

Raval: The Whore, The Thief, His Drug Dealer and Her Barrio

by

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Olivia Di Felice

THE WHORE,
THE THIEF,
HIS DRUG DEALER
&
HER BARRIO

Las Ramblas (c 13th century) divides the old city of Barcelona, separating Raval from Barrio Gotic and El Born. Stretching over a kilometer it has become a major tourist artery that connects Plaça Catalunya to the Port del Barcelona. The isolation of El Raval over 1000 years of urban development and the maintenance of the boundary allowed the neighbourhood to develop outside the norm of Barcelona proper. This condition and its history of heavy industry, low income housing and unparalleled nightlife perpetuate its evolution as a marginal corner of Barcelona. Despite its close proximity to the city's major tourist attractions and as a part of the Ciutat Vella [old city], it is perceived and functions as it always has, on the margin. This thesis will examine the urban fabric of Raval using a variety of urban methodologies with the intention of revealing Raval's edge condition created by Las Ramblas one of the major boundaries of the neighbourhood. Rethinking the street and how it facilitates diverse, often 'transgressive' transactions between residents will be measured against the cultural, government-funded civic interventions focused at bringing tourism to the south-west side of Las Ramblas. The thesis will go on to outline the protagonists of a series of narratives, how they thrive, exist, intersect and the paths they take that reveal a contemporary transgressive urbanism.

Her flat is dark. The living room doesn't have any windows and her bedroom has a balcony onto the back of the building – the view is of the back of a bunch of other shitty apartment buildings. All the doors in the flat are shut with no sign of any other roommates. I don't remember the kitchen, probably because, as long as I had known her, I had never seen Veronika cook.

We were sitting in her room getting ready (or something like that) waiting for a girl she knew from the skate park.

I met Amber on my first day in Barcelona. She walked in and immediately started unloading on how horrible her day had been – something about how useless the director was at the school where she worked. Her style was purposefully dishevelled. Her *jumper* matched the colour of the tips of her pink hair. She had a fresh scrape on her knee that poked out of her ripped jeans – a pack of beer in one hand and a skateboard in the other. I had never heard an English accent like hers, there was something different about it. She was ranting but I wasn't paying attention to anything she was saying – I just liked how she was saying it. I realized she was talking to me when she leaned in to greet me, she gave me a kiss on each cheek and explained: "this is how they do it here in Barcelona".

prologue

Raval was the vessel of a pivotal period in my life. It was where I experienced the greatest personal growth and realized, through exposure and liberation, aspects of myself. An analysis of Raval is the obvious choice for a thesis, dissecting the very place that brought me to the decision to engage a Masters of Architecture.

I hope to use this journey as a contesting narrative and 'exploit' my primary experience where I knew nothing about architecture and navigated through Raval with a lack of understanding in an area which I have since become familiarized. The opportunity to revisit the area and conduct focused research with this new urban-architectural understanding promises to reveal new aspects that can only aid in the critical observation of the transgressive urban/border condition of Raval.

prologue

BARCELONA

El Raval

Neighbourhood in Barcelona, Spain

El Raval is a vibrant area, with cutting-edge exhibitions at the Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art and adjacent Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona. Bohemian bars, hip design shops and street art fill the surrounding streets. La Boqueria market on La Rambla avenue sells seafood, wine and tapas, while laid-back cafes line Rambla del Raval



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Olivia di Felice

RAVAL

1	welcome
2	the boundary
3	immigration
4	characterization
5	sex
6	neighbours
7	revitalization
8	narcos
9	tourism
10	north raval
11	future
12	post script

con- tents

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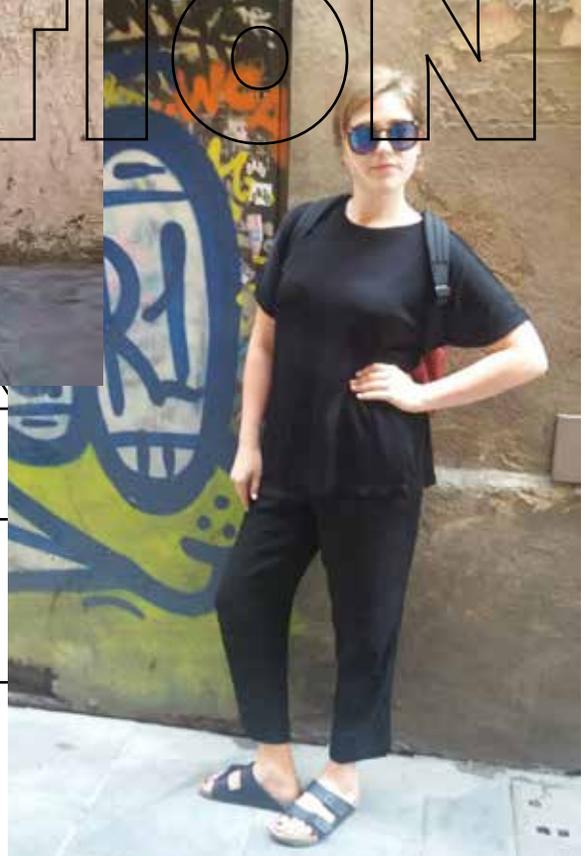
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INTRO-

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DUCTION

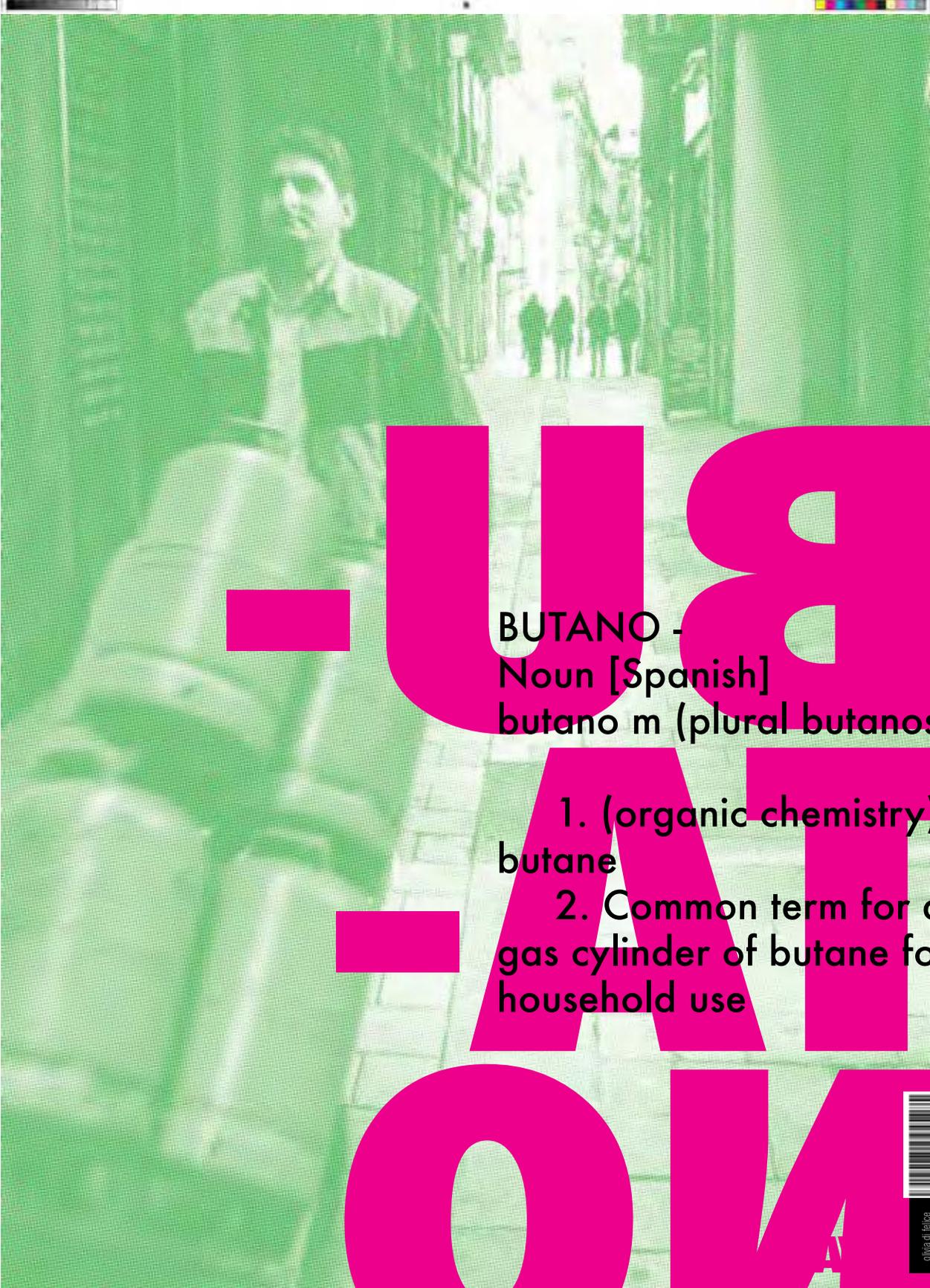


illustration 3 - Rambla del Raval [bobo] facade series [by author unless otherwise noted]

An existence on the margin has allowed Raval to develop to the beat of its own drum, almost an outlaw society where its inhabitants care little about bureaucratic procedure, law and conforming to any sort of social standard. It existed this way during the period in which Jean Genet lived there and it exists this way, to a certain degree, now today.

The working methodological approaches – a series of careful reductions – will be used operatively: A personal experience as a resident in the neighbourhood; the coded paths of the tourist, encouraged and steered by government funded and culturally driven initiatives. And, the path of the transgressive resident, whether we identify them as street walker/sex worker/prostitute, drug dealer, thief, petty criminal. A deeper analysis of these trajectories, these paths and intersections, will help to expose the urban issues and agency conditions that shapes Raval spatially. This will then be taken on as an exploration of the boundary and edge conditions which come into play. The presentation of the barrio is based on archival research and field work in and out of the field.

This thesis presents a critical observation of the Raval neighbourhood in Barcelona using cognitive mapping and psychogeographic prompts, including codes, hints and layers from the past to the present. Out of this a catalogue will speak to the contemporary period; that of immediacy and the speed at which things evolve, the different scales at which this happens and in contrast to each narrative. Cognitive mapping helps understand the structure of reality through literature, print, and online sources. The research attempts to depict the experience of moving through the streets of Raval in the perspective of a series of narratives – using immersion to unpack the spatial qualities that make up the differing needs in the interests of the individuals, revealing a greater understanding of transgressive space, both at the personal and social scales. To reach the familiar of the unfamiliar requires hybrid representation techniques. Using the outcome of the detailed mapping exercises, proposals for the final projection in Raval include speculative re-thinking of interior/internal urban spaces and the boundary condition that speak to the individual narratives; that of the public realm of the streets of Raval where internal spaces change and evolve – transgressive - at different rates to the ‘accepted’ conditions on the street. The facades of these buildings only serve to conceal and are usually left undisturbed whilst events and transgressions take another form, another space behind them.



BUTANO

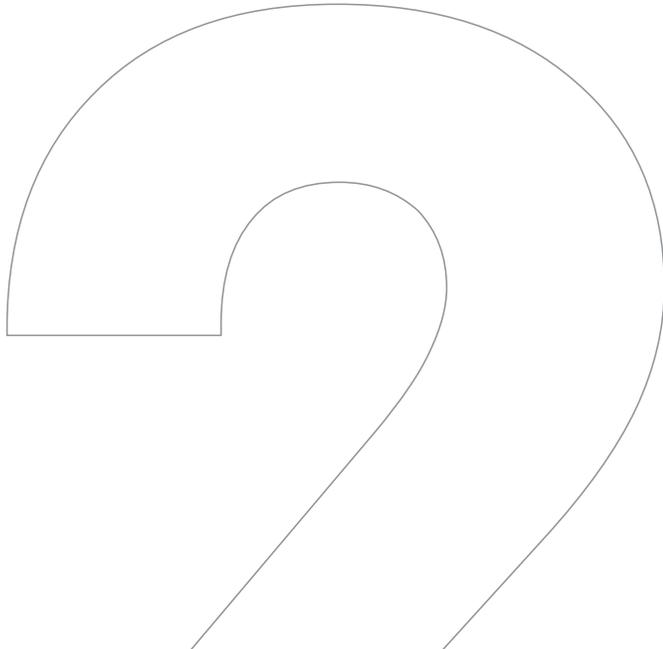
BUTANO -
Noun [Spanish]
butano m (plural butanos)

- 1. (organic chemistry)
butane
- 2. Common term for a
gas cylinder of butane for
household use

OM



018770007



He's screaming and waving a plastic bag around. I can't make out what he's saying or even what language he's speaking. He's clearing a path around him as he cuts diagonally across the Rambla del Raval. People are stopping dead in their tracks to avoid him - not in a way that suggests they're scared but in a way that says "I don't want to get involved".

He's calling out for someone, I'm guessing. He yells the same way my mom does when she calls up from the bottom of the stairs when she's angry. He doesn't look crazy. Not like the usual people who scream in the street, the ones you learn to avoid.

He isn't paying attention to oncoming traffic as he crosses the street. A scooter stops to let him by...

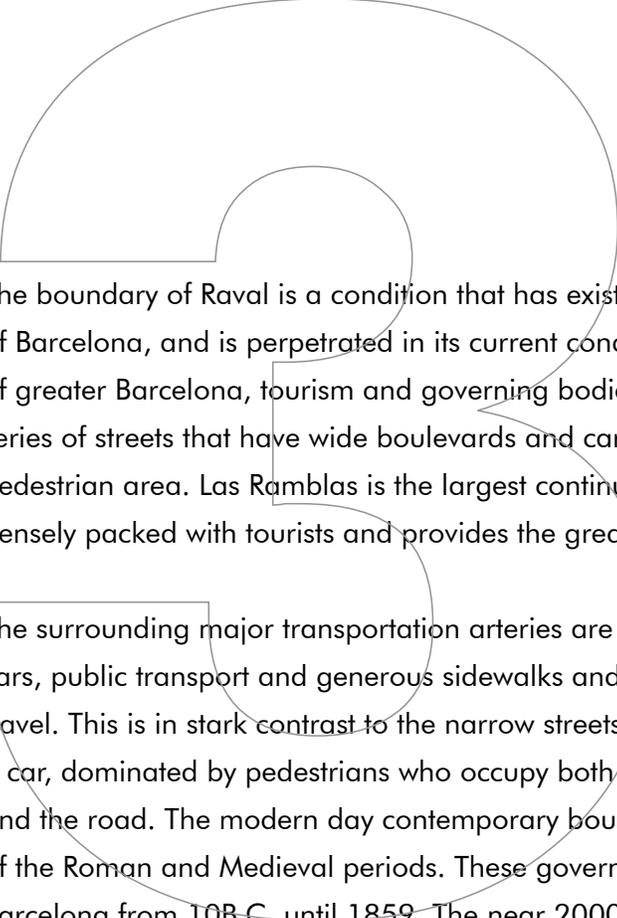
He passes through the threshold of facades that surround the Rambla. The intersecting street is tightly packed with narrow facing buildings; the kind of street filled with drying clothes that block out the light. His screams are amplified as they vibrate off the stone walls, just for a moment, and then become muffled as he goes deeper. Passers-by create a space between them. Plenty of room for him to swing his bag around and not get in anyone's way.

His voice eventually fades into the backstreets of South Raval. He is forgotten as quickly as he was noticed.



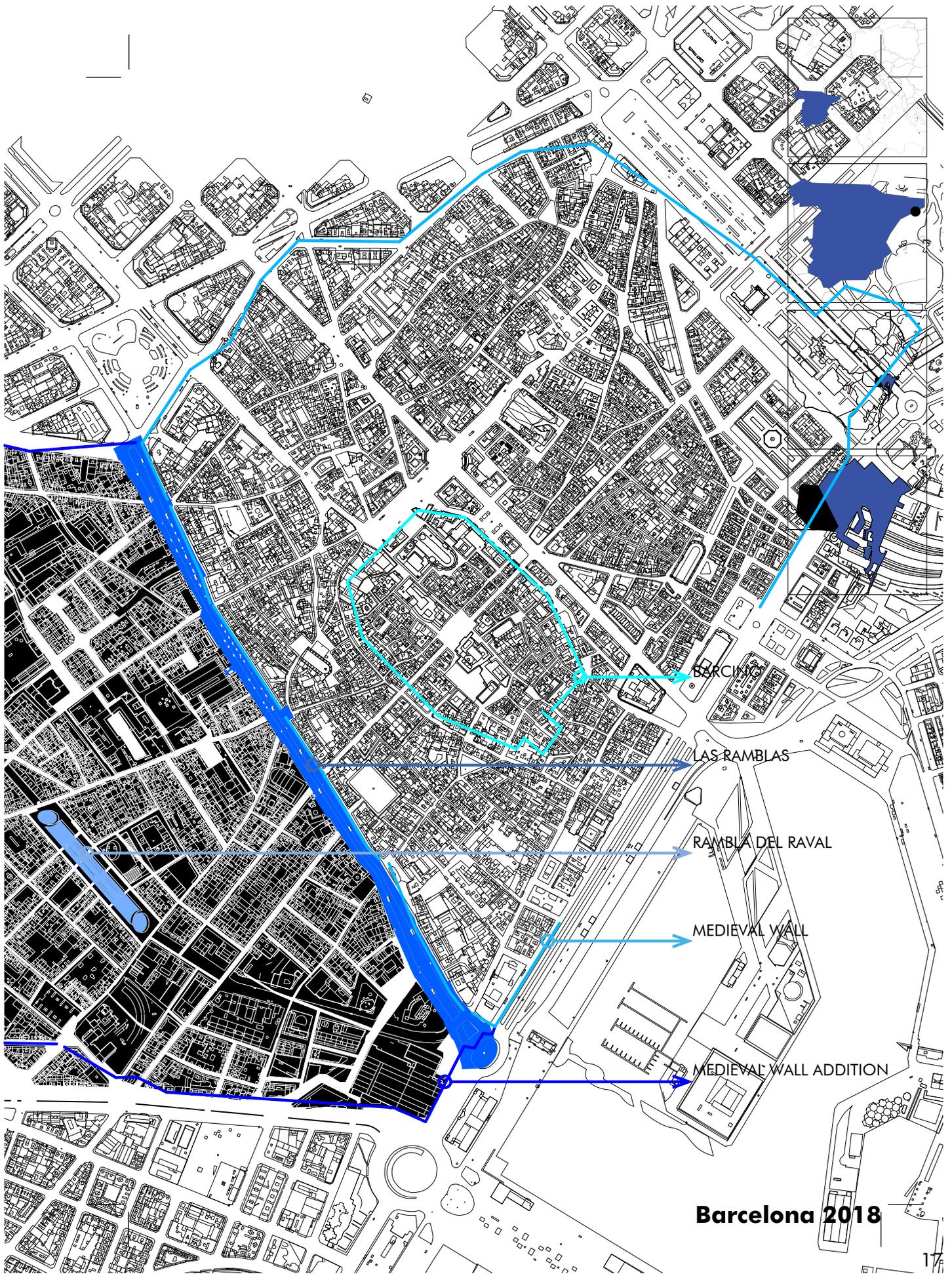
Illustration 5 - portal to backstreet Raval

People who live here are desensitized to disturbances like this; it's normal and even expected in this part of town. This was not unusual and definitely not memorable.

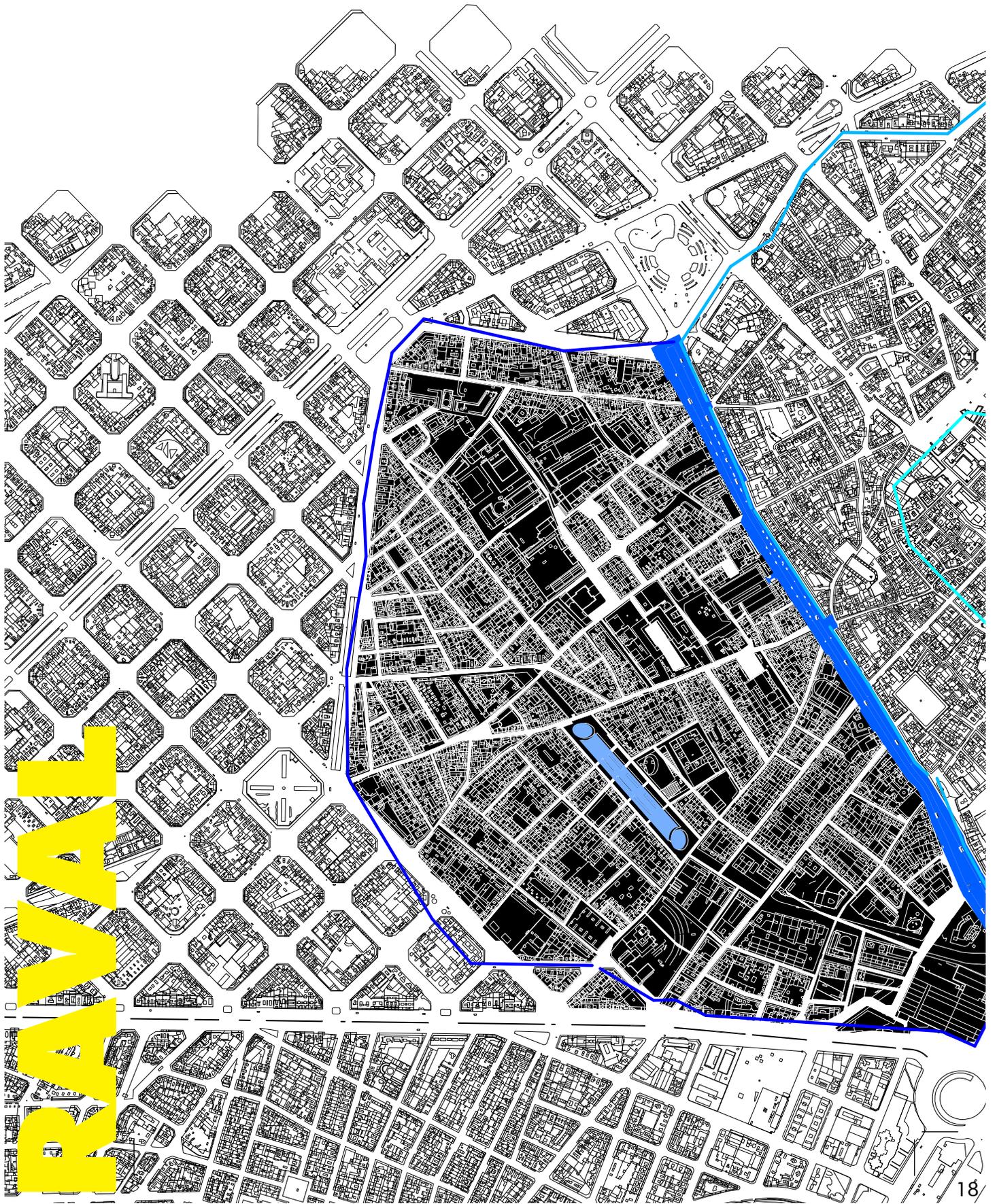


The boundary of Raval is a condition that has existed in various forms since the inception of Barcelona, and is perpetuated in its current condition by its inhabitants, other citizens of greater Barcelona, tourism and governing bodies. The borders of Raval consist of a series of streets that have wide boulevards and car traffic, where as Raval is primarily a pedestrian area. Las Ramblas is the largest continuous border and the one that is most densely packed with tourists and provides the greatest service to Raval.

