, cultural production and the leisure activities developed there. Furthermore, strong identifications with, and reifications of, counter-hegemonic struggles, anti-capitalistic ideologies and political activism, as part of an active and, at the same time, activist cultural production, have been taking place (Barañano et al, 2006). In fact, public policies have overtly taken advantage of a set of allegedly important (subcultural and countercultural) characteristics that emerged at least two decades ago in the neighbourhood. These identities have been in a constant struggle with traditional practices, as well as with the practices of many of the immigrants settling in the area. Regarding the inherent struggle about the appropriation of space that lies behind the commodification of culture and creativity, these references can also be evaluated as a tool that might permit at least a superficial consensus between initially antagonistic social groups – especially if this refers to identity constructions in the neighbourhood. However, many of the myths ascribed to Lavapiés are now being utilised by public and private capital, producing an important reconfiguration of the neighbourhood. In this case, it is additionally important to state that local, regional and national administrations have increasingly developed an unequivocal cultural profile of the area, favouring a suitable environment for private investment that aims at creating new subjectivities. Different investment plans have not only reinforced the revitalisation of this historic enclave in the city centre, but also created, amplified and improved a series of infrastructures that value its cultural character, imaginaries and lifestyles. In this regard, Lavapiés is a perfect example of the development of innovative cultural processes that are then converted into commoditised arts and elements of distinction.

As a result of this investment, Lavapiés can today be considered the neighbourhood with the highest density of cultural institutions in Spain – more than a dozen public museums, universities, film and arts centres, theatres, and so on have opened their doors over the last two decades, and this has had an important impact on the configuration of identities, the symbolic dimensions of cultural segregation and, of course, the potential of the neighbourhood to be gentrified. Additionally, an almost-innumerable array of countercultural spaces, as well as private theatres, art galleries, spaces for different kinds of performances and so on, settled in the area. Such a unique concentration of different cultural institutions generates specific urban experiences and laboratories. The applied aesthetics began mixing with ethics, moving towards a notion of civility that is increasingly defined by supposed 'good taste' – which now means the taste of the creative

urban middle class. The construction of such culture-places can be evaluated as paradigmatic and symptomatic of post-Fordism. Creative industries and culture are key assets of contemporary capitalism (Yúdice, 2002), simultaneously promoting urban development, tourism and other dynamics that promise economic growth. As such, public investment was focused upon interventions that would create a positive environment for, and attract, new social and economic activities closely related to the general globalisation that the city was experiencing.

Although many of the aspects mentioned in Lavapiés have been reproduced in similar ways in Triball, the preparation of this neighbourhood for gentrification has been somewhat different, and discussion of this can provide us with a better understanding about how gentrification dispositifs are applied across Madrid, especially with regard to retail. Here, gentrification was born as an entrepreneurial strategy developed by a company specialised in purchasing historic housing estates and rehabilitating them into luxury apartments. The corporation bought several dozens of buildings and shops, of which of specific importance was the purchase of several brothels and sex shops that were then transformed into aparthotels and restaurants. However, at the same time, private investment was flanked by a public renewal scheme implemented by the local administration in 2008, among other things, comprising a series of housing renovation subsidies and the significant redesign of the central square of the neighbourhood. Additionally, and as part of a plan to attract designers of individual clothing, shoes and different fashion products, as well as other retailing activities for upper-middle and upper-class clients, the private investor granted major subsidies for new entrepreneurs settling in the area. The neighbourhood was subsequently renamed and promoted as Triball (*Tri*angle *Ball*esta, after a street at the core of the neighbourhood formerly renowned for drug-dealing and street prostitution), evoking a semantic relationship with the gentrification of 'TriBeCa' in Manhattan. Additionally, the investors cemented their influence over the regeneration schemes through the foundation of a commercial association that has now attracted more than 170 members, which evolved as a key actor for translating the changing neighbourhood demands into policy propositions. Similar to Lavapiés, Triball reinforced an imaginary of 'a unique concept'.[5] However, this was not anchored in its alleged historical and cultural assets, but represented a newly created and labelled place for a specific type of urban entertainment related to fashion, design and gastronomy. In the words of the commercial association, its model is related to 'a proper personality that will be the focus and the style to be imitated in the rest of the country', while the neighbourhood 'does not compete with other commercial areas of Madrid'.[6] This is somewhat true, as the specific location and the characteristics of the new trendy fashion designer shops aspire to attract a public that is entirely different to the traditional public of the area.