The surrounding major transportation arteries are wide laned thoroughfares that support cars, public transport and generous sidewalks and boulevards for comfortable pedestrian travel. This is in stark contrast to the narrow streets within Raval, barely accommodating a car, dominated by pedestrians who occupy both small and abruptly ending sidewalks and the road. The modern day contemporary boundaries are what replace the walls of the Roman and Medieval periods. These governed land use and defined the city of Barcelona from 10B.C. until 1859. The near 2000 years of physical segregation from the metropolitan center of Barcelona was replaced by the facades of prestigious buildings that turn their back onto Raval.



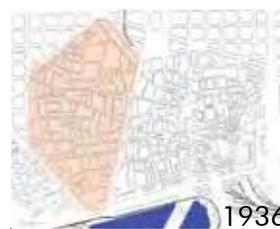
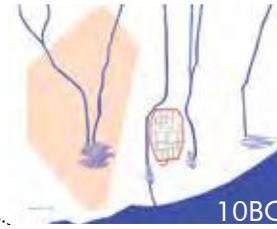
Barcelona 2018



RAW

timeline

walls/boundaries
→ development of raval in relation to the rest of Barcelona



ancient boundaries

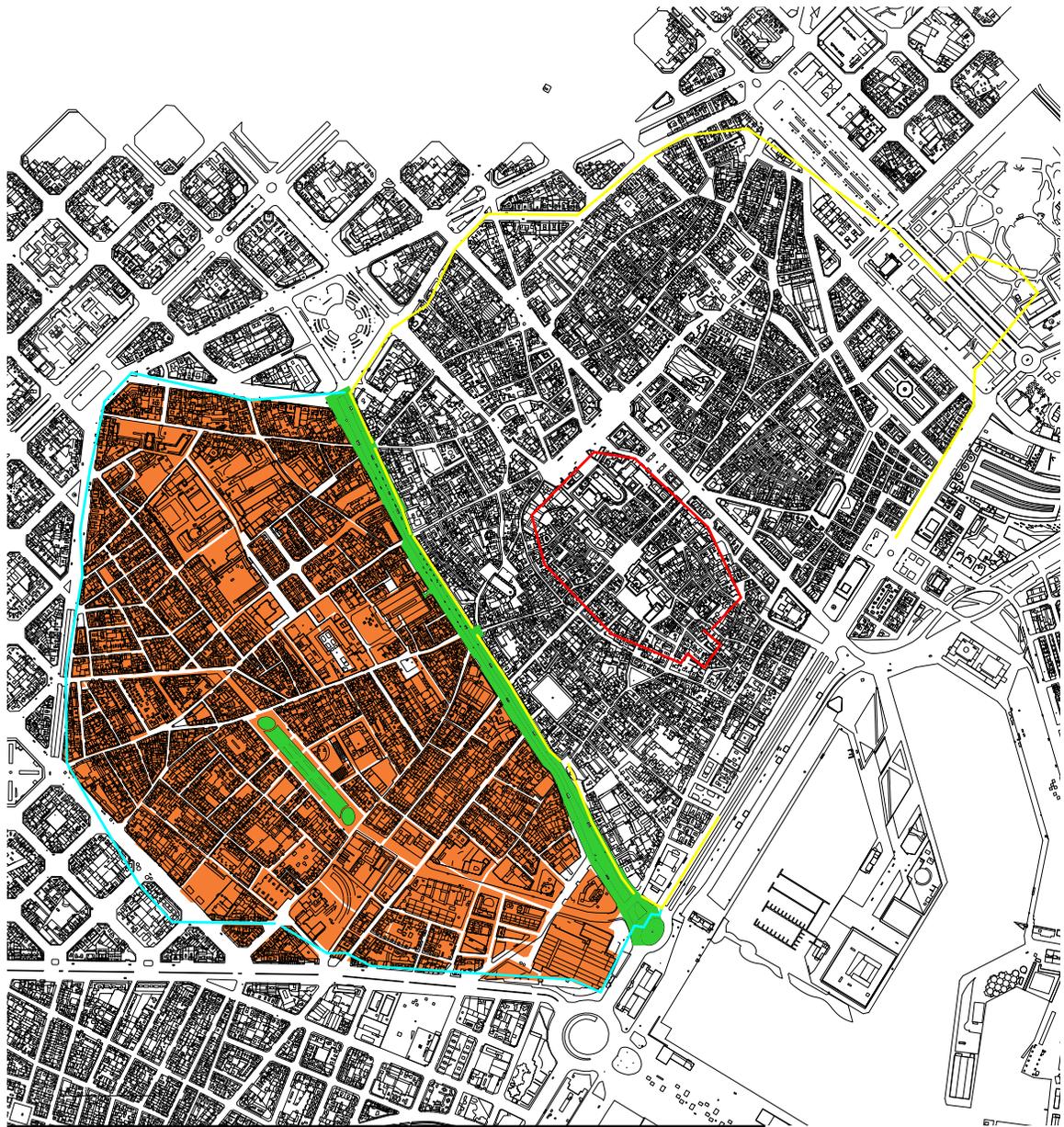


illustration 6 - Ciutat Vella [2019] ancient boundary schematic. Map by author.

walls/boundaries

Barcino and the Roman wall [c. 10BC]

Medieval wall of Barcelona [c.1300]

Raval extension of the medieval wall [c.1500]

Approval of the Cerda plan and demolition of city walls [c.1859]

Housing blocks during the Industrial Revolution [c.1933]

Las Ramblas and Rambla de Raval

Current condition [major modifications c. 1986-1992]

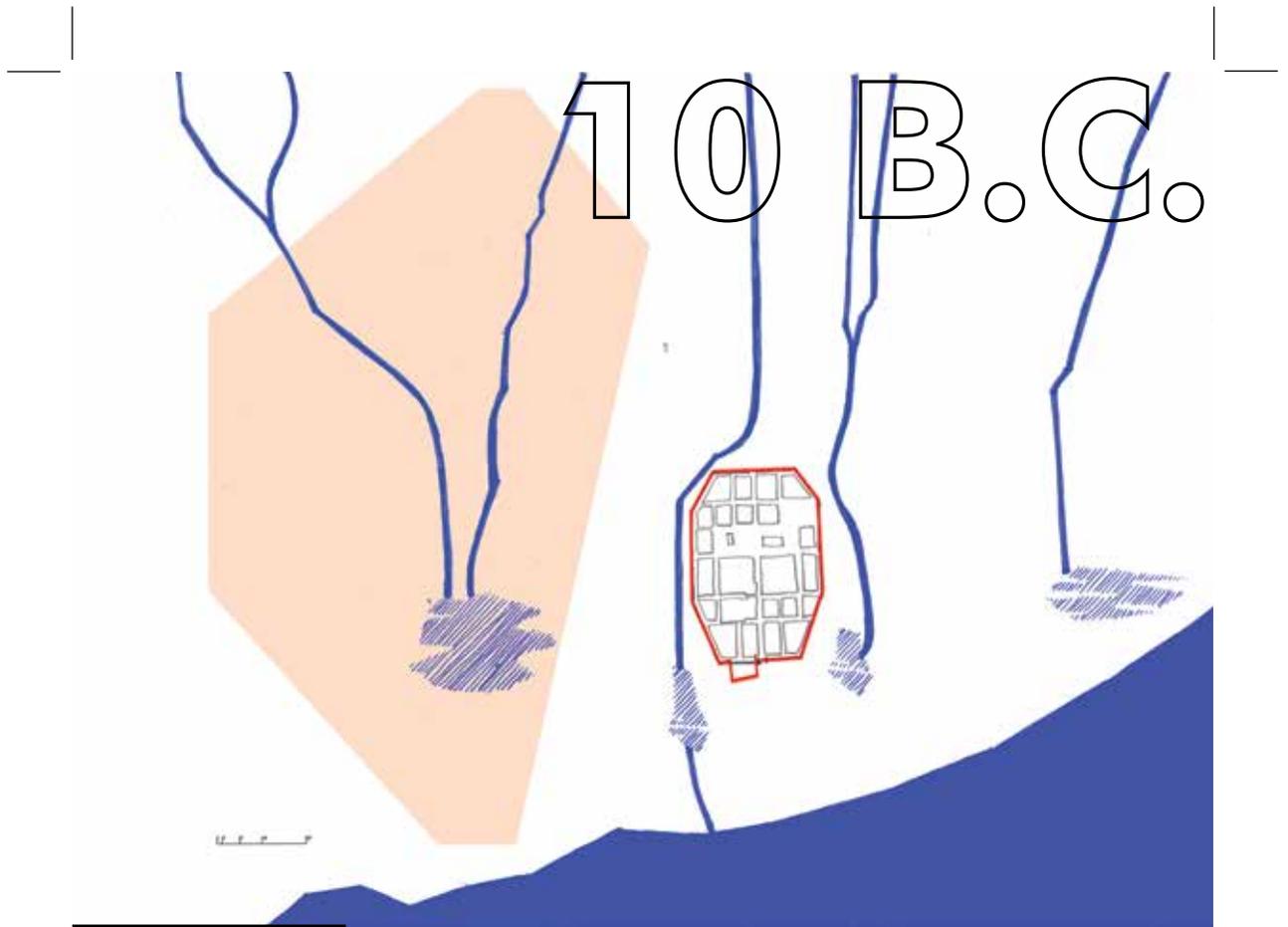


illustration 7 - Barcino 10B.C.

Initially overlooked, the site where Barcelona now stands was in a strategic location for controlling trade while being surrounded by farmland*. Coupled with the constant flow of ships beached on its shores, the Roman city began to develop and grow**.

* Museu D'Història De Barcelona. "CartaBCN." Carta Històrica De Barcelona.
<http://cartahistorica.muhba.cat/index.html?lang=en#map=14/242185/5070759/-10//0/0/0/0>.

** Hughes, Robert. Barcelona. First ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

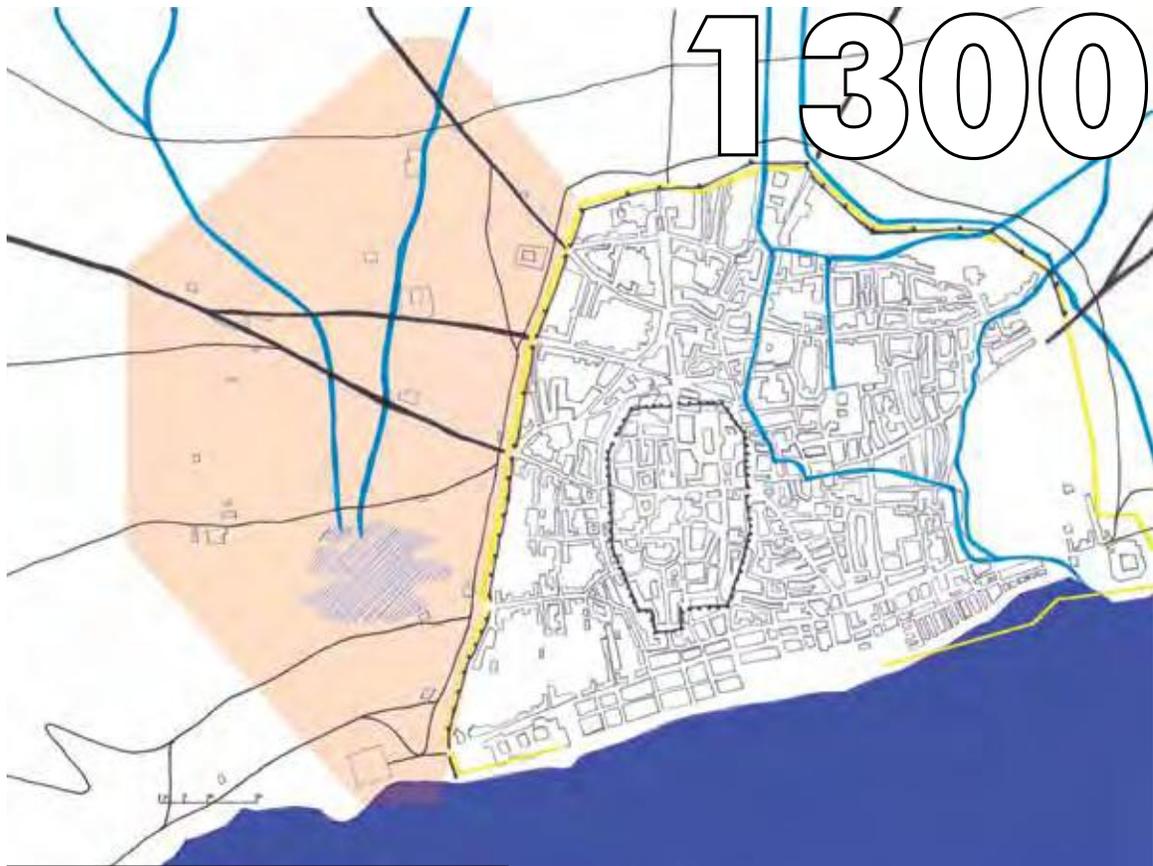


Illustration 8 - Growth of the Middle Ages c. 1300

Prosperity in Barcelona during the Medieval period encouraged the rapid expansion of the city and the outgrowing of the old roman walls of Barcino. The first wall took over 100 years to complete, enclosing an area twenty times the size of the roman predecessor and is what became the Medieval city and the current day Barri Gotic [adjacent to Raval].* El Raval was the name of the area when it emerged in the middle ages, just outside of the city walls — a name that referenced the area as a “suburb”. Its purpose was to support the city within the walls and service the royal shipyard, Drassanes/Atarazanas, and the port**. Only slightly populated along the major arteries, it became devoted to agriculture***.

* Hughes, Robert. Barcelona. First ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

** Mcdonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona’s Barrio Chino. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

*** Garcia Espuche, Albert and Manuel Guardia Bassols. 1986. *Espai i societat a la Barcelona pre-industrial* Barcelona: Edicions Magrana.

In the 15th century it is reported by the Book of Accounts of the Shameful Poor of the Church of the Pi de Barcelona that the triangle formed by the streets Carme, Hospital and Las Ramblas were the most densely populated in Raval. (pg.21) Carrer Carme was formed in 1293 as the path from the Portaferrissa [the iron gate of the city wall] to Montjuic, the convent of the Carmelites that was established along this path [giving it its name]. This street exists today as one of the longest and widest streets crossing Raval. [pg. 20]

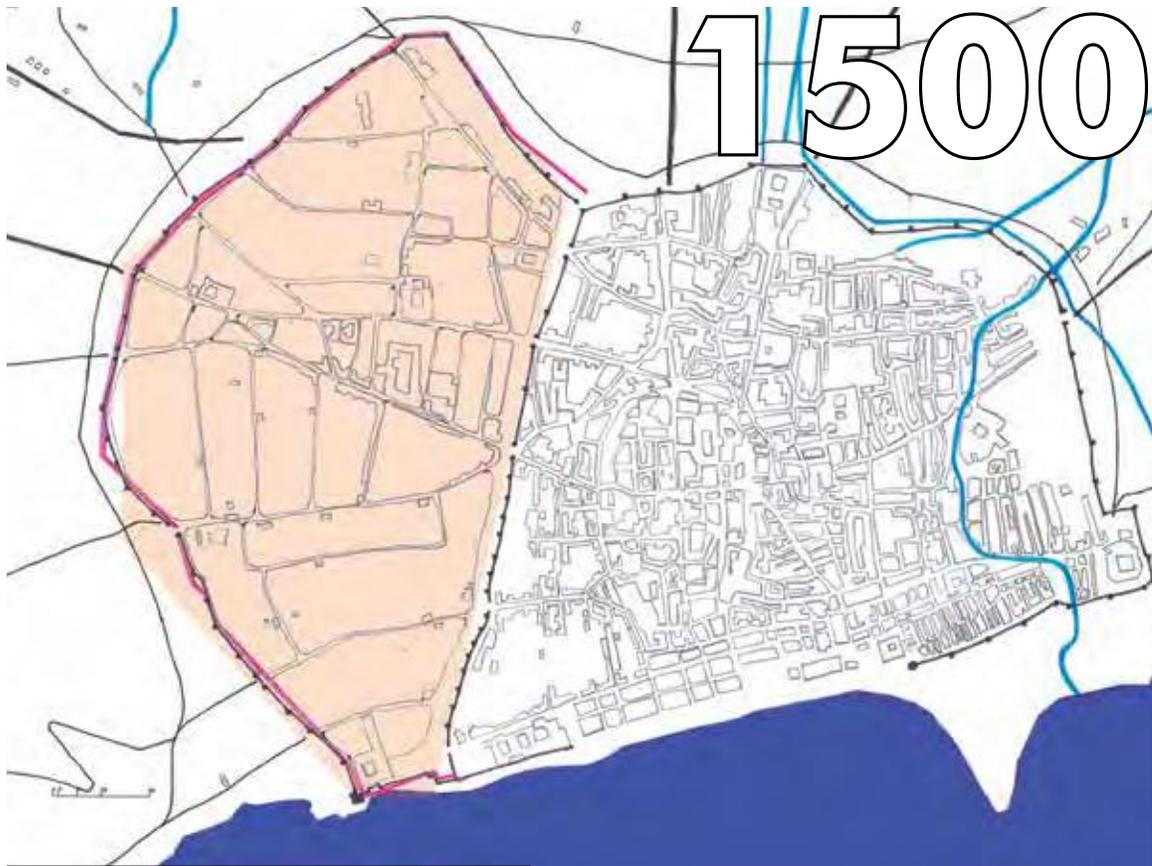


Illustration 9 - Expansion of District V [Raval] c.1500

In the second half of the 14th century, King Pere III added a second wall that surrounded Raval. Built to ensure the safety of the city's crop supply during times of siege or battle*. Raval later became the location of the highest concentration of religious foundations within the established zones of Barcelona. Over 30 convents and monasteries were located here during the 15th to 18th century, famously hosting the convent housing of the Penedites who were dedicated to reforming prostitutes. The commercial and residential life of the city in contrast to Raval further isolated the area.** Raval has been known as the refuge for poor and illicit citizens, [prostitutes, travellers, trade workers, smugglers and thieves] defined by its "dangerous classes" and the lifestyle that accompanies them. Becoming the focus and the cause of blame for plague, further perpetuating the negative perception of the neighbourhood.***

* A section of this portion of the wall exist in present day at the corner of Drassanes, still intact is the battlemented watchtower.