Although the dispositif that was applied here puts a clear-cut emphasis on the genuine character of the neighbourhood, Triball is much more a commercial project and projection than Lavapiés. It closes a gap in the corridor between the already-gentrified neighbourhoods of Malasaña (eastbound, with a very

international population of mainly 'European' origin), Chueca (southbound, the traditional neighbourhood of gays and lesbians in Madrid, and, at the same time, the first gentrified area of the city) and the central commercial arterials of Madrid's city centre (westbound). It had suffered a somewhat calculated abandonment during the late 1990s and early 2000s, while the surrounding areas were experiencing gentrification. By that time, its population changed dramatically, attracting first Moroccan and later Philippino, Chinese and Latin American immigrants, who remain an important part of the population. Especially after the closure of a traditional cinema located in the central square of the area, media discourses began to focus negatively on decay, abandonment, drug trafficking and prostitution, creating a script in which different actors allegedly demanded social cleansing of the area. Nevertheless, this discourse diverges widely from the perception of the inhabitants. As the area was home to several brothels and street prostitution for decades, most local residents had naturalised the scenery that surrounded these activities. However, by that time, the rent gap had become so obvious that the area was being targeted by investors who then created the commercial association. The pursued strategy was a logical extension of the gentrified areas that were nearby and that were functionally geared towards globalised creative middle-class residents.

While retail gentrification has been rapidly advancing, the economic crisis that Spain has been suffering since 2007/08 has lowered the capital return for investors. This means that 'the neighbourhood has only changed with regard to the commercial activities, it is now facing the people who come from outside. Before Triball, the junkies came to deal, and now the posh girls come to shop here' (interview with the president of the pro-gentrification initiative 'Foro Cívico'). This statement raises a specific question that brings together the two case studies. In our empirical work, we can clearly identify a disaffection of the local population with the transformations in Lavapiés and Triball. In both neighbourhoods, the target population for commercial activities has been transformed from local residents to (mainly wealthy) clients from the whole city and also short-term visitors and tourists. While space has been prepared for these groups, most of the local demands for neighbourhood need have been ignored. In other words, the politics of gentrification applied have strategically pursued the *mise en scène* of symbolic, historical and cultural aspects. The consequence is an increasing segregation with regard to the potential use of the public and private spaces that have been reformed and assigned with new uses. The museums, theatres and art galleries in Lavapiés are as useful for the local population as are the designer fashion shops that sell shoes and clothing from €300 upwards in Triball. Even incoming medium- and higher-income residents have complained about the ongoing eviction of commercial activities that a lively Southern European neighbourhood requires for the daily reproduction of its inhabitants (ie traditional bakeries, butchers, grocers, places to eat at reasonable prices). Although both Lavapiés and Triball still possess a certain social mixture, the transformation of the population has been significant, and the new controls over urban public space are pushing the gentrification process further.

A common dispositif – the gentrification of public space

We have analysed how different gentrification dispositifs around culture and creativity (Lavapiés) and retail (Triball) have been playing a key role in the transformation of both neighbourhoods. However, as we will now discuss, the references to cultural economy, the creative classes and the commercial appropriation of space have worked out successfully only because they have been simultaneously addressed and targeted through a common dispositif applied in both neighbourhoods, one that relates to security governance and the control of public space.

Public space has played a crucial role within the governance of gentrification processes in Madrid. A variety of control mechanisms have been applied in the management of public space, bringing about the 'domestication of public space by cappuccino' (Zukin, 1995, p xiv) and a deeper form of the revanchism outlined by Smith (2002) and Atkinson (2003). The contemporary management of public space privileges the displacement of social problems instead of providing solutions for them, and this means that regulation and control increasingly threatens the inclusion of users that are not considered as 'legitimate clients' (Sequera and Janoschka, 2012). Given the deprived living conditions of broader parts of the immigrant population, but also of many of the 'traditional' residents, this is especially virulent in our two case studies of Lavapiés and Triball. However, beyond this, it is important to state that the transformation of public space as a target of gentrification policies seems to be a common feature appearing in many Southern European cities. The use of open spaces has transformed them into a key dimension for social reproduction, especially as the intensity of use and the needs to appropriate public space differ noticeably from those observed in different parts of (the climatically more unpleasant parts of) Europe. In Southern Europe, the traditional meaning and function of public space is much closer to common spaces, and its popular usage is prior (and obviously different) to the interest that public administrations and market actors have been developing in recent years for assuring their hegemony over them. In this regard, the control over the use and appropriation of open spaces in Southern European cities can be considered a key threshold that decides the future of a neighbourhood (Stavrides, 2010).