** Artigues Vidal, Jaume, Francesc Mas Palahi, and Xavier Suiñol Ferrer. 1980. *El Raval: la Història d'un barriservidor d'una ciutat Barcelona: Colecció el Raval No. 1*.
 Fabre, J. and J. M. Huertas Claveria. 1977. *El Districte V*. In *Tots els barris de Barcelona 7*: 277-368. Barcelona: Edicions 62. . 1986. *Didlegs a*
 Barcelona: JM. Huertas Claveria, Jaume Fabre - Barcelona:

*** Hughes, Robert. Barcelona. First ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.



Illustration 10 - Remains of Roman wall. Google street view 2017

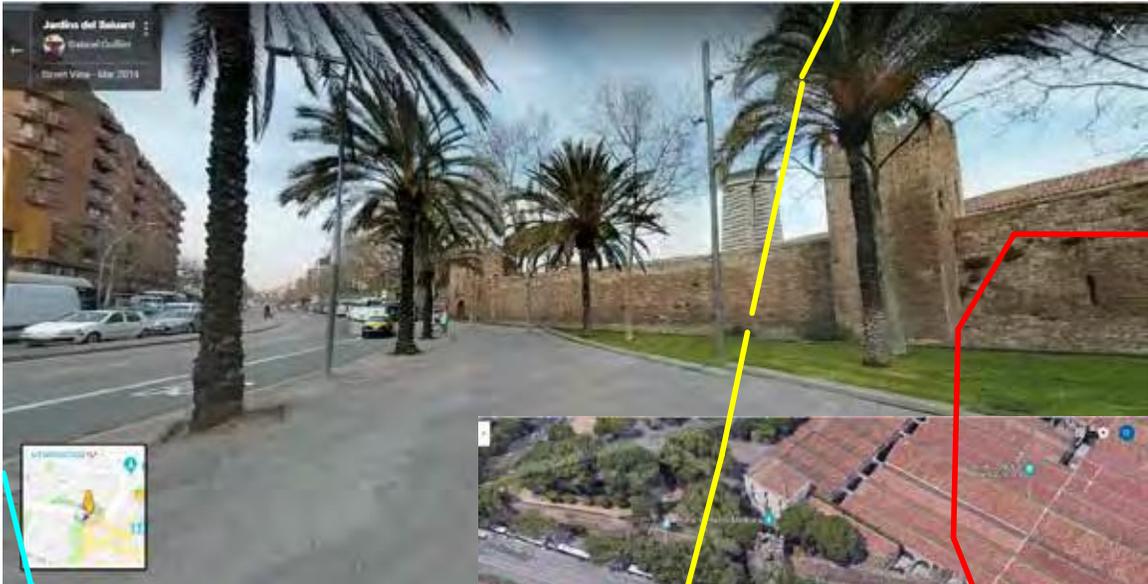


Illustration 12 - Remains of Medieval wall. Google street view 2014



Illustration 13 - Aerial view of remaining Medieval Wall of Raval next to Paral·lel. Google map capture 2018

contemporary evidence of ancient boundaries



illustration 14 - Final edition of the Barcelona city wall prior to demolition and expansion c. 1859

The city's inner wall, known today as Las Ramblas, was removed in the 18th century and quickly became a major urban artery with monumental facades that replaced the medieval wall as a new boundary to Raval, a boundary that exists to this day*. On August 12, 1854 the royal demolition order was announced and the demolition was carried out by the citizens of Barcelona throughout the next decade**.

Raval experienced a major transformation during the 18th and 19th century with industrialization and the large waves of immigration that supported these industries. Industry was typically excluded from the urban core, making Raval the prime location for the first cotton factories in Barcelona. The area continued to grow stronger in reputation as the "neighbourhood servant to the city"***. In the late 19th century, industry left the city and the factories were primarily converted into housing for the working class and workshops that serviced the adjacent port. ****

* Mcdonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona's Barrio Chino. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

Years of debate between Madrid, who favoured the removal of the wall, and Barcelona who wanted it to remain, remained until 1854 when Barcelona felt they had an edge over the military arm of Madrid and felt safe enough to remove the wall.

** Hughes, Robert. *Barcelona*. First ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

The first breach of the wall was to connect Las Ramblas to Passeig de Gracia via what is now, Placa Catalunya - the artery of the first building phase of the Cerda plan. The stone of the wall that was dismantled was carted up to Passeig de Gracia in order to build the new Barcelona.

*** Artigues Vidal, Jaume, Francesc Mas Palahi, and Xavier Suiiol Ferrer. 1980. *El Raval: Història d'un barriservidor d'una ciutat Barcelona: Colecció el Raval No. 1*. [Pages 19-44]

**** Mcdonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona's Barrio Chino. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

The neighbourhood catered to everything to do with the port, servicing the demands of the influx of immigrants promised opportunity in Barcelona and consequent flow workers who rotated through [universal exposition of 1888].



The northern half of Raval was known for the assembly of anarchist activism and was the site of the political clubs who burned several religious institutions of the Setmana Tragica of 1909. The southern half was considered the hotbed of vice, crime and poverty*. At this time Raval was a famous red light district within Barcelona that had a reputation throughout Europe, servicing the port and the local Bourgeoisie – complimented by its clubs, brothels and theaters.**

* Recorded in this condition from 1865 by Victor Balaguer “has had a bad reputation since time immemorial, which it continues to have, since worldly women were accustomed to live in it” [1865:II:380] (Spanish author and politician born in Barcelona [1824-1901])

** Mcdonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona’s Barrio Chino. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

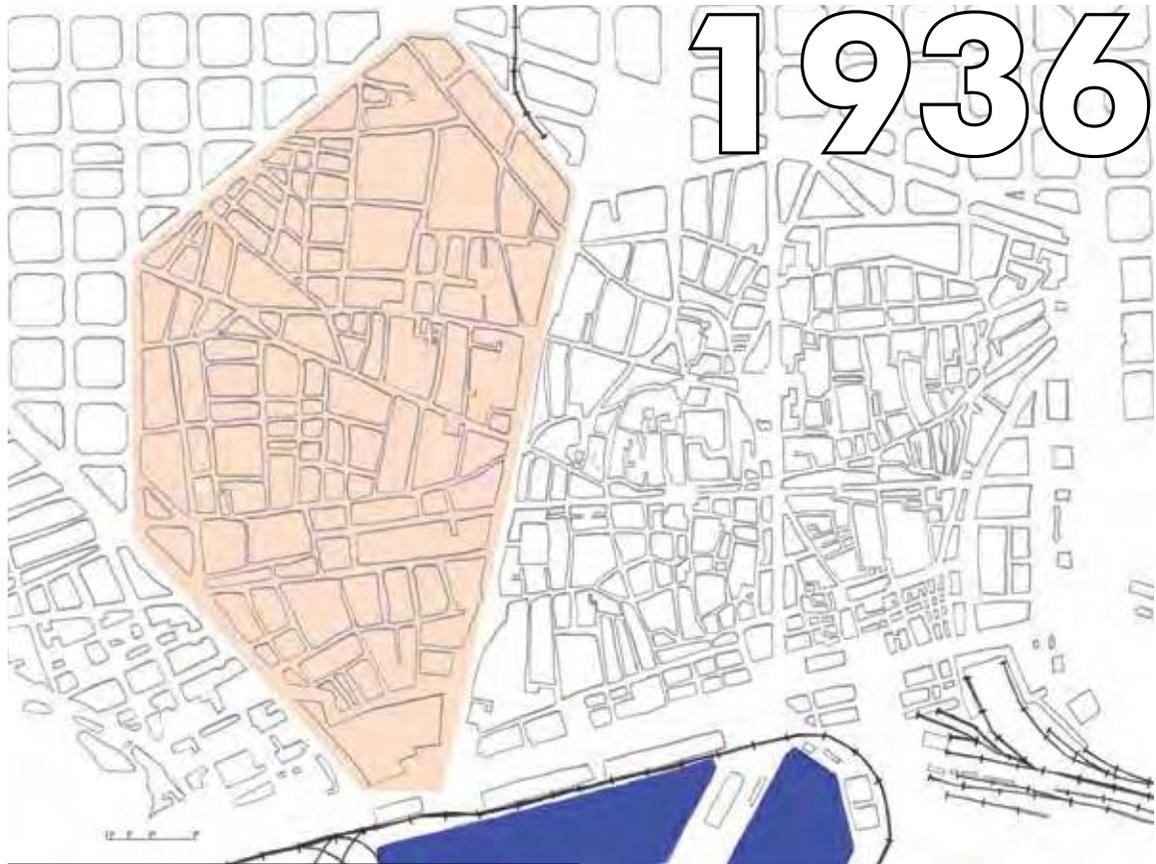


illustration 15 - Ciutat Vella prior to the Civil War c.1936

"Barcelona's District V is one of the most important meeting places for psychopaths, sexual obsessives and abnormal beings of all Mediterranean cities"

Raval from the turn of the 20th century can be defined and categorized into four time periods shaped by political and social events each with their own radically different representation. Commonly divided into the era of the Barrio Chino [1910-1936], the Franco regime [1939-1979], the preparation and urban renewal of the Olympic Games of Barcelona [1980 ~ 2000], and current day Raval.

The stark difference in building typology that surrounded Raval helped to contain it. In the years between the turn of the 20th century and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War [1936], Barcelona's population increased from 500 000 people to one million, with a large portion of these people working and living in Raval. Roughly one square kilometer in size, and a density of 1000 people per hectare in the 1930s and 40s decreasing to 700 people per hectare in 1970. **

* Martin, Andreu. 1983. Silles NO es. Barcelona: Planeta [p.168]

** Fabre, J. and J. M. Huertas Claveria. 1977. El Districte V. In Tots els barris de Barcelona 7: 277-368. Barcelona: Edicions 62. . 1986. Didlegs a Barcelona: JM. Huertas Claveria, Jaume Fabre - Barcelona: [p.322]

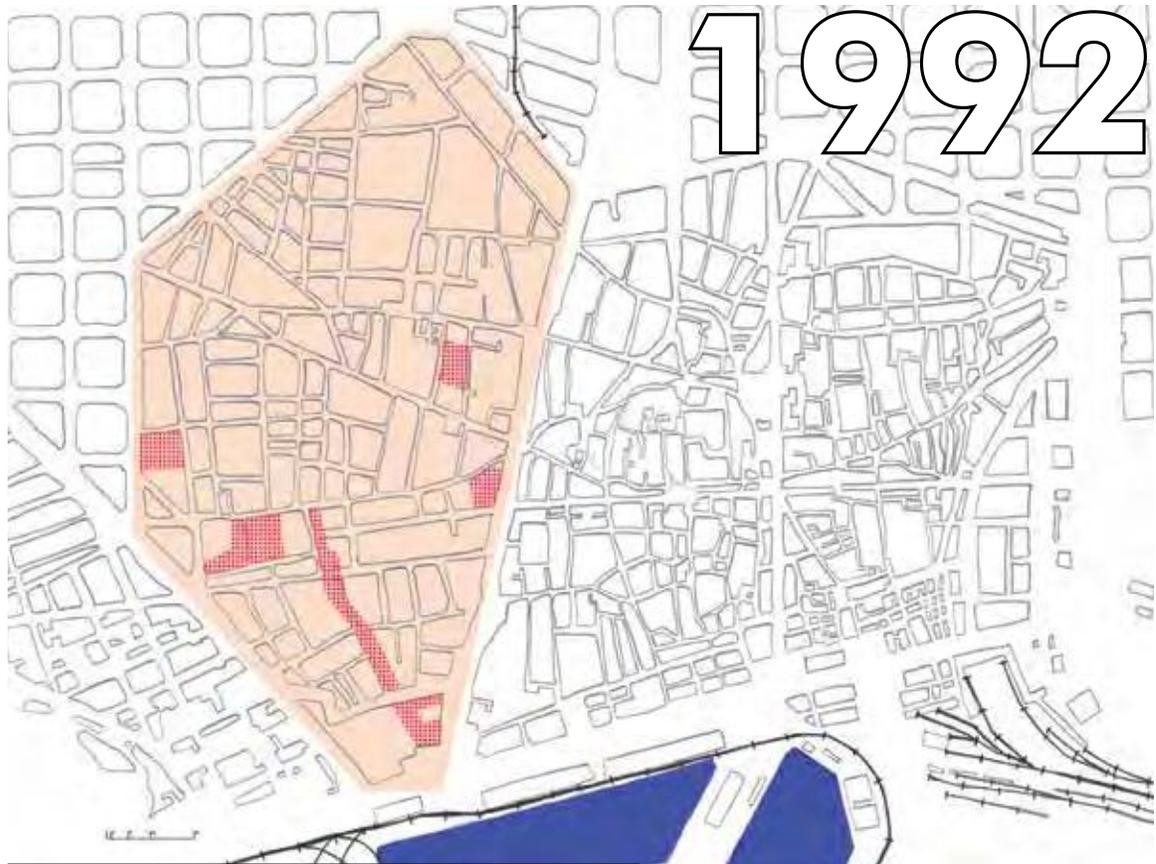


Illustration 16 - Ciutat Vella during the Olympic games c.1992

Poor conditions continued after the Civil War and the Franco Regime heightened the uneasy status of the area at a time of suppression of the vibrancy of the area and the halt of its appeal and service to the bourgeoisie. Reform began in the mid 1950s with the intervention of paved streets that eliminated street markets, the construction of public and military housing and the complete elimination of houses of prostitution by 1956. Despite efforts to clean up the neighbourhood, it was still regarded with the same connotation it had been for centuries and continued as the red-light district. With the fall of the Regime there was an resurgence of drugs, crime related to the prolific drug trade and the immigration from North Africa and the Middle East that supported this industry. This period is met with a nostalgia for the nature of the Barrio before Franco* and claims from long time residents and business owners say the barrio of the 1930s had its problems but it didn't compare to the type of violence, drug addiction and desperation seen in the streets of the 1980s.

* Mcdonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona's Barrio Chino. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

2010

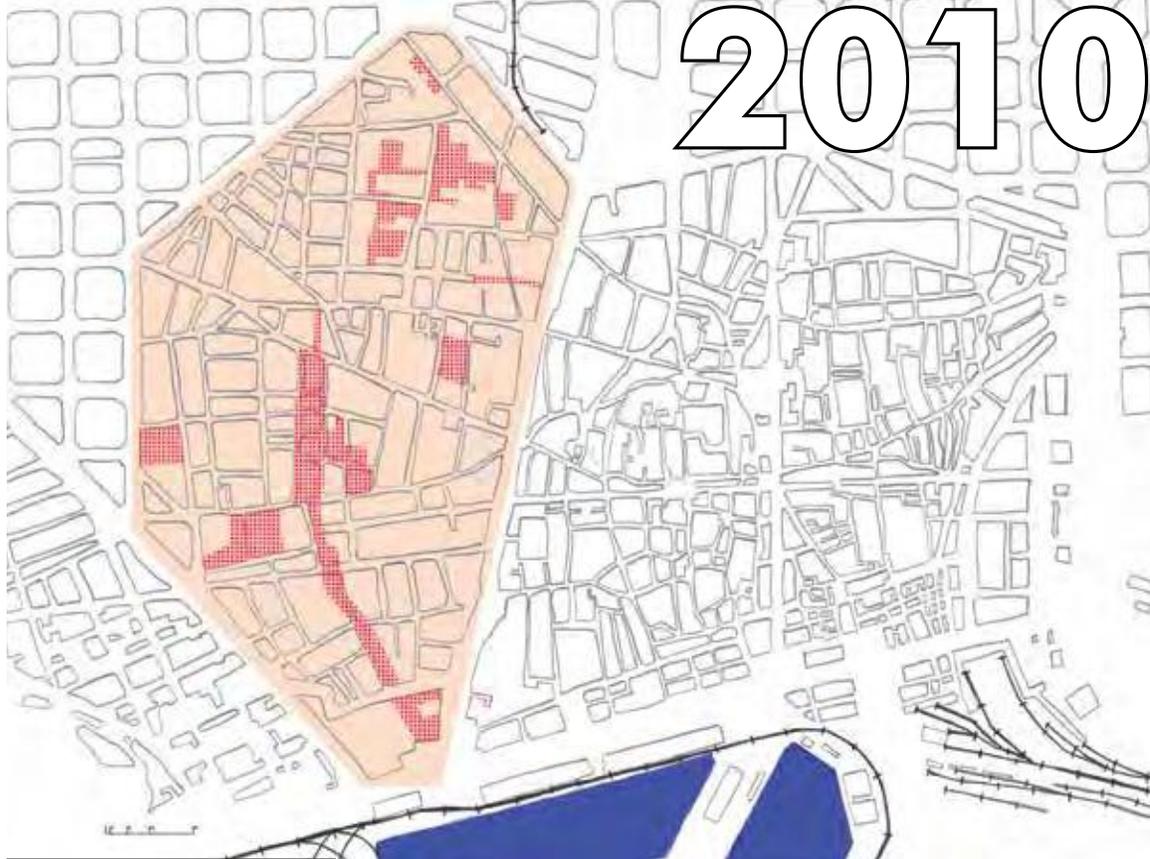


illustration 17 - Ciutat Vella 2010

Modern arteries have replaced the walls and are signified by the streets; Las Ramblas, Passeig Josep Carner, Avinguda del Paral·lel, Ronda de Sant Pau, Ronda de Sant Antoni, and Carrer de Pelai [The northern boundary — consisting of the final two streets listed, and furthest away from the port — is the hardest to determine].

Residents will further define the area into northern and southern halves. The southern portion is defined by the historical boundary of the early part of the 20th century, currently known as Carrer Nou de la Rambla [previously Compte d'Asalt]. South Raval is associated more closely with danger and decay and can now be considered to extend further north to the streets Carrer Sant Pau and sometimes Carrer del Hospital. A border that loosely separates within the neighbourhood, a subtle change occurs in quality of housing, lifestyle, businesses and services supporting the area. Many of the large social service amenities within the neighbourhood exist in south Raval. North Raval differs slightly as it promotes the creative class and the urban intervention that placed cultural institutions in the neighbourhood — providing a diverse range of nightlife, amenities and entertainment geared towards the demands of this new clientele.

Raval's long standing place outside social, economic and political powers and its inability to determine its own future influenced its evolution of serving the economic and social needs of the city throughout time.

heritage protection

—national/provincial/municipal

indication of governmental/political disinterest in Raval



Level A: Cultural Value at national level (BCIN)

Level B: Cultural Value at local level (BIC)

Level C: Urban interest*

* Map data source: 300.000Km/s. "Big Time Bcn." BIG TIME BCN. Accessed March 29, 2019. <http://bigtimebcn.300000kms.net/>.

PAKIBEER -

Noun [Spanish]

paki m (plural pakis)

1. (colloquial, Spain) Pakistani
2. (colloquial, Spain) Paki shop

Noun [English]

Shortened from Pakistani.

Paki (plural Pakis)

1. (Britain, Canada, Ireland, offensive, ethnic slur) A Pakistani.
2. (Britain, Canada, offensive, ethnic slur) Anyone whose origins are perceived to be from South Asia/the Indian subcontinent.

[UrbanDictionary]

it's the illegal beer sold in Europe by the "Pakis" in the streets, generally rolling 24/7 price range according to negotiation. Useful when stores are closed and need to keep the party going.

RAVAL

oliva di felice



illustration 19 - facade series [by author]



illustration 20 - facade series [by author]



illustration 21 - facade series [by author]



illustration 22 - facade series [by author]



illustration 23 - facade series [by author]



illustration 24 - facade series [by author]



illustration 25 - facade series [by author]



illustration 26 - facade series [by author]



illustration 27 - facade series [by author]



illustration 28 - facade series [by author]



illustration 29 - facade series [by author]



illustration 30 - facade series [by author]



illustration 31 - facade series [by author]



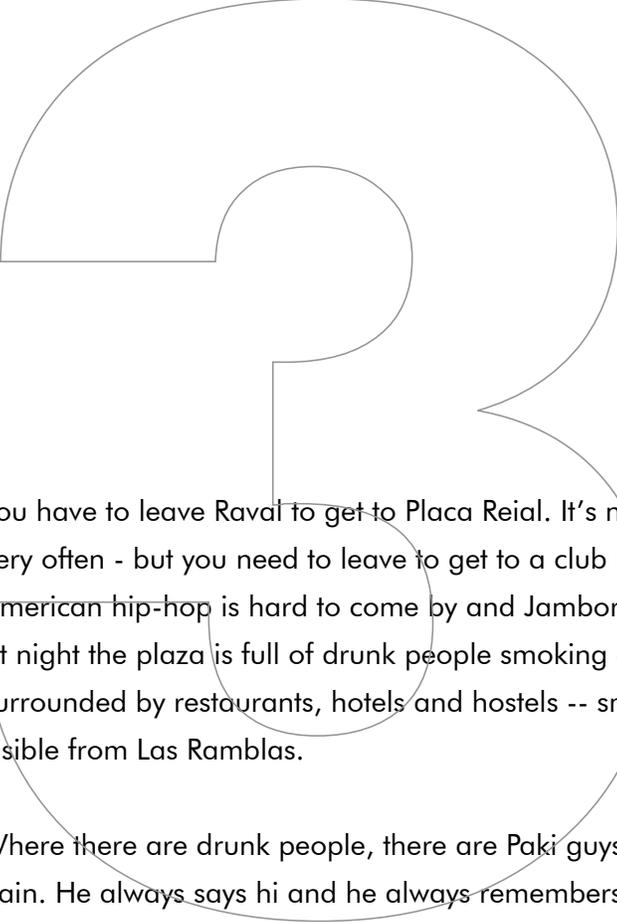
illustration 32 - facade series [by author]



illustration 33 - facade series [by author]



illustration 34 - facade series [by author]



You have to leave Raval to get to Placa Reial. It's not something we are willing to do very often - but you need to leave to get to a club like the one we are seeking. Top 40 American hip-hop is hard to come by and Jamboree is the only place that does it right. At night the plaza is full of drunk people smoking cigarettes. It's a prime tourist hotspot, surrounded by restaurants, hotels and hostels -- smack in the middle of Gothic, and visible from Las Ramblas.

Where there are drunk people, there are Paki guys selling beer and it's where I first met Zain. He always says hi and he always remembers the stories I tell him, even if I don't. He never lets me pay for a beer and he's always good for some gossip about what's happening on the street that night.

He lives the next block over from where I do, in a flat with his brother and two other Pakistani guys he knows from back home. I can't help getting nosy about his story, he gave me an inch and I asked for a mile. It's nothing like what I went through and I want to know more. His brother is a club promoter, and Zain and the others sell roses and beer on the street. They came to Barcelona on a tip from a family friend, supposedly a Barcelona cricket star who has a hand in the *tourist business*. He explains to me, like someone describing their morning commute to work, how the four of them drove from Pakistan to Italy and then took a boat into Barcelona. It's a no bullshit kind of story, he's not looking for sympathy. I asked and he told me, it's all there was to it.

He can never talk for too long because *someone* is watching him. He sells beer on the street all day and calls it quits right before the sun rises, when people are done drinking and all head home from the clubs.