However, there are different ways to analyse the control policies that are currently applied in public space: returning to Foucault, we can state that disciplinary society was successively replaced by a post-disciplinary order that has applied new types of biopolitics. In this regard, control and rescue strategies can now be considered as key elements of the repertoire of securitisation, for which the case of Madrid provides an interesting case. By studying the politics of surveillance in Madrid's central Retiro Park, Fraser (2007, p 677) has shown how the symbolic gentrification of supposed public spaces is part of a broader dominance of the public realm by private actors' interests that aim at a general gentrification of the urban sphere. Additionally, this reminds us about the mutual relations that gentrification and the management of public space may have,

interpreting the dialectics between the public and the private as one of the multiple expressions of the speculative nature of capital in the contemporary city. This gives a meaningful critique of the rising exclusion of undesired persons from public spaces as preparation for an increasingly 'aseptic' public sphere. It goes hand in hand with Mitchell (1997), who discusses the diffusion of public regulations that have 'destroyed' public space as such in the US, and that affect precisely the population that typically uses and frequents open spaces – the prohibition of begging or the criminalisation of traditional cultural practices in public space, for example. For instance, in Madrid, public administrations have not only forbidden the consumption of alcohol in public spaces, but also singing and playing music, for which an official permission is required. At the same time, public space in Lavapiés has been repeatedly used to organise concerts to stage the multi-ethnic character of the neighbourhood. In other words, it depends on the specific arrangement if playing music in a square is considered as legal or not. This leads us to two aspects that bring together the case studies of Lavapiés and Tribali with regard to the application of gentrification dispositifs in and through the strategic management of public space: (i) control by architectonic design and neoliberal civility; and (ii) control by implementing security dispositifs.

The control of public space is undertaken through a wide variety of policies that range from physically closing public space at night to the architectonic modification of squares using the best defensive and preventive design. The key idea is to foster circulation and commercial appropriation and prevent people from appropriating open spaces by implementing municipal ordinances that hamper everyday use. Such physical transformations have been accompanied by discursive strategies that create sensations of insecurity. The objectives of different security plans that have been applied in Madrid in recent years, as well as the installation of control facilities (eg mobile but permanently present police forces in the different squares of Lavapiés and a police station in the central square of Tribali), have resulted in social, political and ethnic cleansing, and the preparation of these neighbourhoods for gentrification, rather than to fight crime. In other words, many of the crime-prevention strategies encourage the success of other gentrification dispositifs such as those related to tourism, retail and culture; in general terms, they cater to the new middle classes that inhabit both neighbourhoods.

CCTV cameras in both Lavapiés and Tribali have been very efficient cleansing strategies for complex areas in which only a 'controlled' dose of multiculturalism and exotic flair should exist to provide a reminder of the supposed authenticity of the place. The video surveillance in both neighbourhoods is of importance, especially as beyond Lavapiés and Tribali, only three additional areas exist in Madrid that count on CCTV control (the squares Plaza Mayor and Puerta del Sol, both tourism destinations par excellence, and the Montera street, another habitual place for female sex workers). In this regard, it is important to remember that CCTV cameras are not intrinsically related to crime control (prior to the surveillance, Lavapiés had a crime rate significantly below average), but rather to scare and calm simultaneously, to create different models of knowledge and power in supposedly

conflictive neighbourhoods. Additionally, the video surveillance promotes explicit models of civic conduct, which have to be maintained in front of the cameras. In other words, the panoptic view and the internalisation of civic behaviour are fundamental centrepieces of this logic of control. The individual should not be punished, but civilised, by being submerged in a field of complete visibility. The opinion, the views and the discourses of the surrounding sociability establish a control in which one cannot even imagine acting incorrectly (Foucault, 1980 [1977]). As a consequence, the limits between architecture and order have been increasingly dispelled, and the police can now be considered a key actor in urban planning in Madrid (Sequera and Janoschka, 2012). By attempting a naturalisation of the 'public' as a 'civic' place, certain practices are governed through prevention. Hence, the disciplinary power, under the trilogy of body–discipline–institutions, develops technologies of civilisation that effectively distribute and segregate individuals and their activities across space. For this, specific models of civic conduct in which appearances also interiorise in the orbit of the social panoptic are promoted (Goffman, 2009).