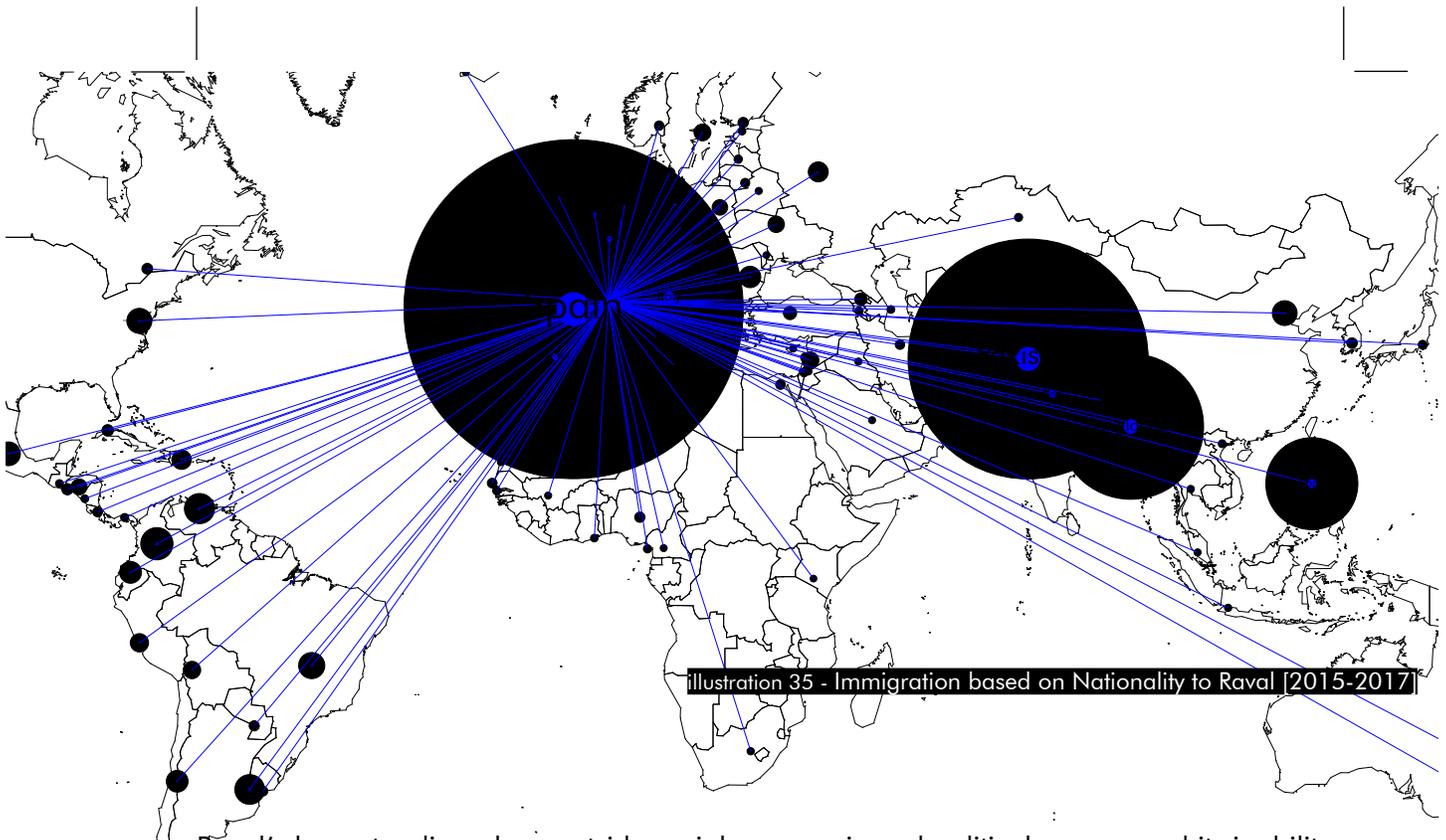


Illustration 35 - Immigration based on Nationality to Raval [2015-2017]

Raval’s long standing place outside social, economic and political powers and its inability to determine its own future influenced its evolution of serving the economic and social needs of the greater city throughout time. Racialization of Raval exists in both the stigma associated with the area as well as with the demographics of its residents. The 2017 Ajuntament de Barcelona Demographic Statistics show that Raval is the highest density neighbourhood, housing 6% of the total residents of Barcelona with a population of 79.45% having immigrated from outside of Spain. The largest immigrant groups are from Pakistan and Bangladesh [representing 11.2% and 8.7%], Italy [6.7%] and the Philippines [5.4%]*. Speculation by residents of Raval suggest there is a much higher immigrant residency than what is represented in the statistic information, a majority of whom are part of the Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Filipino communities. High density and multi family homes perpetuate the patterns of development of Raval that are attributed to the racialization of the district from its inception. Racialized space, when seen from the outside, are places that are easily named and typecast, while those residing within are aware of the specific niche of the neighbourhood within the larger city context. The isolation of Raval and the distinct boundary condition isolate and confine this ethnic enclave, providing a safe space for the communities within while deterring outsiders from entering.

* "Estadística." Ajuntament De Barcelona. Accessed December 23, 2018. <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/dades/tdemo/imi/index.htm>.

El Barrio Chino officially adopts this name from its previous, District V, when printed in the popular *El Escándalo* by journalist Francisco Madrid in his article ‘The underworld of Barcelona’ [Los bajos fondos de Barcelona] on October 25, 1925*. He brands this area, not because of the demographic of people living there, but because of its similarity to famous Chinatowns like that of New York at the time**.

“Porque el distrito quinto, como Nueva York, como Buenos Aires, como Moscú, tiene su “barrio chino”.

[“Because the fifth district, like New York, like Buenos Aires, like Moscow, has its “Chinatown.”]***

Commonalities to the western imagined Chinatown landscape, Barrio Chino is a space within the city that has a distinct culture separate from the majority. Isolating itself and inspired in its own existence it remained Barrio Chino until the urban renewal of the 1990s where it once again began to be known as we refer to it today, Raval.

Raval faces racialization of a particular type. Chinatowns of North America and Europe were usually treated with an element of suspicion and fear by the general population. Referred to as a negative racialized space, it is seen as over — crowded and filled with vice, encouraging the perception of a culturally isolated community inhabited by unassimilable foreigners. Raval in the early 1900s, reflecting many of these attributes, adopts the name Barrio Chino and continues its reputation of an area filled with curiosity and the desire to indulge in pleasures and vice available to anyone brave or desperate enough to join in. Raval today is rarely referred to as Barrio Chino but has adopted a new unofficial name, Ravalistan, attributed to the high Pakistani and associated East Asian population that is specific to Raval. A district marginalized and subjected to racialization for as long as it has existed, it continues to be a haven to those who identify with these racial groups and those who indulge in “vice”.

* Madrid, Francisco. “Los Bajos Fondos De Barcelona.” *HERALDO DE MADRID*. April 02, 2015. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://heraldodemadrid.net/2015/04/02/los-bajos-fondos-de-barcelona/>.

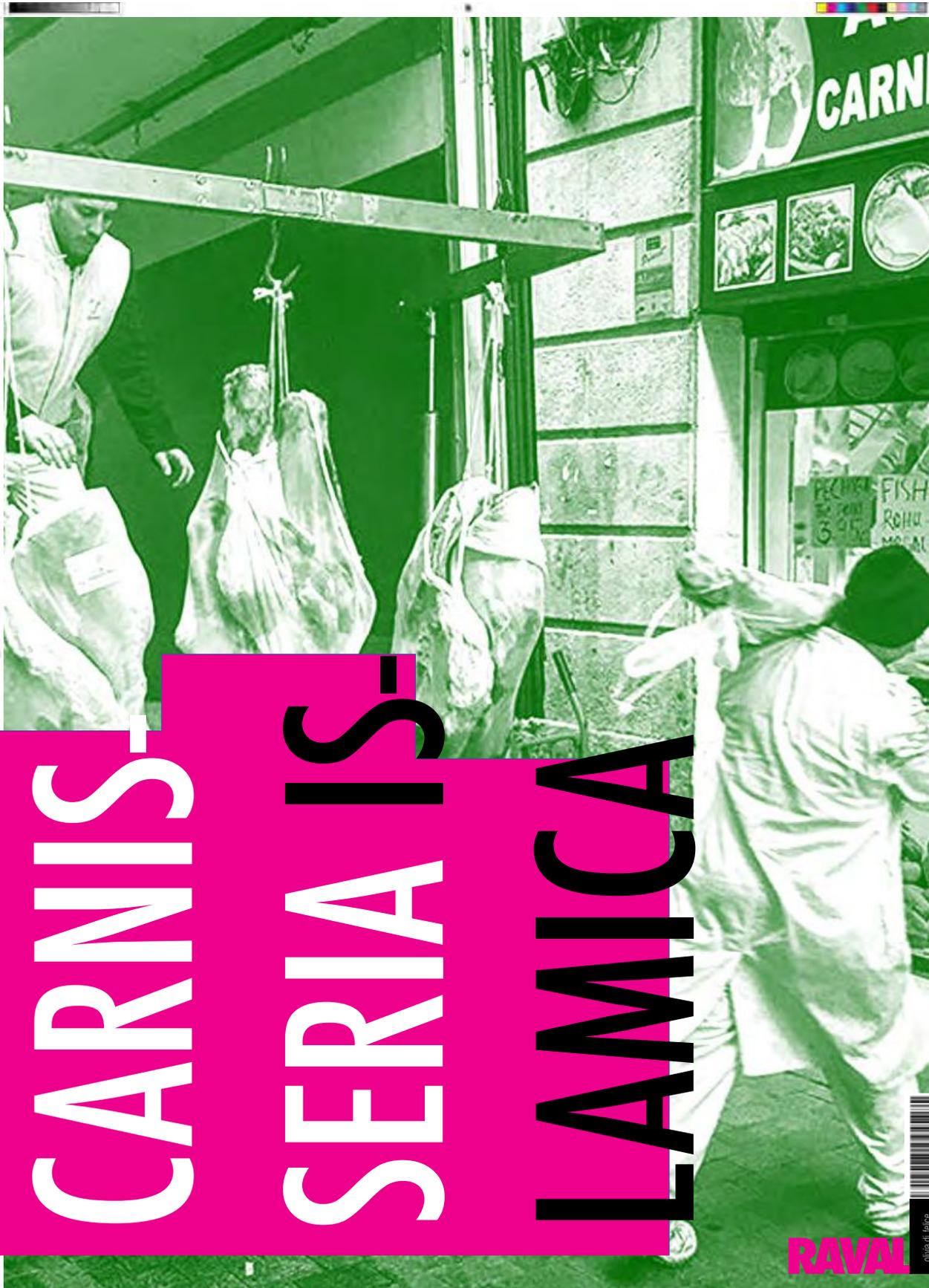
** “¿Por Qué Al Raval Se Le Llamaba ‘Barrio Chino’?” *La Rambla Barcelona*. November 30, 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.laramblabarcelona.com/raval-barrio-chino/>.

*** Madrid, Francisco. “Los Bajos Fondos De Barcelona.” *HERALDO DE MADRID*. April 02, 2015. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://heraldodemadrid.net/2015/04/02/los-bajos-fondos-de-barcelona/>.

WHEN IN
RAVAL
DO AS THE



Monica Del Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore*. (2009)



CARNIS- SERIAS- LAMICA

RAVAL

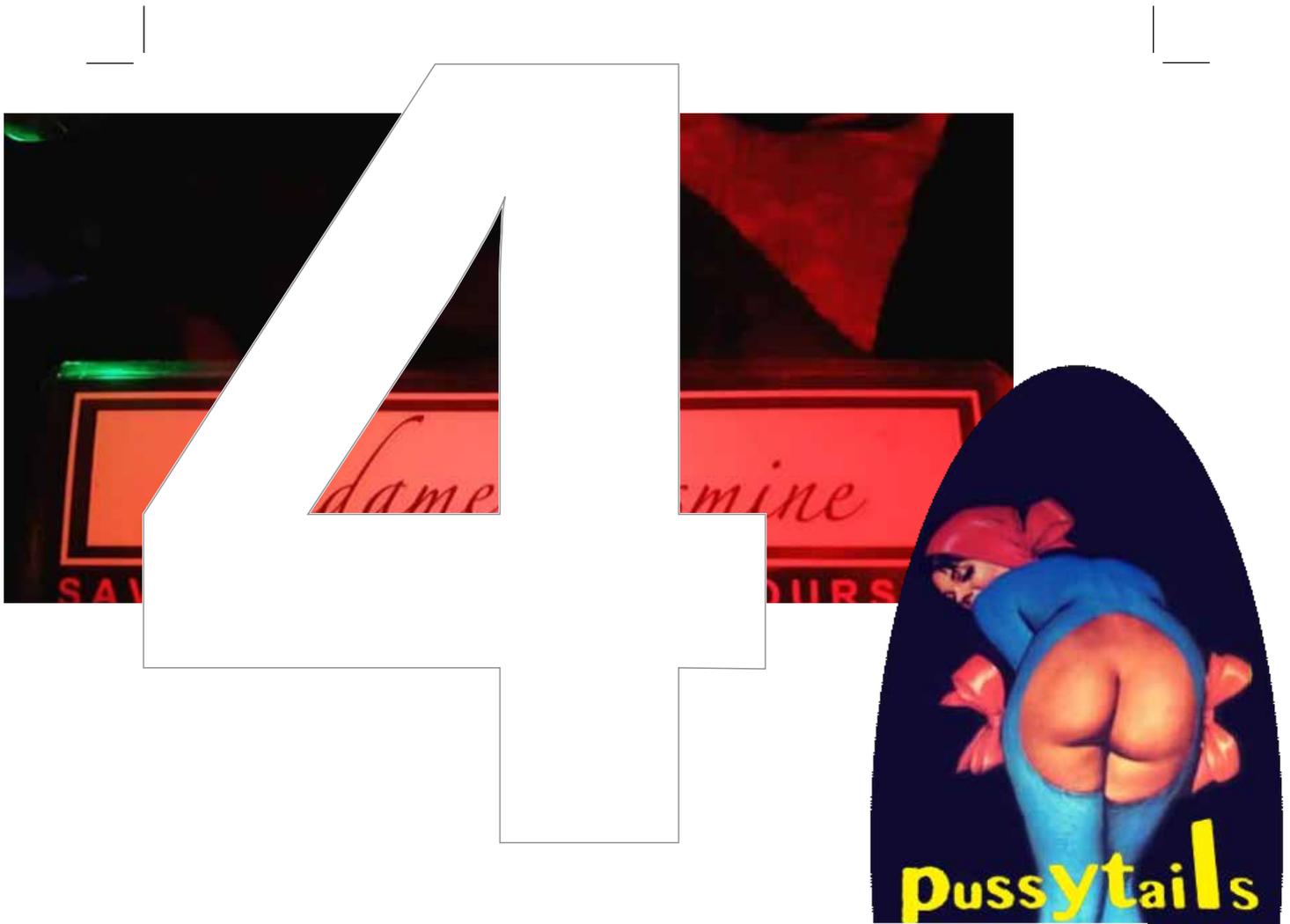
Oliva di Felce



1 98709537

**WALK DOWN THE RIGHT BACK
ALLEY IN SIN CITY AND YOU CAN
FIND ANYTHING.**

[*Sin City*, p.48]



It just occurs to me that *pussytails* is a play on the word cocktail... how many times have I looked at that menu and not noticed that? Probably because I never really read the menu. I look at the drawing of the pin-up girl with assless pants - and then order the same caña I always do.

At first glance it's a dark, trashy and campy bar resembling some sort of freakshow, and you wouldn't be wrong. On second glance, it's really cool 'cause they have drinks and drag shows and a fortune teller on monday nights. On third glance, you notice their bathrooms are covered in images from parties past and they have head transplanted mismatched Barbie and Ken dolls designating bathroom stalls. On fourth glance, you notice a calendar with a lady who's picture you keep seeing around and the curated bartender tells you all about her. The time after that you notice they have a manifesto and a sign outside demanding respect for the neighbours. And the time after that you learn that everyone and every kink is embraced, respected and celebrated. And everytime after that you learn something else, something about the bar, something about the neighbourhood and ultimately something about yourself you didn't know was in you.

"The Parallelo is an avenue in Barcelona parallel to the famous Ramblas. Between these two wide thoroughfares, a multitude of dark, dirty, narrow streets make up the Barrio Chino"

The "Barrio Chino" became famous for its transgressive allure and the squalor that accompanied it. The southern end, closest to the port, became a hot spot for prostitution, brothels, clubs, gambling, crime and the shops that supported this crowd; condom shops, doctors specializing in venereal diseases, relief houses, sleeping houses, shops that sold stolen goods, etc.

*"living among beggars, thieves, fairies and whores",
"The Barrio Chino, at the time, a kind of haunt thronged
less with Spaniards than with foreigners, all of them down
and out bums."*^{**}

Besides its residents, Barrio Chino attracted large numbers of sailors and the occasional bourgeoisie who wanted to escape and participate in the debauchery that developed in the area. The area thrives from foreigners and continues to become an area of the unfamiliar, impoverished and transgressive.

* Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [p.36]

** Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [ps. 17, 26]

TRANS- GRESSIVE TRANS- GRESSIVE

trans·gres·sive
/trans'gresiv, tranz-/

adjective

1. involving a violation of accepted or imposed boundaries, especially those of social acceptability.

Physical deterioration of the neighbourhood can intensify pre-existing patterns of social exclusion where the neighbourhood plays an active role in the situation of its residents. Many residents of Raval fall into the categories outlined by social exclusion, including; people with disabilities not covered entirely by social assistance, poor elderly, drug abusers, “new” poverty caused by relocation, foreign citizenship and marginalized racial groups. Social exclusion relating to poverty can be considered not only in relation to the personal and household resources but also with the collective resources available to the inhabitants of a particular area.*

Popular contrasting views of the neighbourhood generally fail to recognize the values and aspirations of those who thrive within it, create and adapt to marginalization. Within Raval the transgressive character is celebrated despite misfortune. The neighbourhood has hosted a series of infamous marginalized people who exploit the condition in this contained environment, spreading their stories through autobiographical accounts of their life in Raval – all using the street as a tool and a place to conduct business, finding success in subtle interaction.

* Hutchison, Ray. Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2010.

The earliest reference to Raval that focuses on poverty and the problems of the area was recorded in 1886* and since then has been a reoccurring and prominent representation of the neighbourhood.

*"From those taverns which you see working class neighbourhoods, it is well to descend to the center of Barcelona crime: Mediodía, mute witness to such dishonors; Peracamps, silent contemplation of so much misery; Arco del Teatro, Cid, Conde del Asalto, San Ramon, etc... austere spectators of a dissipated world..."***

El Escandalo featured the Barrio Chino several times and created a new excitement surrounding the vice and illicit offerings of the lower port side of the neighbourhood in the 1920s. This publication sparked the phase of literary ideology promising Spain, and Barcelona in particular, as a zone of steamy sensuality and mystery***. Interest started with periodicals and ultimately climaxed in recognition by a diverse set of authors and academic and institutional publications.

The World Fair in Barcelona of 1926 drew international crowds, and with it Francis Carco who ultimately wrote about the Barrio Chino in a segment of his memoirs****. Initiating the stream of French expedition and recording of the Barrio Chino. Celebrated for its "truest quality" and for the thrill of exploration and exhilaration of eroticism and violence within its streets*****.

*"He did not understand my disgust - nor my hate - for France, nor my adventure which, if it had stopped geographically in Barcelona, had to be pursued even more deeply, more and more deeply, into the furthest reaches of myself"******

Jean Genet writes of his time spent in Barrio Chino in the early 30s and his experience as a transient member of the community, as a thief and a prostitute he depicts the streets and the social condition of the area. The text describes both spatial and conditional qualities of the streets and the interior (sometimes private) spaces that otherwise are undocumented. This text is a testimony of the nature of the neighbourhood and the history of marginalized and transient communities that inhabit this space.

* Amelang, James. 1986. Honoured citizens of Barcelona. Princeton:

** Max-Bembo. 1912. La mala vida en Barcelona. Barcelona: Casa Editorial Maucci. [p. 156]

*** McDonogh, G. W. (1987). The Geography of Evil: Barcelona's Barrio Chino. Anthropological Quarterly, 60(4), 174-184. doi:10.2307/3317657

**** Planas, Jose M. 1928. De paso en Barcelona, Francisco Carco, gran escritor frances, nos cuenta sus impresiones sobre España. La Noche 1928: 1. Carco, Francis. 1929. Printemps d'Espagne. Paris: Albin

***** Beauvoir, Simone de. 1962. The prime of life Cleveland: World Publishing [p. 71]

***** Genet, Jean. The Thief's Journal. Grove Press, 1964. [pg. 33]

“living among beggars, thieves, fairies and whores”

**the thief's journal
- Jean Genet**



MARICÓN

Noun

maricón m (plural maricones, feminine maricona, feminine plural mariconas)

(derogatory, offensive, vulgar, slang) homosexual man, queer, faggot, effeminate man or boy, sissy



Oliva di Felice

RAVAL

Jean Genet's experience in this area and his reading of the street and how life functioned within them allows the reader to place themselves within a moment in time.

" 1932. Spain at the time was covered with vermin, its beggars. They went from village to village, to Andalusia because it is warm, to Catalonia because it is rich, but the whole country was favourable to us. I was thus a louse, and conscious of being one. In Barcelona we hung around Calle Mediodía and the Calle Carmen. We sometimes slept six in a bed without sheets, and at dawn we would go begging in the markets. We would leave the Barrio Chino in a group and scatter all over the Parallelo..."

We follow him through the streets as he steals, gambles, goes to clubs, drinks and performs illicit transactions.

" Behind the Parallelo was an empty lot where the hoodlums played cards. Squatting on the ground, they would organize games; they would lay out the cards on a square piece of cloth or in the dust. A young gypsy was running one of the games, and I came to risk a few sous I had in my pocket... He had just decided that we would drink the money I had won. We made the round of the bars,... We hardly drank any liquor, but rather lemonade. We sat near the peddlers and exchanged an occasional word... He led me a few steps away to the one comfort station on the Parallelo..."

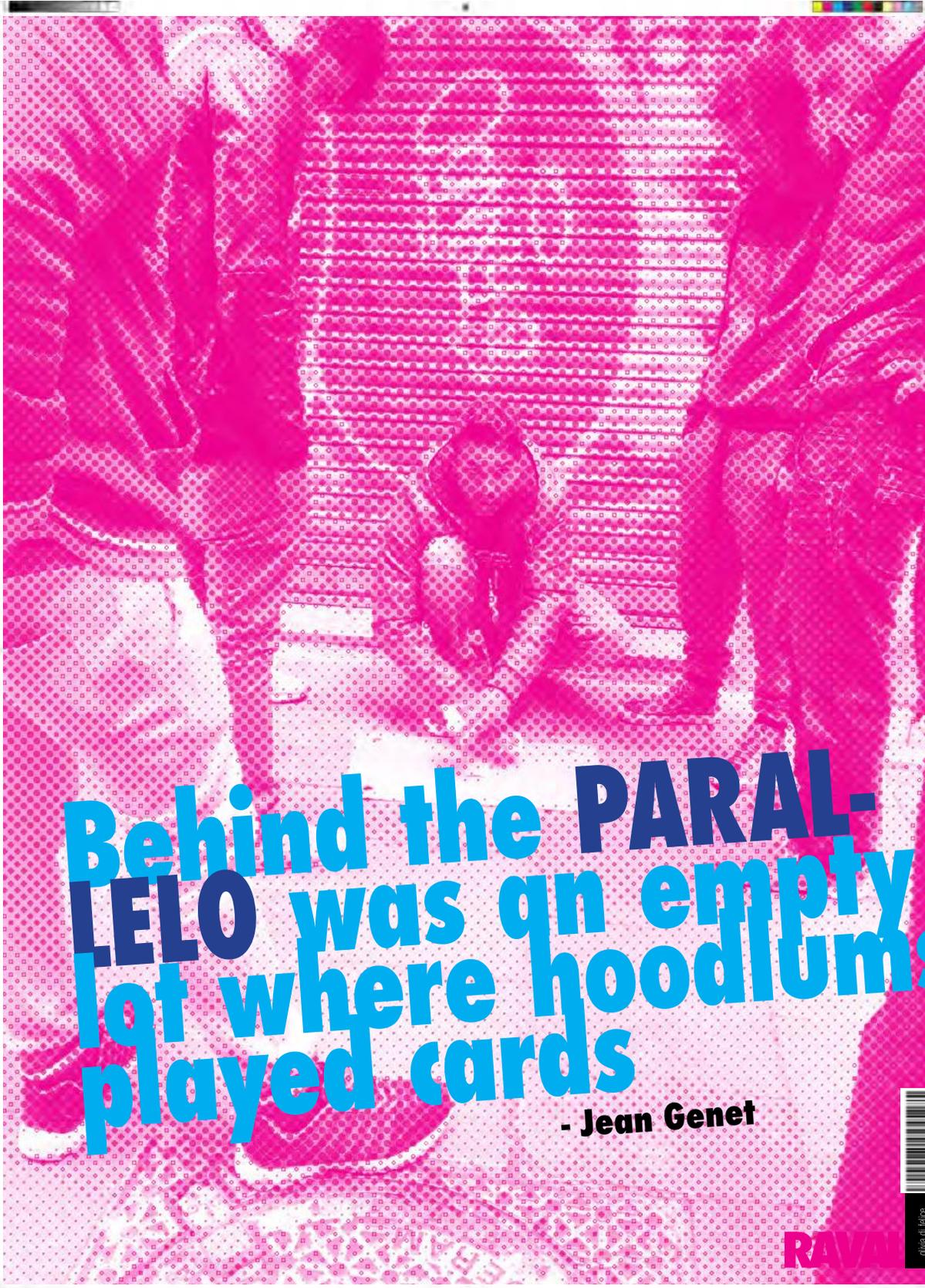
His mapping of the area has an ease and comfortability with the unfamiliar and the discovery and first time engagement with the transgressive allure.

" In the Parallelo bars Silitano introduced me to his cronies. There were so many mariconas among the people of the Barrio Chino that no one seemed to notice that I liked men... The squalor sparkled with the youth of many of our number and with the more mysterious brilliance of a few who really scintillated... The Croilla was not only a fairy joint. Some boys in dresses danced there, but women did too. Whores brought their pimps and their clients..."

* Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [pg. 18]

** Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [pg. 37]

*** Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [pg. 37]



**Behind the PARAL-
LELO was an empty
lot where hoodlums
played cards**

- Jean Genet



RAVAT
divisa di felice

The way Jean Genet romanticized the residents of Raval and their transgressive lifestyle demonstrates a shared distaste of the bourgeoisie that lived outside of the Barrio Chino. This is a mentality and perspective that is shared with those who flourish in Raval, not in their financial status, but in their transgressive, alive and always 'powerfully' vulnerable state. The current typology of Raval has evolved out of this condition that Jean Genet describes.

She's a celebrity, especially at Madame Jasmine's. Her calendar is set up like a shrine to a gay god. Surrounded by blinking Christmas lights, it's pinned to the fuzzy tiger print wallpaper right next to the bar. In the photo she's wearing her signature blue eyeshadow and red lip outlined in black, pouting and squeezing her sagging boobs with her freshly manicured candy apple fingernails.

I've never met her, but I know who she is. Everyone does. I saw her once, but only from behind. I knew it was her, it had to be her. With that fur coat and the back of a plastic crown peeking out of her teased bleached blonde hair. It couldn't be anyone else.



Monica de Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore* is the account of the life of Ramona Coronado Garcia [now referred to as Monica] who moved to Raval in 1987 after working for several months in the red light district of Valencia. Since her arrival in Raval she has worked as a street and sex worker, a self proclaimed prostitute. She speaks of the evolution of the neighbourhood and the streets that she has worked; which ones stay the same, how they change and the factors that dictate this evolution. A personal reflection on her life, Monica depicts the Raval that is familiar to her and the realm she exists in.

"I thought El Raval was just the streets San Rafael, Robador, San Ramon and Rambla del Raval. It became too small for me.

Now I realize that El Raval is much bigger than that"

When she first moved to Raval, Calle Taipés was a prolific street for the sex worker and was supported by hostels that rented rooms by the hour. As these hostels were shut down, street work was forced to move into the proximity of businesses that supported her line of work.



Monica Del Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore*. (2009)

* Monica Del Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore*. (2009)



Monica Del Raval: Autobiography of a Whore. (2009)

Monica explains her success on Las Ramblas and her post at the Gran Teatre del Liceu [a heritage opera house] where she solicited sex work over a timespan of 20 years.



Monica Del Raval: Autobiography of a Whore. (2009)



Monica Del Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore*. (2009)

"I love Las Ramblas, it is one of the most important streets in the world, in my life too...People who hung out on Las Ramblas were well known to everyone."

Monica has since moved her solicitation to Nou de la Rambla, a street popular for sex work that predates Jean Genet and the prime of Raval as a "red light" district. Las Ramblas and Nou de la Rambla, have high foot traffic in common. Las Ramblas, possibly the busiest tourist street in Barcelona and Nou de la Rambla a popular thoroughfare and tourist destination and as the home of the one Gaudi house in Raval.



Monica Del Raval: *Autobiography of a Whore*. (2009)

* Genet, Jean. *The Thief's Journal*. Grove Press, 1964. [pg. 37]

Security in the street and the intolerant regulation of factors directly or indirectly affecting Monica's livelihood have forced her to adapt to the changing urban and political landscape. Calle Robador, infamous for illicit activity, particularly surrounding sex work and street solicitation but also drug related interaction and crime, is where Monica lives and is now where she brings her 'Johns'. She claims that her superintendent is tolerant of her bringing clients back to this flat and is a safe space for her to conduct business that is close to where she works on the street. The function of the street facilitates the sex worker as well as the businesses that support this line of work, easily accessible and inviting to those who are interested and clearly demarcated for those who are not.

camello

(Castilian) IPA(key): /kaˈmeʎo/
(Latin America) IPA(key): /kaˈmeʝjo/,
[kaˈmejo]

Noun

camello m
(plural **camellos**, feminine **camella**,
feminine plural **camellas**)

1. **camel**
2. **(informal) pusher (drug dealer)**



oliva di falce

RAVAL

ТРОЙКА ПРОДУКТЫ

She has bleached blonde hair. The kind that is damaged and frayed from years of do-it-yourself-bottle jobs. It's pulled back tight into a ponytail, her dark roots create an outline of her face. She's always wearing something too tight. An outfit that looks like it's from one of those chino shops – the ones that display their clothes on the mannequins that have no arms or legs, just a torso – hung in crowded display windows with hundreds of other slight variations. It's the type of shop that I never consider going into.

I pass by her every night on my way home from work – Until recently, with no acknowledgement of each other's presence. She's noticeably older than the other prostitutes you see on Las Ramblas. She stands on the corner, under a spotlight of blue fluorescent from the overhead opera house loading dock service lights. She's friendly with the other people who work the street. I've seen her joking around with some of the club promoters, but never with a client.

Most of the prostitutes work the next street over, in Carrer de Sant Pau. That's where you'll find rooms for rent by the hour. Lined with women, grouped by race, calling out to anyone and everyone, in every language you can imagine. They know what they're doing; who to prey on and who to stay away from. They monitor everything that happens on the street and are savvy because of it.

This street is different; Carrer de la Unió, it is quiet. There isn't a lot of anything happening. Hardly anyone is ever seen hanging out on the street at any time of the day or night – it happens to be the street that I live on, it also happens to be the street she works on.

She knows who I am. I got the head nod. Difficult to hold back my grin, I nodded back.

Raval functioned as a classically understood red-light district from the turn of the 20th century to the 1980s. It is still host to a variety of sex related products and services, but has evolved keeping true to the 'moral region' it has always been. In a reflection of New York's Greenwich Village in the 1880s, James McCabe celebrates the concept of the red-light district suggesting that they fulfil important social and economic functions in a city. The people inhabiting them, with all of their eccentricities, are a natural, normal and necessary part of the city.*

*"It is not necessary to understand by the expression "moral region" a place or society that is necessarily criminal or abnormal. It is intended rather to apply to regions in which a divergent moral code prevails, because it is a region in which the people who inhabit it are dominated, as people are ordinarily not dominated, by a taste, or by a passion, or by some interest which has its roots directly in the original nature of the individual"****

Las Ramblas acts as a major gateway to Raval for the rest of the city center, its shared edge serves the district. Combined with the port as another major passenger arrival point to the area, the consistency of character is in part due to this positioning which services and perpetuates the interior condition.

Sex work is a part of the typecast marginality of residents in Raval who do not assimilate to dominant social orders. Sex work is often found in areas with low income residents and a high immigrant populations, coupled with associations of drug dealing, violence, moral deprivation and poverty, all of which are commonly associated with the inhabitants and social conditions of Raval. The localization of prostitution has the implication that sex work and its associated sexual behaviour is only accepted and tolerated within these streets.***

*"This marginalization of prostitutes, not only in moral discourse but also geographically in "streets of shame," thus creates a distinctive moral geography, implying that some sexual behaviors are acceptable only in certain places."*****

* Hutchison, Ray. Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2010.

** McCabe, James D. 1882. New York by Sunlight and Gaslight. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers. (p.151)

*** Hutchison, Ray. Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2010

**** Hutchison, Ray. Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2010



Catalunya belongs to everyone

Bagdad does not stop being a reflection of everything that moves in Barcelona.

— *la cuna del sexo en vivo en Barcelona*
— *the birthplace of live sex in Barcelona*

RAVAL

Olivia di Iorio

Sex is often a primary concern when addressing topics of marginality within the urban context. Any deviation from the assumptions of normative romantic and familial relationships eroticize space. The majority of sexual relations that take place are heterosexual but the conversation of the sexual lives of inhabitants of Raval and the erotic potential of its streets becomes about lesbian and gay lives, sex work and other sexual acts categorized as deviant. Following the Industrial Revolution and with the evolution of urban life in large concentrated populations, like that of Raval, brought the anonymity that enabled the freedom to engage in “unorthodox” sexual practices. Out of this grew the sexual subcultures that accompany Raval today – a sexualized space that is associated with the typical erotic underpinnings rooted in the enjoyment of urban life; sex work, red-light districts, cruising, dogging, BDSM etc. The erotic potential of this specific site has encouraged a migration of those in search of community and solidarity with other sexual minorities, escaping the quotidian cityscape.

During the 1990s, many clusters of gay space became recentered within the city, being integrated into urban regeneration schemes and place marketing initiatives. Seen as economically profitable, tools such as the “gay index calculator” project potential for development and the accumulation of profit within these sexualized spaces.

* Hutchison, Ray. *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE, 2010.

Bagdad, the neighbourhood sex club, has evolved with Raval since 1975 when it first opened its doors, taking over the party hall called “Los Jardines de Bagdad” who claimed to recreate the Arabian Nights fantasy. Once accompanied by the thriving entertainment establishments of Paral·lel, sharing names of famous cities like New York, Rio de Janeiro, Casablanca and Paris, it is host to the famous party scene of the beginning of the 20th century. Owner, Juani de Lucía, who runs the successful sex club relies on the tourist traffic to her business and claims to account for approximately 80% of revenue.

“In Barcelona there are three things to see: the Sagrada Família, the Camp Nou and the Bagdad. With this you can go easy because you’ve already seen Barcelona.”

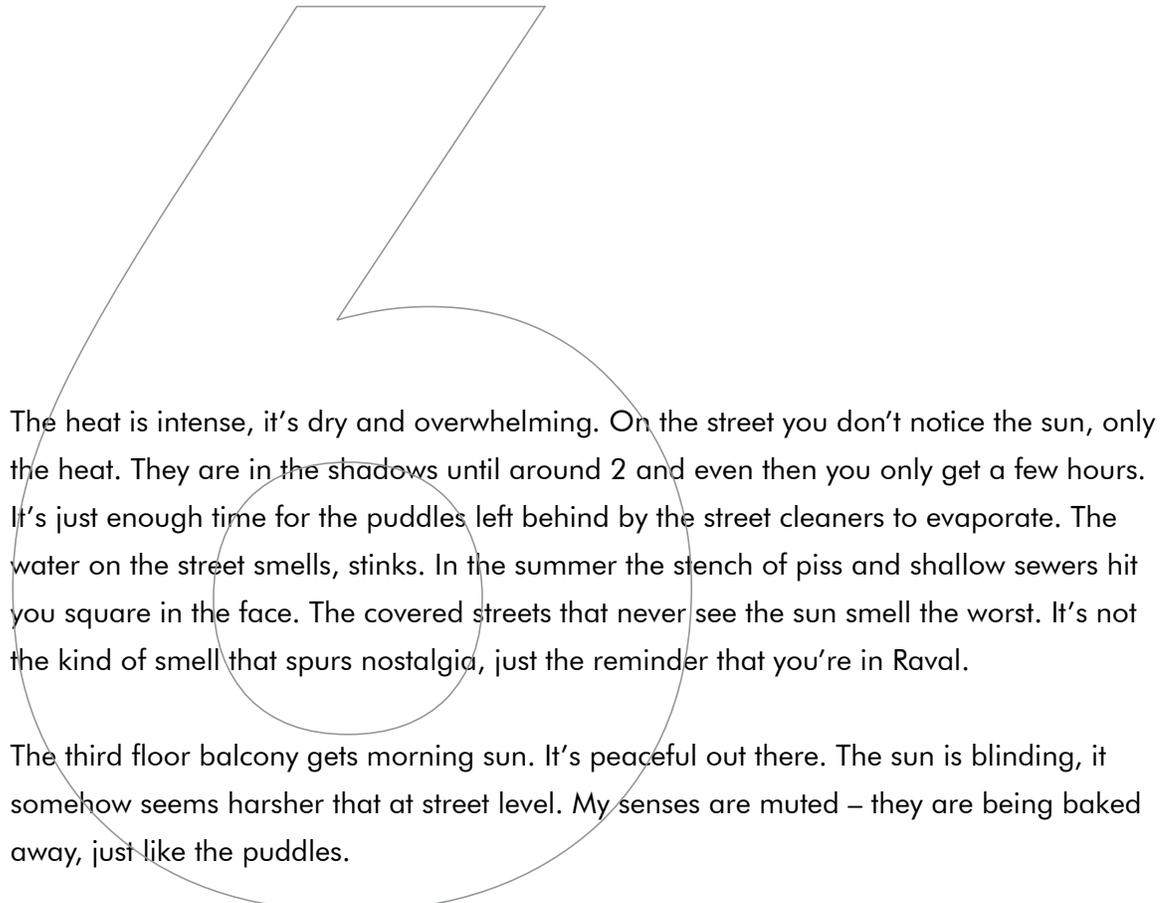
She has seen society evolve out of repression, her shows and clientele reflect this progression and now include many more women and couples as a part of the audience. She has only been shut down once, for three days, due to the change in law, claiming this is a safe and secure environment for her workers. The sex workers outside the doors of any establishment face stronger police intervention, with the constant harassment and the lack of resources to protect themselves. Sex work in Raval has not increased, if anything it has decreased in the midst of the recent financial crisis; what has changed are the policies of persecution and intolerance by political parties. Stigma shared by political leaders perpetuates a biased view of the neighbourhood and excuses police violence and mistreatment of street workers.

The previous mayor of Barcelona [2011-2015], Xavier Trias, claims that “no one is dedicated to prostitution of their own will” to justify the police harassment that this labour sector is suffering in the El Raval.

“We are anarchists, unionists, rebels and scoundrels, El Raval is our neighbourhood and has a distinctive identity, the inhabitants of Barcelona have become beings destined to serve as waiters to tourist lobbies with very precarious salaries. We want to be recognized as sex workers and we stop being stigmatized, not all are trafficked, drug addicts, alcoholics, or come from broken families. - Prostitutas Indignadas (Campaign: voices against the prohibition of the rights of women in the street, Barcelona)”

* Escudero, Sergi. “Sexo En Vivo, Guiris Y Barcelona World: Hablamos Con La Dueña Del Bagdad.” Vice. March 07, 2016. Accessed March 19, 2019. <https://www.vice.com/es/article/qb9jam/juani-de-lucia-duena-bagdad-0603>.

** Prostitutasindignadas, Autor. “Prostitutas Indignadas.” Prostitutas Indignadas. Accessed March 30, 2019. <https://prostitutasindignadas.wordpress.com/>.



The heat is intense, it's dry and overwhelming. On the street you don't notice the sun, only the heat. They are in the shadows until around 2 and even then you only get a few hours. It's just enough time for the puddles left behind by the street cleaners to evaporate. The water on the street smells, stinks. In the summer the stench of piss and shallow sewers hit you square in the face. The covered streets that never see the sun smell the worst. It's not the kind of smell that spurs nostalgia, just the reminder that you're in Raval.

The third floor balcony gets morning sun. It's peaceful out there. The sun is blinding, it somehow seems harsher than at street level. My senses are muted – they are being baked away, just like the puddles.

Hidden behind sunglasses, I watch whoever lets me. An open curtain, the spilling out of music through an open window, cigarette smoke rising from a balcony - it's all entertainment to my sun soaked brain. I have favourite flats to watch. The club promoters, two in the room directly opposite and the frequent and alternating additional overnight guest. They never close their curtains and they never leave without testing out 3 variations of a bohemian and loose-in-all-the-right-places outfit. The stoner, a marijuana flag as a curtain and a balcony full of healthy looking plants. He is home in the mornings, bouncing between his computer, the plants and a small punching bag hanging from the ceiling. The squatters – I've only seen them once but I watch their closed blinds hoping to see them again.