Conclusions

Many of the debates presented in this chapter are related to the different dimensions of symbolic gentrification. In this regard, we have discussed how creativity, culture and retail operate as gentrification dispositifs that classify neighbourhoods into different 'products' that are targeted by differential governmental strategies. Beyond these spatially selective politics of gentrification, the historic city centre of Madrid as a whole is experiencing new civilities that exclude unwanted populations. This strategy is related to the 'management' of public space in general, and especially to the policing strategies that are widely applied to control and punish. Based on a strategy of ongoing commodification of public space, such policies limit the possibilities, especially of the weakest social groups, to appropriate centrally located spaces and places for a meaningful social reproduction. Otherness is evicted from the public sphere. As Rose (1996) has said, different subjectivities and ways of producing knowledge are serving this 'art of governing'. Furthermore, they have the power to articulate themselves with the purpose of excluding other behaviours, understanding society as 'a set of energies and initiatives for facilitating and enhancing' (Vázquez, 2009, p 14). In other words, dispositifs such as architecture, urbanism in general, public facilities or institutions interact and weave a net of power relations that shape the sense of a place in which the subject is traversed (Amendola, 2000, p 162).

While in Lavapiés, dispositifs relate strongly to culture, creativity and the control of the public sphere, Tribali is about the fashion and retail gentrification that goes hand in hand with a commercialisation, festivalisation and banalisation of public space. Nevertheless, Tribali also expels the unwanted: primarily junkies, prostitutes and irregular migrants, who suffer the policing strategies – but similar rejections apply to children, parents and the elderly, who are strategically evicted

from appropriating a public space that is increasingly used as a stage to promote the activities of the commercial association. More than this, some items such as migration, counterculture and the 'authentic' taste of the neighbourhoods are additionally staged as potential sources of 'prosperity' – an important vocabulary in times of economic crisis. Such features imply a logic that articulates the increasing value of capital and investment through the creation of new values of use – a consumerism of multicultural, alternative, creative or bohemian symbols. Space is not exempt from these powerful logics; rather, it is a material expression that is reproduced in place, and urban planners often make efforts to fit sociability into architecture, trying to manage and supervise the unpredictable aspects of life. Such policies not only harass the most vulnerable subjects in an increasingly unequal society, but also give priority to the diffusion of hegemonic social practices. Moreover, they limit access to public space and simultaneously promote social cleansing.

Nevertheless, the social complexity of Lavapiés and Triball affirms that despite its notorious transformation of public space, public sphere and commercial uses, the gentrification process is paradoxically hampered by: (i) an underprivileged non-European immigrant population that has not declined substantially, giving place to rising inter-ethnic solidarity networks; (ii) a counterculture that has increased its roots in the neighbourhoods; (iii) increasing struggles for the right to housing as a response to the dramatic social and economic crisis that the city is experiencing; and (iv) new residents that are not part of the expected profile of the neighbourhood as desired in the intervention plans. The Spanish housing crisis has not helped to generalise the process of price increases for many of the recently renovated buildings. In other words, the gentrification processes in Lavapiés and Triball are unfinished. In this regard, the examples from Madrid provide us with a comprehensive understanding about the manifold differences that exist between gentrification in the 'Anglo-Saxon world' and the variegated processes of urban capital accumulation in Spain.

Notes

[1] The renovation schemes in Madrid have been, first, the Priority Rehabilitation Areas (Áreas *de Rehabilitación Preferente* [ARP], since 1994) and, later, the Integral Rehabilitation Areas (Áreas *de Rehabilitación Integral* [ARI], since 1997).

[2] The general plan for the municipality of Madrid (*Plan General de Ordenación Urbana*) of 1997 established the historic centre as a Special Planning Area (Área *de Planeamiento Espacial*). Based on this, the local government developed a strategic renewal scheme (*Plan Estratégico para la Revitalización del Centro Urbano*) in 1997, which was recently replaced by the *Proyecto Madrid Centro* (Municipality of Madrid, 2011).

[3] Lavapiés has about 50,000 inhabitants, and the immigrant population predominantly comes from Bangladesh, Ecuador, Morocco, China, sub-Saharan Africa and Pakistan. On the other hand, the area of Triball consists of less than 5,000 inhabitants, with a predominance of Latin American, Chinese and Philippine immigrants.

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[5] Triball Commercial Association (2011).

[6] Triball Commercial Association (2011).

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