Above is Yaya, I've never seen her but I've heard her. She controls the noise on the street. It's a quiet street and she likes it that way. It only takes one loud drunk tourist to set her off. Indecipherable bellowing bounces up the stone faces of the buildings and right into my living room. If I've heard them, she's already at her balcony. I know I'm right when the loud crashing of a bucket full of water hits the plastic garbage bins below.



illustration 47 - view from window [part 1]



illustration 48 - view from window [part 2]

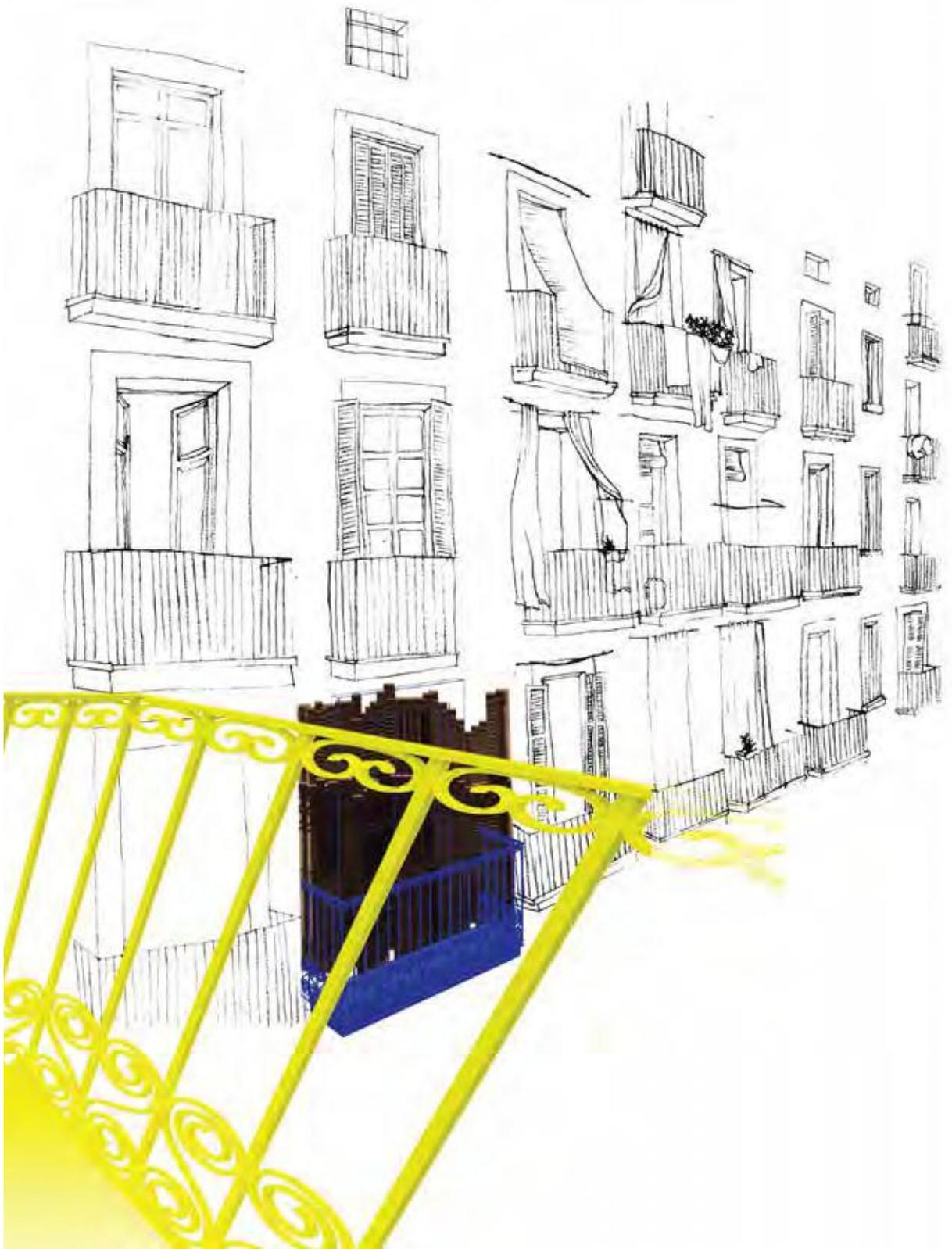


illustration 49 - view from window [part 3]



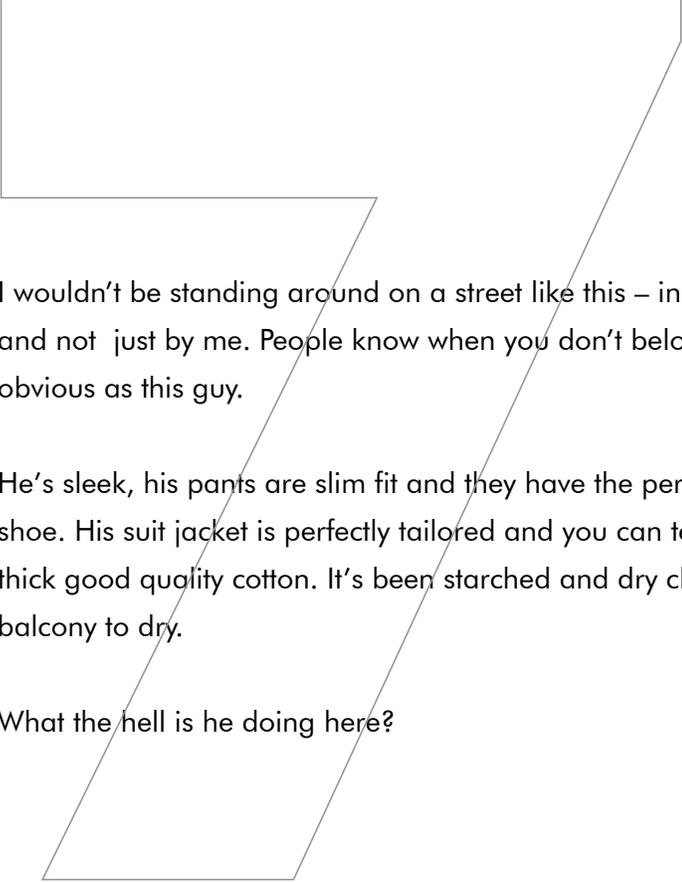
un escenario de caos y apocalipsis
que estigmatiza los barrios
a scene of chaos and apocalypse that
stigmatizes neighborhoods

El Belleza

"El papel lo aguanta todo, pero la calle no"
"Paper holds everything, but the street does not"

RAVAL

Olivia di Felice



I wouldn't be standing around on a street like this – in a suit like that. He's being watched, and not just by me. People know when you don't belong and you don't have to be as obvious as this guy.

He's sleek, his pants are slim fit and they have the perfect fold over his unscuffed leather shoe. His suit jacket is perfectly tailored and you can tell from far away that his shirt is that thick good quality cotton. It's been starched and dry cleaned, definitely not hung off a balcony to dry.

What the hell is he doing here?

The first attempt at “sanitizing and oxygenating” Raval was seen in 1931 by Grup d’Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l’Arquitectura (GATCPAC) led by chief advisor, Le Corbusier. The plan:

“incorporating sanitation of Raval from the identification of the concentration of mortality in the flats, which had to be destroyed to improve air circulation and the entrance of the sun, and prevent the proliferation of contagious diseases”^{*}.

Raval still referred to as depraved, with defecation, vomiting, intercourse, drug use and drunkenness seen in the streets, urban strategy was preventive and prioritized the redistribution of wealth. The second wave of regeneration came with the winning bid for the 1992 Olympic games, then advised by Oriol Bohigas also the chief architect of the Barcelona City Council^{**}. The Olympic nomination was the catalyst for the urban renewal of Barcelona that was anticipated under the new democratic City Council in power after the fall of the old regime. Redistribution of the districts found Raval grouped into the “Ciutat Vella”, the focus of the new urban project preached coherence and overall interrelation at the forefront of the planning process. Recognition of an imbalance and segregation within the urban fabric, and in particular emphasis in the central areas saw increased efforts of redistribution of “levels of urbanism” via architecture and urban development.

Urban rehabilitation using a criteria of opportunity, purchased land to enable singular management all part of the Special Interior Reform Plan (PERI). Motivation to create clear urban axes to promote pedestrian access and linking major facilities lead to the search and development of alternate street layouts for Raval. Inspiration from the partial plan Avenida Garcia Morato^{***} and the strategy proposed by the GATCPAC in the 1930s facilitated the construction of the Rambla del Raval, requiring demolition of multiple street blocks in its path. Collaboration of public and private operators within the recovery efforts of the Ciutat Vella were organized by the public company Promoció de Ciutat Vella (PROCIVESA), responsible for interventions carried out from 1988 to 2000. In total 9,000 million euros was spent during this time, 60% of the budget was spent on Raval specifically, seen as the most severely lacking sector in the Ciutat Vella district.

* Álvarez, M.; Fernández, M. (2018) «De la Ville Radieuse a la Smart City. Le Corbusier y Barcelona». A M. Perelman (ed.), *Le Corbusier y Barcelona. Epílogo para el libro de Marc Perelman, Le Corbusier. Una fría visión del mundo*. Barcelona: Virus Editorial, p. 249-281.

** Fernández, Miquel. “Revelar La Violència, Denunciar El Mal.” *Arxiu DEtnografia De Catalunya*, no. 18 (2018): 243-66. Accessed December 28, 2018. doi:10.17345/aec18.243-266.

*** Interior reform of the historic district was proposed during the development and implementation of the Cerdà plan of 1856. One of the plans suggested a thoroughway cutting through the center of Raval, it was never carried out but was the inspiration for the reform associated with the Rambla del Raval

The budget was categorized into 3 sections; 50% allocated to the construction of facilities and infrastructure, 25% on the improvement of public space and the remaining 25% on rehabilitation and revival of housing*. It involved the demolition of 500 buildings, the construction of 1,200 new public housing units, the restoration of 45% of the houses and the opening of three large public spaces and many other small urban interventions that represented a total public investment of 1.215 billion euros (PROCIVESA, 2002).

The urban regeneration in Raval, named The Barcelona Strategic Plan for Culture, presents the concepts of cultural clustering, place branding and the Barcelona Model influence on the production of "fascination and authenticity"**. Motivation and methods of urbanism guided by political interest in tourism, positioned Raval in the greater context of Barcelona***. The first step in the area's new urban brand was to replace the administrative designated name of "District V" back to the medieval naming of the area, El Raval (1984)****. Resistance criticized the renaming suggesting it did not celebrate diversity and instead attempted urban and social unity to the rest of Barcelona – erasing the working-class and anarchist character of the district. Distortion of Raval's marginal and dangerous past is cloaked with a safe bohemian image by process of transformation into familiar standardized space, advertising the preservation of local authenticity as a desirable attribute of Raval.*****

*"I want to believe that remnants of the missing street can still be seen and its surroundings. The smell of boiled meat that precluded the entrance to a bar, where a goat remained tied to its door; the drip on the sidewalk of the clothes hanging on a rope; the boy's whistle as I went up the stairs; the sienna colour of the chipped walls; love lived on an inherited bed, the key to the door wrapped in a cloth and thrown from the balcony to the visitor; and a painting without an owner that left an abandoned photographer. Gestures in suspense, smells, sensations, certain colours, cold reports of architects, just a part of the huge wound open in one of the most battered areas of Barcelona"******

* Busquets, Joan. Barcelona the Urban Evolution of a Compact City. San Raphael: ORO Editions, 2014.

** Marshall, Tim. "Urban Planning and Governance: Is There a Barcelona Model?" International Planning Studies 5, no. 3 (2000): 299-319. doi:10.1080/713672855.

*** Ulldemolins, Joaquim Rius. "Culture and Authenticity in Urban Regeneration Processes: Place Branding in Central Barcelona." Urban Studies 51, no. 14 (2014): 3026-045. doi:10.1177/0042098013515762.

**** Villar, P. Historia y leyenda del Barrio Chino (1990-1992): cronica y documentos de los bajos fondos de Barcelona. Barcelona: La Campana

***** Architectural Icons seen as emblematic buildings in the skyline of Barcelona were desired in the neighbourhood as a promotion of Raval within the tourist city. The hotel on the Rambla del Raval joins the likes of the Hotel d'Art on the sea or the Agbar tower in the Glories district - joining the historic Sagrada Familia.

***** Plaza, Elsa. La Calle Olvidada: Sant Antoni De Pàdua, En El Distrito V. Barcelona: El Lokal, 2017.

Using the Barcelona Experience as an indicator for urban intervention, generation of a model for action lacked specific attention to existing imbalances. The Raval district project in the Barcelona Model was one of the most crucial in the effort to create unique branding outside of Gaudí's Barcelona.

"Barcelona has become a brand. This brand is focused on emphasizing the city's Mediterranean temperament and the figure of Gaudí and his creative character while dismissing the memory of the city's industrial economy and its history of political rebelliousness"

"This success is reflected in the steady increase in the number of international tourist visits to the city, which increased from 2.4 million visitors in 1993 to 7.13 million in 2011"

Development of environments for the emerging creative class and portraying the image of a creative city favours policies that result in gentrification. Large architectural projects create cultural institutions and the resulting, and intentional, production of cultural industry clusters^{***} promoting the image of a creative city that competes in the global economy and attracts tourists and investors. The facade of the urban brand does not address social integration or the promotion of the cultural values of the communities it resides in and adds little value to the majority of the residents of the area. Increasing margins of economic and social divide^{****} creating new leisure and "consumption spaces" for the emerging middle class.^{****} The creative city must support and attract the creative class with housing, entertainment, restaurants, nightlife and public space oriented to this specific group. Providing an urban brand adds value to outside visitors, vaguely established in connection with genuine urban identity. The brand is exploited in urban planning to attract economic agents by offer of a competitive advantage.

Development of cultural institution encouraged the contribution by public administration to implement other cultural, educational and research institutions.

Arts and Design Promotion (ADI-FAD), the College of History and Geography and the Film Archive of Catalonia)

Fundació Tot Raval (Foundation for all Raval), founded in 2002, promotes the continued

* Balibrea, M. P. (2004) Barcelona: Del modelo a la marca. In J. Carrillo, I. Estella Noriega & L. García-Merás (Eds.), *Desacuerdos 3. sobre arte, políticas y esfera pública en el estado español* (pp. 261-271). Barcelona: Arteleku — MACBA— Universidad Internacional de Andalucía.

** Turisme de Barcelona (2012) *Activitat turística 1993/2011*. Barcelona: Turisme de Barcelona.

*** Peck, J. (2005) Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), pp. 740-770.
Harvey, D. (1989a) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), pp. 3-17.
Bianchini, F. (1993) *Urban cultural policy in Britain and Europe: Towards cultural planning*. London: Institute for Cultural Policy Studies.
Scott, A. (2010) Cultural economy and the creative field of the city. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 92(2), pp. 115-130.

**** Harvey, D. (1989b) *The urban experience*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

***** Lloyd, R. (2010) *Neo-bohemia: Art and commerce in the postindustrial city*. New York - London: Routledge.

Narco
[Spanish]

Short for **narcotraficante** ("drug dealer"), **narcotráfico** ("drug trafficking").

Noun

narco m (plural **narcos**, feminine **narca**, feminine plural **narcas**)

NARCOPIISO

1. drug dealer, drug lord

Derived terms

narco-

Related terms

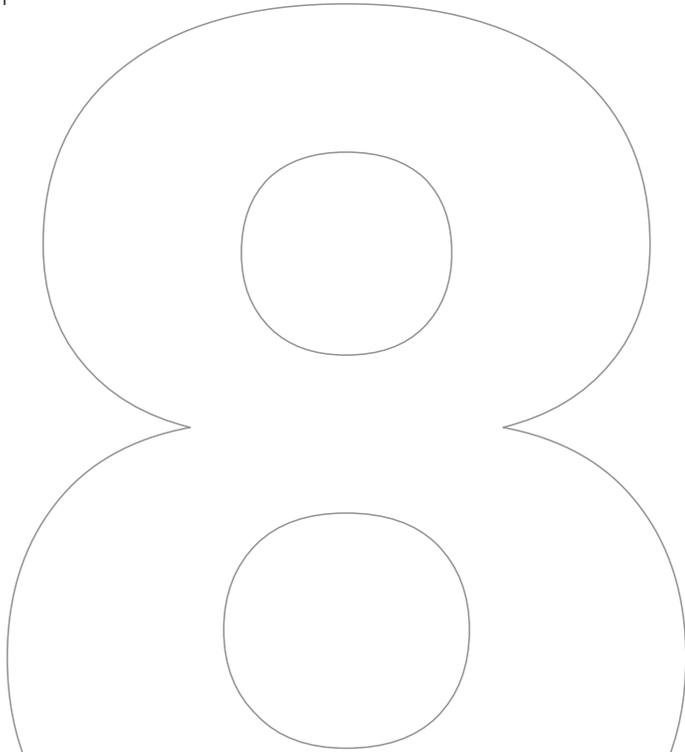
narcótico



1 887 95537

RAVAL

Oliva J. Leica



I read the reports, and I was determined to see it for myself. I circled through streets that, before then, I had only ever passed by. I found exactly what I was looking for, plus a little extra I wasn't expecting.

It was siesta and I found myself to be one of the few who were roaming the streets at that time. I wasn't exactly sure where I was. I had been walking in circles for a couple of hours and was maybe still a little drunk from lunch. That's when there was a moment, two people trying to enter a doorway at the same time as another was stumbling out. Normally I wouldn't notice something like that but this time it caught my attention. There was only one reason this happened as far as I was concerned. That's when I saw it. On the first floor balcony, a lonely white plastic bag tied to the railing. It wasn't left over garbage, it was a flag. A sign that let the people who needed to know, know. They were open for business and business was booming.



Spanish

Short for narcotraficante (“drug dealer”),
narcotráfico (“drug trafficking”).

Noun

narco m (plural narcos, feminine narca,
feminine plural narcas)

1. drug dealer, drug lord

Related terms

- narcótico

They already saw you before you turned that corner.

The economic crisis of 2008 had the most significant effect on the banking and real estate market and was so extensive that 20% of Spain's housing stock was empty as of 2014*.

Heroin sales in Raval are conducted primarily in squatter flats nicknamed narcopisos, unoccupied flats owned by financial institutions that were taken over in the financial crash of 2008. Littered around Raval, they serve as discreet and private places to conduct business. Communication in the public realm is done through a system of rags tied to the balconies of the occupied flat. Signals available to those who are looking for them, a service and system that in greater Barcelona is only found in Raval.

Fear of crime is widespread throughout the city center, however there is an increased perception of crime in Raval. Typical associations with the district lend themselves to this perception; social and physical incivilities like public drinking, drunkenness, drug use, homelessness, graffiti, litter, vacant flats and store fronts. Residents of Raval advocate for the eradication of narcos and the associated narcopiso network and view the prolific network as the true danger to the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Raval is most frequently referenced in the news as the home of the drug trade in Barcelona.



* Busquets, Joan. Barcelona the Urban Evolution of a Compact City. San Raphael: ORO Editions, 2014.

Using a process of investigation based in off site resources, search and discovery through online news reports and Google Street View navigation lead to the revelation of unreported narcopisos in Raval.

OKUPA
OKUPA
OKUPA

Spanish

Noun

okupa m, f (plural okupas)

1. (slang, Spain) squatter; squat

PORTAL ESTADÍSTICO DE CRIMINALIDAD
 Indicadores de seguridad 2018 - 2º Trimestre por geografía, tipología penal y periodos

Unidades: Hechos conocidos

	Enero-junio 2017	Enero-junio 2018	Variación % 2018/2017
Municipio de Barcelona			
2. Atentados dolosos y asesinatos en grado tentativo	15	22	46,7
5.1. Agresión sexual con penetración	48	65	35,4
7. Robos con fuerza en domicilios, establecimientos y otras instalaciones	3.327	4.203	27,3
7.1. Robos con fuerza en domicilios	2.220	2.911	31,1
8. Hurto	42.470	52.140	22,7
TOTAL INFRACCIONES PENALES	70.837	82.294	15,8

Okupan a Raval municipal estate ready to adjudicate

The Barcelona City Council has completed the rehabilitation of the Raval, the Tibidabo forest and will provide access to more people

illustration 52 - referenced articles in the personal hunt for a narcopiso



32. PAÍS IN ENGLISH

Residents in Barcelona's El Raval suffer the hell of living next to drug dens

Local residents 'suffer' at makeshift residential areas, close to drug dens and prostitution

Narcopisos: Spain's 'drug flats' give focus for fight against heroin threat

Neighborhoods across Spain are now a hot focus for police and politicians to shut down apartments



Narcopisos



Six arrested in an offensive against the narcopters in Ciutat Vella

Colau requests legal changes to be able to allocate these properties to social rent

COU PAÍS CATALUNYA BARCELONA

ME



Neighbors of the Raval stop the eviction of narco-insects that they occupied

The place was for years one of the most active drug selling points in the neighborhood



Zombies return (from the heroine)

Police dance against the 'narcozombies' of the Raval / NEWS VÍDEO



Beauty, the king of narco-rings

The Mossos claim that there has never been such an extensive network of narco-rings in El Raval in Catalunya with between 40 and 60 houses



The Mossos seek the connection between the Narcopisos and the war between Dominican drug traffickers



Express squatter eviction project divides politicians in Spain

Two Catalan parties clash over reforms that lift fines on benefiting banks and "vulture funds"



Neighboring protocol to combat 'Narcopipes'

Neighbors of Raval design reports and files to collect information and give it to the police and administration



The most dangerous corner of the Raval

The confluence of Riera Baixa street with Hospital concentrates a lot of criminal activities that neighbors are willing to fight

SUSPECTED STREETS: Sant Ramon

- En blocs com els de la Riereta
- En Roig
- Sant Gil
- Reina Amàlia
- Carretes
- Robadors
- Picalquer
- Botella
- Sant Pacià
- Hospital
- Arc del Teatre
- Santa Margarida*

NARCO-APARTMENTS

*"They're organized," he says. "They have helpers walking around the neighborhood looking out for apartments that they move into in a flash."**

* The network of drug dealers that exist in the street have greater agility than the police and are often able to relocate before police are able to assemble

"We know the modus operandi. Most of the clients don't have money. For every stolen bicycle, they give them the equivalent of €10 – an injected speedball made of €5 worth of heroin and €5 of cocaine."

"In most of the apartments, the dealers are from Dominican Republic or Romania. And there are a lot of backpacking consumers who are Italian and then there are the Filipinos, Filipinos are more discreet. They sell Shabu [methamphetamine]"

Narco apartment of Sant Vincenc occupies three stories and has a constant flow of people in and out, sometimes up to 100 people per hour.
- said to have needles, blood and dirt that line the stairwells leading to the flats.

TESTIMONY TO THE NATURE AND ACTIVITY SURROUNDING A NARCOPISO:
"If there's a narcopiso in your building people come and buy at all hours, they shoot up, there's blood, syringes, feces, people asleep on the stairs and in the doorway" says Carlos. The fights, he adds, can be heard at five o'clock in the morning.*

*Before it was closed down by the city council, the big narcopiso in Carrer d'en Roig was receiving up to 150 clients an hour.

AVAILABILITY SIGNALING ON BALCONIES:
WHITE SIGNIFIES THERE IS PRODUCT AVAILABLE,
BLUE THAT THE FLAT IS UNDER SURVEILLANCE &
RED TO NOTIFY THEY ARE OUT OF STOCK.

* Global, R. C. (2018, February 14). Okupan una finca municipal del Raval lista para adjudicar. Retrieved from https://cronicaglobal.elpais.com/vida/okupan-finca-municipal-raval-adjudicar_121232_102.html
Illa Robador. (2018, August 11). Parece que cada vez está peor pic.twitter.com/RCTMPH7i7. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/illarobador/status/1028414276824965131>
Shue, Rachel. "Narcopisos." (barcelona-metropolitan.com). April 01, 2018. Accessed November 07, 2018. <https://www.barcelona-metropolitan.com/features/narcopisos/>
Garcia, A., & Congostrina, A. L. (2018, February 19). Residents in Barcelona's El Raval suffer the hell of living next to drug dens. Retrieved from https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/02/19/inenglish/1519026164_598479.html
Borgen, Stephen, and Sam Jones. "Narcopisos: Spain's 'drug Flats' Give Focus for Fight against Heroin Threat." The Guardian. March 12, 2018. Accessed November 07, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/12/narcopisos-spains-drug-flats-see-communities-unite-to-fight-heroin-threat>

OK- UPAS

illustration 53 - okupa poster

**okupa m, f (plu-
ral okupas)**

**(slang, Spain)
squatter; squat**

RAVAI



oliva di ferris

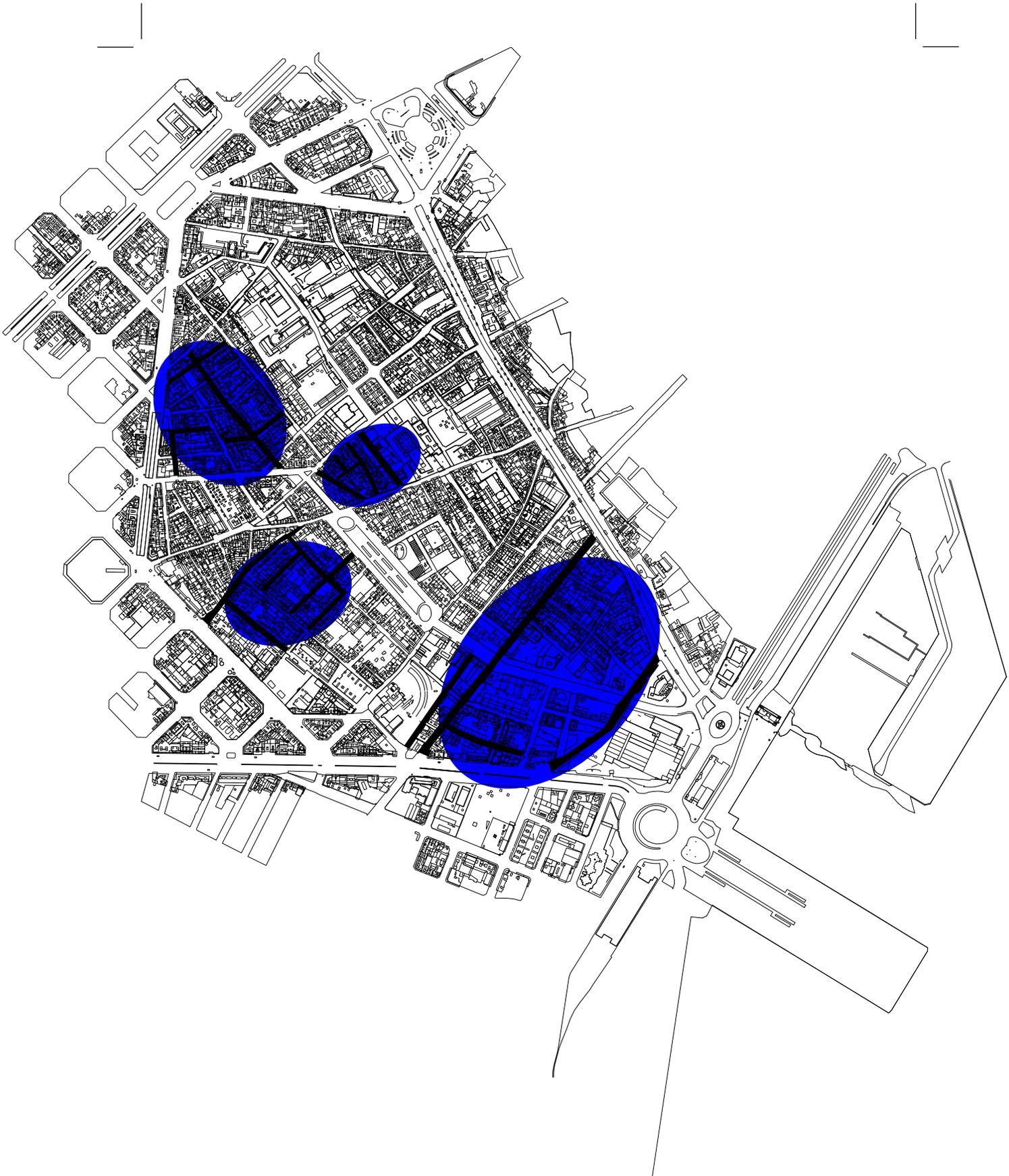
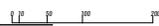


Illustration 54 - Narco Map - streets with repeated occurrence of narcoactivity
developed using information gathered from cited news articles



Empty flats are generally unmonitored and are often occupied by squatters and in some cases used for drug distribution and sales. In February of 2018 there were a projected 50 active narcopisos in Raval out of the 228 estimated empty flats vulnerable to appropriation. Raval had a reputation during the heroin crisis of the eighties due to its previously established association as a “red-light district”, only to be reformed and “cleaned-up” with the concerted efforts made to prepare for the 1992 Olympics. The rate of drug use decreased after the eighties, saw a small spike between 2003-2010, and has since plateaued*. The law in Barcelona surrounding squatting makes it difficult for the police to respond to narcopisos, bureaucratic processes demand that inhabitants must be caught in the act of drug dealing in order for immediate eviction of the flat to take place and in 2017, there were 36 seized narcopisos.

Benito Granados, the head of the Guàrdia Urbana in the Ciutat Vella, said in a February 2018 La Vanguardia article

“If we can prove that the flat was used as a platform for drug trafficking, we can ask the judge to close it as an extra security measure.”

If drug dealers re-enter a closed property the police also have the right to enter and detain the inhabitants.

“We therefore have a guarantee that the apartment cannot be re-occupied,”

stated the deputy head of Mossos d’Esquadra. Opinions between residents and activist groups in Raval suggest the solution to narcopisos is the outlawing of empty flats.



LOS “REVIENTA-PISOS”

- specialists at breaking into flats.

[door reads #11]
Carrer de la Reina Amàlia

* Shue, Rachel. “Narcopisos.” (barcelona-metropolitan.com). April 01, 2018. Accessed November 07, 2018. <https://www.barcelona-metropolitan.com/features/narcopisos/>; Pérez, Beatriz. “Narcopisos: Dos Historias De Terror En El Raval.” Elperiodico. April 11, 2018. Accessed November 07, 2018. <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20180411/narcopisos-terror-en-el-raval-6750935>.

The consumption of heroin takes between four and seven minutes, from the purchase to the injection.

Discarded syringes are often a sign that there is a flat nearby.

of the 31,012 syringes collected in 2017, 65% of them were recovered in Raval.

Until April of 2018 there were a reported 360 vacant or unoccupied flats that were used for the purposes of drug distribution:

28% Riereta

14% En Roig

12% Sant Gil

Of these flats 31% are owned by banks and 26% are owned by companies

INCREASES IN ROBBERIES
in the vicinity of NarcoPisos by
clients looking for ways to pay for

DRUGS.

83 busts of apartments in
Raval in the past year.

CORNER OF RIERA BAIXA STREET WITH HOSPITAL
NOTORIOUS PICKPOCKETING CORNER, ALSO NOTED IS DRUG
DEALING, SELLING OF FAKE DOCUMENTS AND STOLEN GOODS
[24/7]

Of the 26 discovered narcopisos in this operation - 13 have been returned to their owners and five have been boarded up.

* Alfonso L. Congostrina Twitter, Minocri, M., & Atlas. (2018, May 01). Protocolo vecinal para combatir los 'narco pisos'. Retrieved from https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/04/29/catalunya/1525023463_285573.html
Ekaizer, E. (2018, June 06). Sis detinguts en una ofensiva contra els narcopisos a Ciutat Vella. Retrieved from https://www.ara.cat/societat/policia-escorcolla-tres-narcopisos-Raval_0_2028397234.html
Congostrina, A. L. (2018, October 24). La cantonada més perillosa del Raval. Retrieved from https://cat.elpais.com/cat/2018/10/24/catalunya/1540399089_629992.html
Carranco, R., & Congostrina, A. L. (2018, October 29). Golpe a los narcopisos de Barcelona para atajar la oleada de delincuencia. Retrieved from https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/10/29/catalunya/1540789487_860335.html

SANT ANTONIO ABAT*

*alleged strategic meeting place of the El Belleza (known to have controlled 26 flats in Raval)

“they’ve existed for decades” in the different drug flats that have existed in Barcelona and its surroundings, “The difference is that there has never been such an extensive network and in such an iconic place,” says the mayor, who attributes the *drug crisis* partly to the huge number of empty flats.”*

Several networks of narcos, separated by ethnicity:

[Dominican, Pakistani and Moroccan]

TWO ROUTES OF HEROIN TO SPAIN.

Traditional route: Manufactured in Afghanistan, moves through Pakistan and Iran to Turkey, most of it is moved to Holland and from there it makes its way to Spain.

New route: produced in Columbia and Bolivia, it travels to Cape Verde by boat and then is moved through the Sahara and up to Morocco, through Morocco it makes its way to Spain via jet ski to Malaga and Toledo. This variety is of poorer quality and is purchased on the street for 8-10 euro per gram.

PYRAMIDAL NARCO STRUCTURE:

- Top: suppliers and distributors
- Second: bosses in charge of commanding expansion; look for flats, define strategy and appoint narcopiso managers
- Third: zone chief; in charge of several flats, receive collections and coordinate issues of coexistence that might arise with drug addicts
- Fourth: in charge of narco-industry, managing stock and alerts supervisors of issues with drug consumers.
- Pointers: warn of police presence
- Mails: move drugs from distributors to narcoflats using electric scooters

* Carranco, R. (2018, November 06). El Belleza, el rey de los narcopisos. Retrieved from https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/11/06/catalunya/1541492245_882817.html?rel=str_articulo#1542298600895
Rego, P. (2017, November 09). Vuelven los zombis (de la hero). Retrieved from <https://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2017/11/09/59ff451fe5fdea662c8b45be.html>
Muñoz, T. (2018, November 05). Los mossos buscan la conexión entre los narcopisos y la guerra entre narcos dominicanos. Retrieved from <https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/barcelona/20181105/452752297326/mossos-narcopisos-guerra-narcos-dominicanos.html>

GOOGLE STREET VIEW AS A METHOD OF DISCOVERY :
COMMUNICATION AND CONNECTION TO THE PUBLIC REALM

the search for the narcopiso

- white rag signifies availability of product and no restriction on sales
- blue rag product available but restriction on sales due to police surveillance
- red rag product unavailable at this location [due to relocation or arrest]

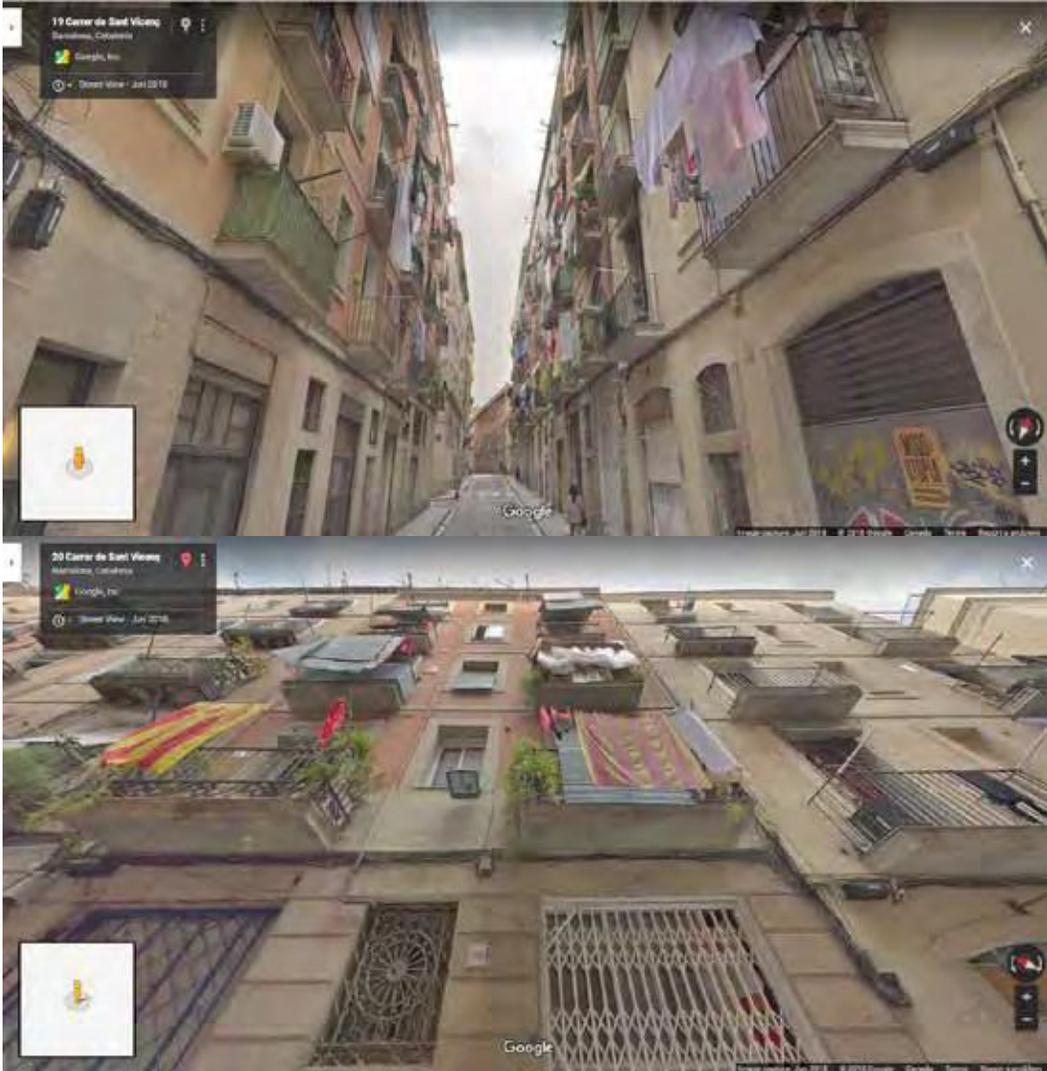


illustration 55 - Google street view capture of red flags [carrer de sant vicenç, 20]

WHITE RAGS

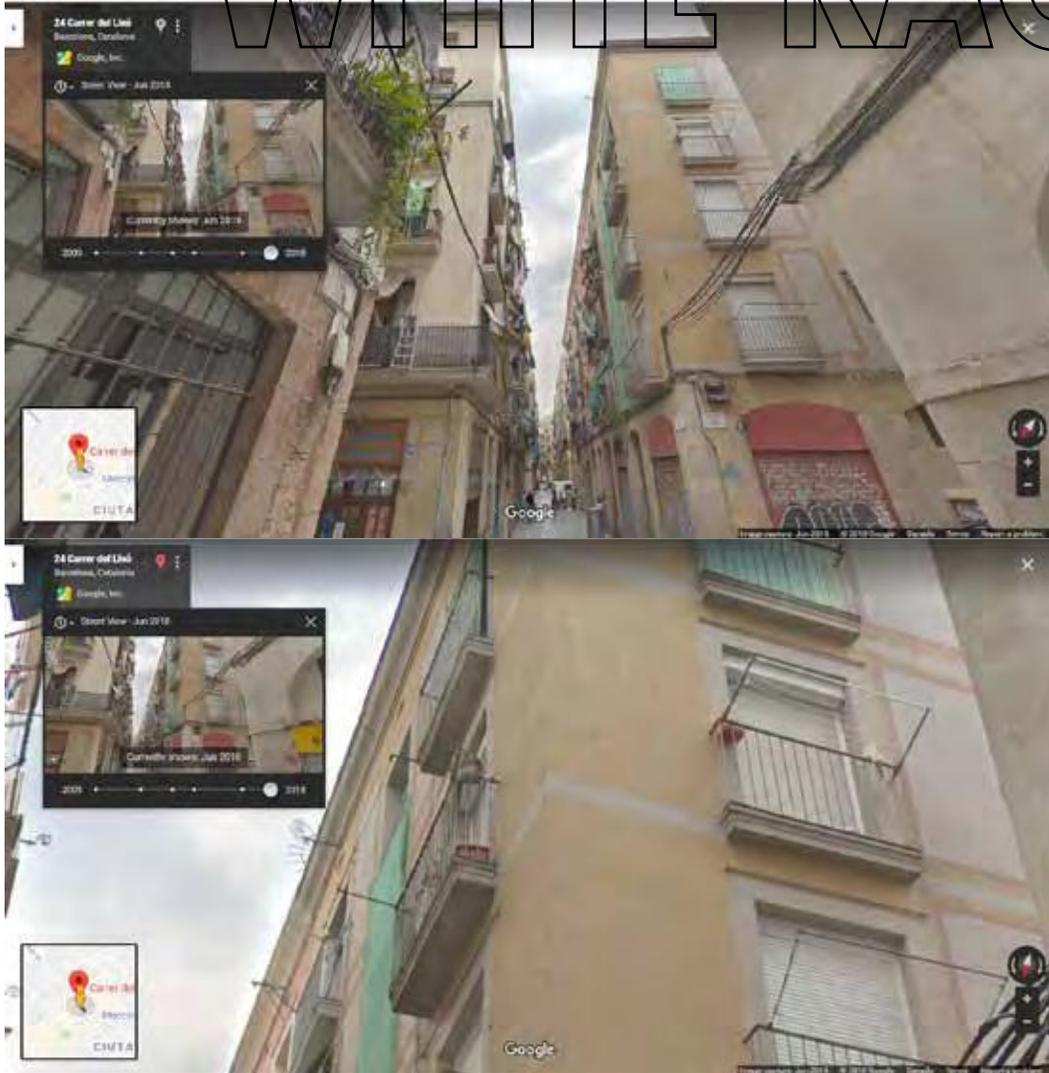


illustration 56 - Google street view capture of white flags [carrer del tigre, 16]

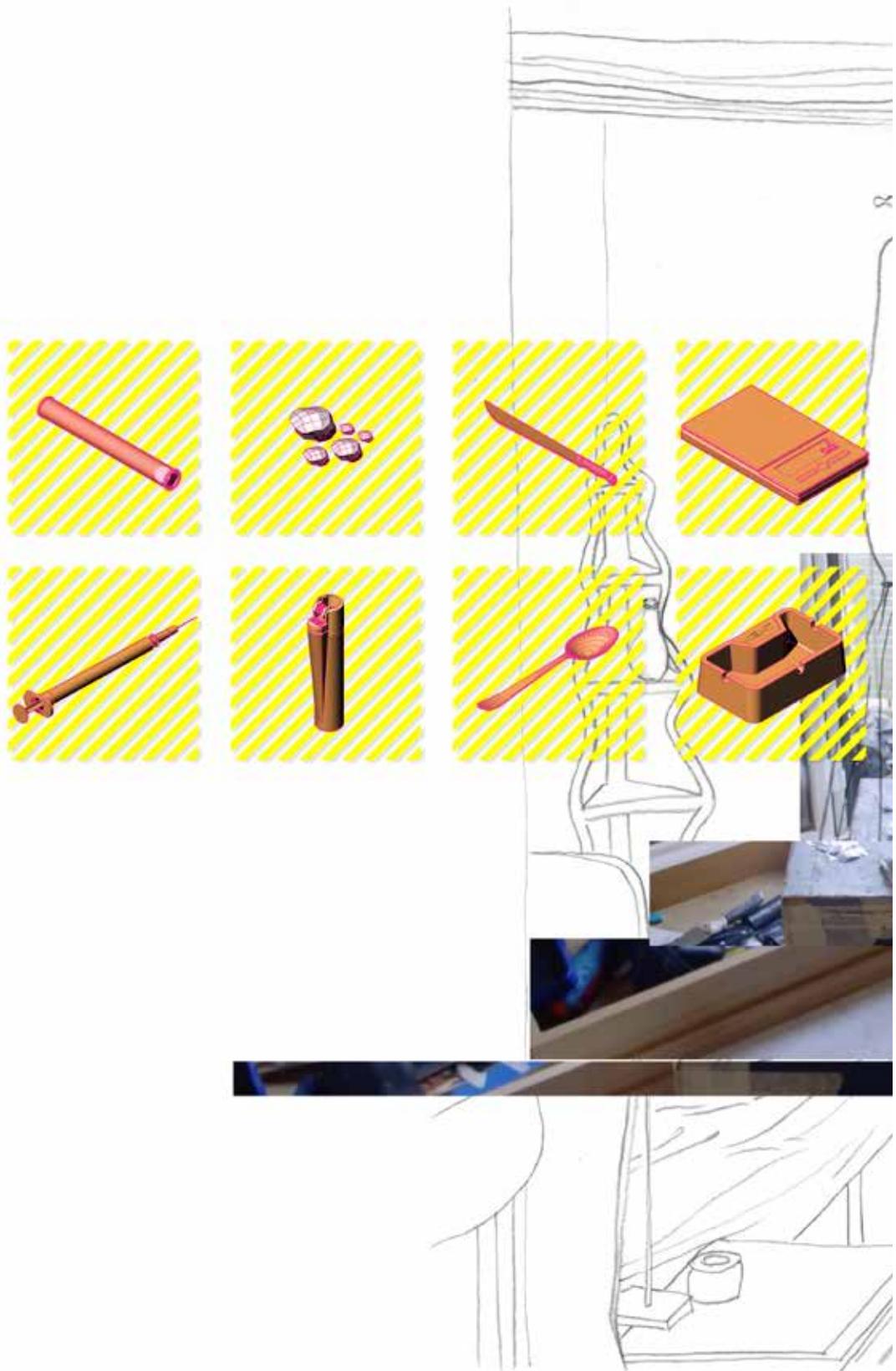


illustration 57 - narcoflat sneak peak [part 1]

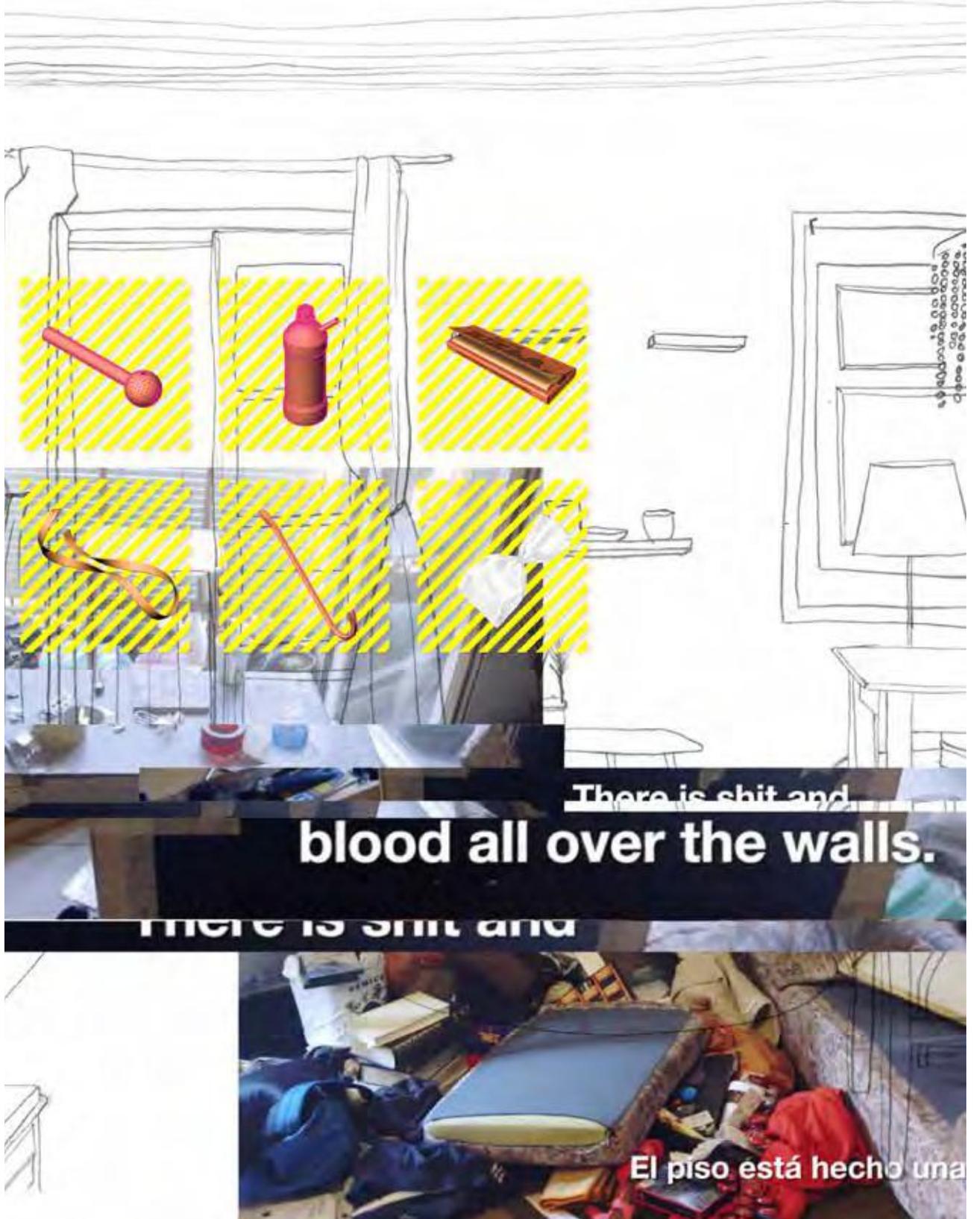


illustration 58 - narcoflat sneak peak [part 2]

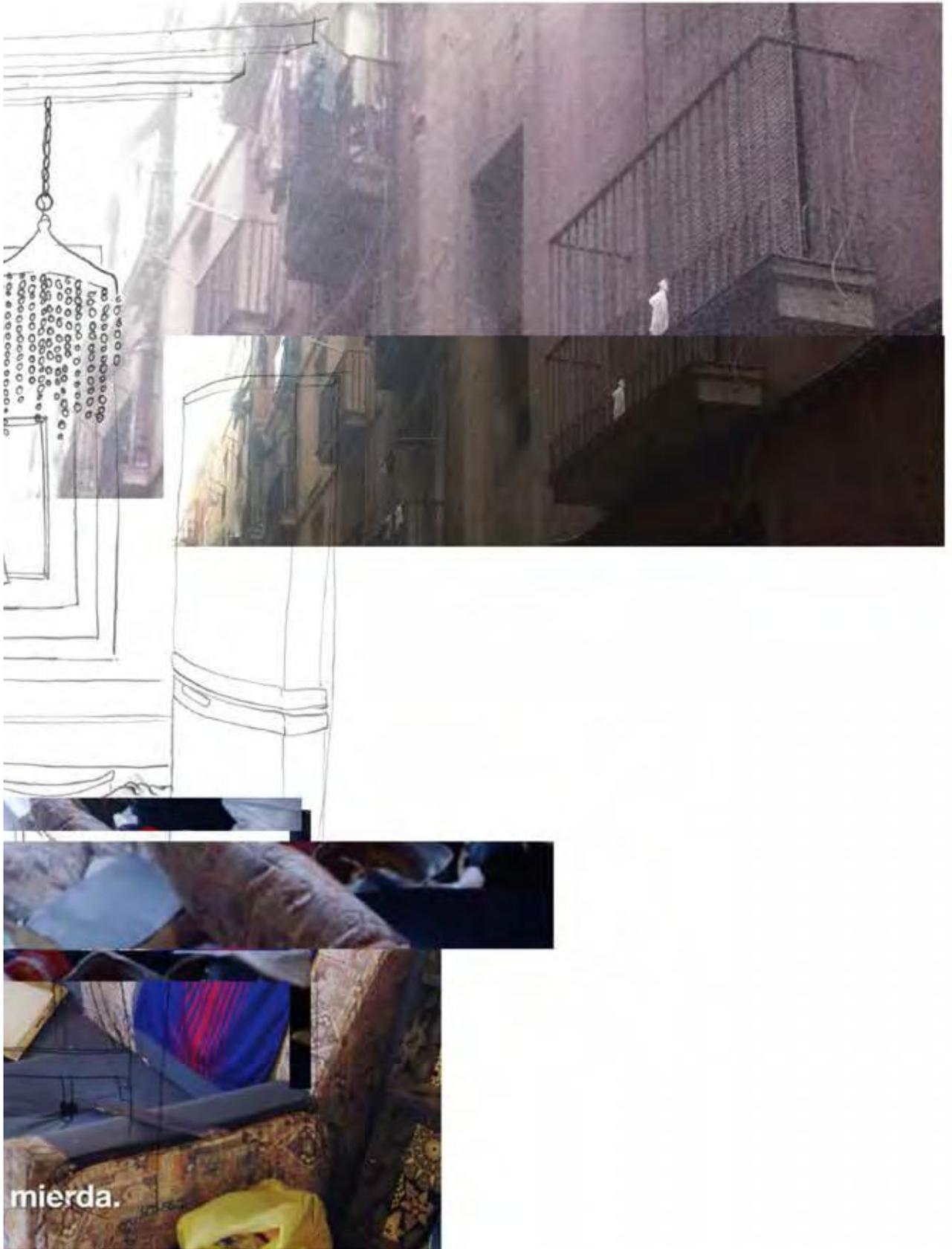


Illustration 59 - narcoflat sneak peak [part 3]

Information gathered during the off-site process directs on-site investigation.



illustration 60 - on site white flag [carrer d'en sant climent]

PUTA STREET

Noun

puta f (plural putes)

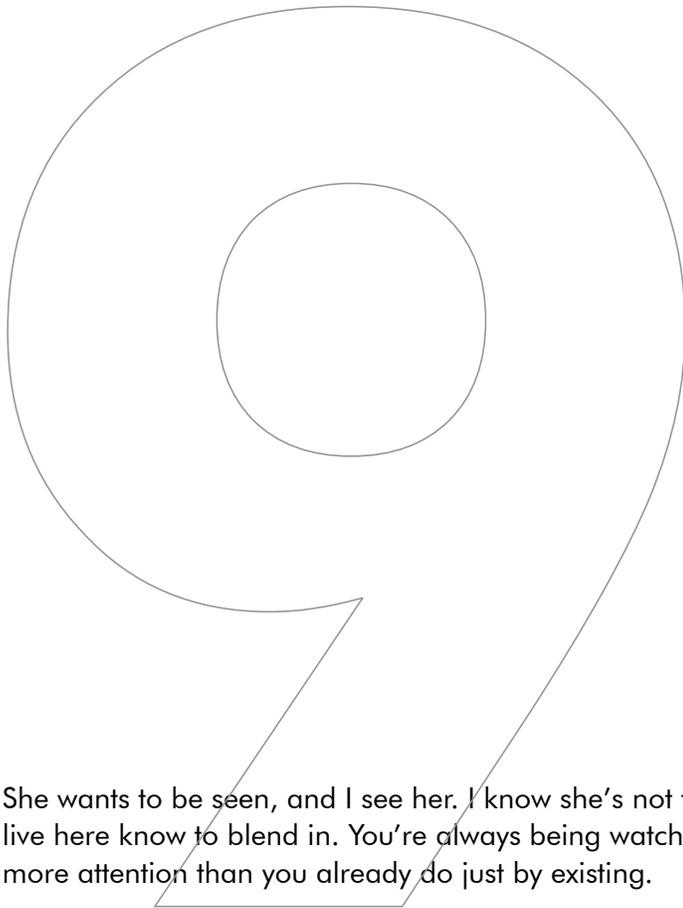
1. (derogatory, vulgar) prostitute, whore, slut
2. mischievous

RAVAL

Oliva di Felce



1 460700037



She wants to be seen, and I see her. I know she's not from around here — people who live here know to blend in. You're always being watched in Raval; it's better not to draw more attention than you already do just by existing.

She steps out of the taxi accepting her Louis Vuitton travel set from the driver, leaving the car door open behind her as she walks towards the hotel entrance. Her shoes click on the tiled sidewalk, the wheels of her luggage clunk behind her. I can't tell where she's from but she looks like a wannabe instagram influencer. Anyone who subscribes to that lifestyle tends to look the same no matter where they're from. Makes sense that she would pick the Barcelo, so many promising photo opps.

The Barcelo couldn't be more out of place, but anyone who checks-in there wouldn't know it. The hotel turns it's back to Robador, puta street, where rows of lingering women line the edges of the road. The 80s inspired glitz and glam of the lobby decor distracts her from the reality of the neighbourhood.

The rooftop pool has a 360 degree view of the city, high enough that you can't see the dirt directly below you. The glowing lights of the wide boulevards of Eixample and Gracia beyond, resemble the setting of a night time fairy tale. You don't notice the streets of Raval because they are in complete darkness. The narrow and winding paths don't allow any light to reach the top. The separation is physical but more powerful in feeling. It's another world up there, you are transported to a reality outside of Raval. It's the most expensive beer in the neighbourhood and no one seems to notice.



illustration 62 - barcelo raval [part 1]

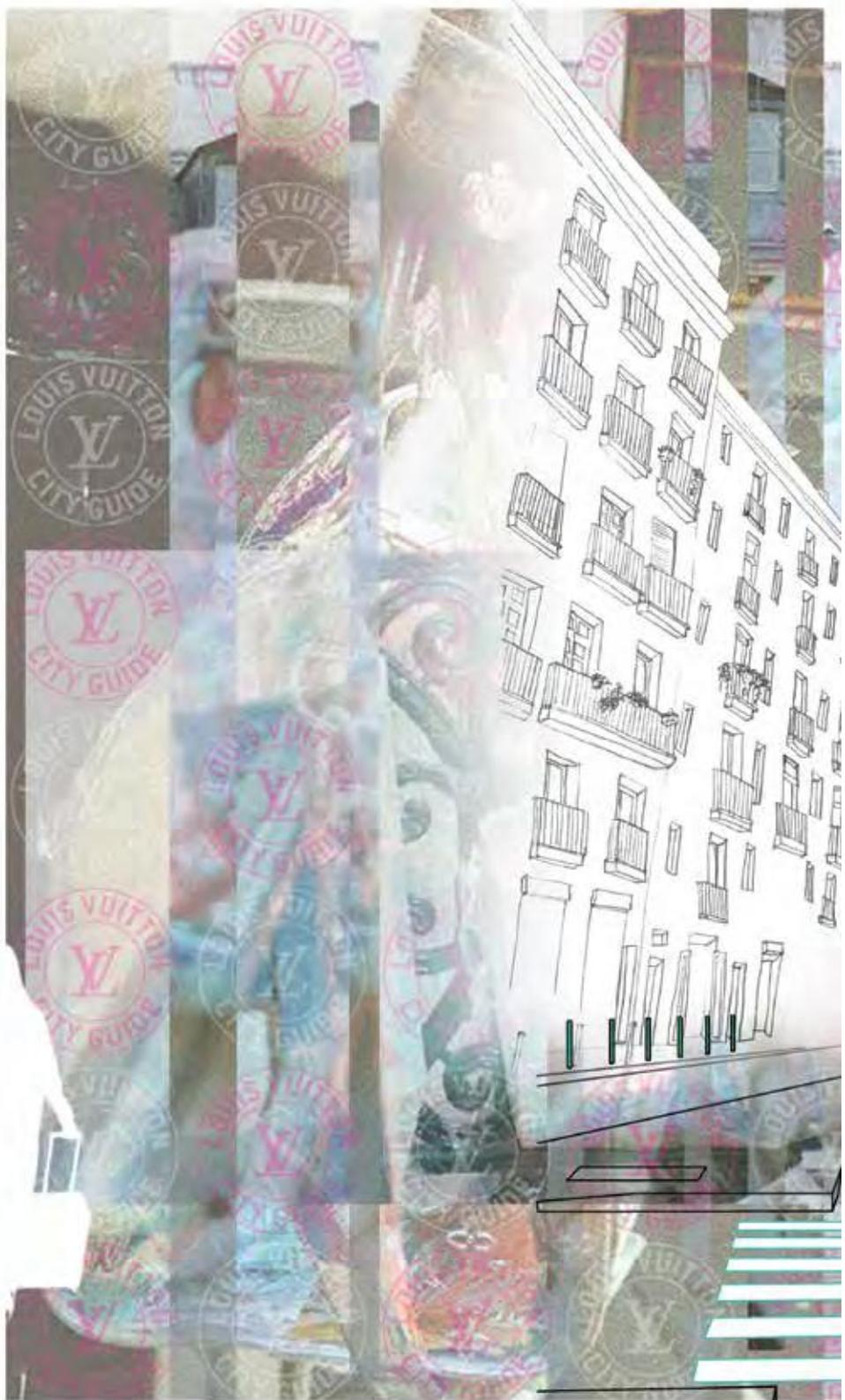
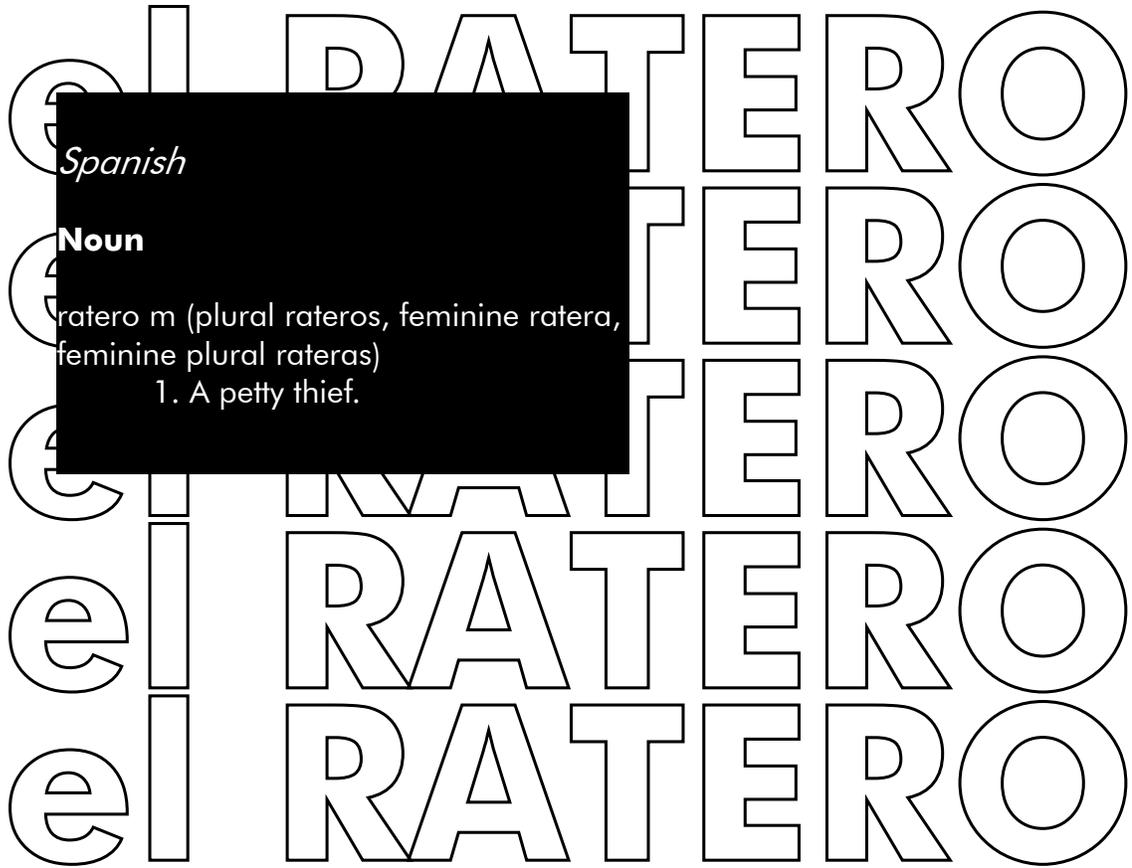


illustration 63 - barcelo raval [part 2]



Illustration 64 - barcelo raval [part 3]



Spanish

Noun

ratero m (plural rateros, feminine ratera,
feminine plural rateras)

1. A petty thief.

There aren't a lot of things to entice a family of fanny pack wearing tourists into Raval. But when they do, they scream "walking target practice" for the variety of predators hidden in plain sight. It takes a trained eye to see who's watching you. This family doesn't stand a chance. Scammers, pickpockets, street beggars, you name it. It's the usual cast of sketchy characters that opportunistically prey on unfamiliar people like them. It doesn't help that common sense doesn't seem all that common.

Tourism is one of the world's leading industries and had become one of the most important economic sectors over the past 50 years.

*"The outlook for the Travel & Tourism sector in 2017 remains robust and will continue to be at the forefront of wealth and employment creation in the global economy... Direct Travel & Tourism GDP growth is expected to accelerate to 3.8%, up from 3.1% in 2016."**

Tourism has a huge cultural impact and often substantially changes the places where it occurs. As the driving force of urban intervention in Raval, the resulting additions to the neighbourhood are not conducive to its residents' needs. Affecting the neighbourhood in a multitude of ways, concern on the forefront is the housing market. The availability of flats for its residents is decreasing, due to the increasing expulsion of tenants by landlords in favour of short term AirBnB type tourist rental, currently registered at occupying 8.7% of all flats in Raval.

* "TRAVEL & TOURISM ECONOMIC IMPACT 2017 WORLD." Accessed March 17, 2019. <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic-impact-research/regions-2017/world2017.pdf>.

Raval is home to Palau Guell, a UNESCO Heritage designated palace designed by Antoni Gaudi, the Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA), the Center of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB), the Boqueria Market, and few other designated tourist destinations. They are all located on Las Ramblas or a few blocks into the neighbourhood. In the case of MACBA, the CCCB and the Rambla del Raval; these are all recent additions to the neighbourhood that came out of the cultural regeneration initiative. All in a concerted effort to bring tourism into this “bohemian” area of the city.

AirBnB promotes El Raval:

“If the Gothic Quarter is Barcelona’s tourist star, El Raval is the slightly shadowy figure on the sidelines. The neighborhood’s edgy mix of art, attitude, and street life attracts cosmopolitan crowds. Once famous for its debauched nightlife scene, El Raval is gradually being converted into a cultural hub as its cabaret houses transform into forward-thinking museums. El Raval’s character is constantly defined and redefined by the people who call it home, and its locals celebrate their neighbourhood’s against-the-grain nature. When you’re in El Raval, revel as its inhabitants do.”

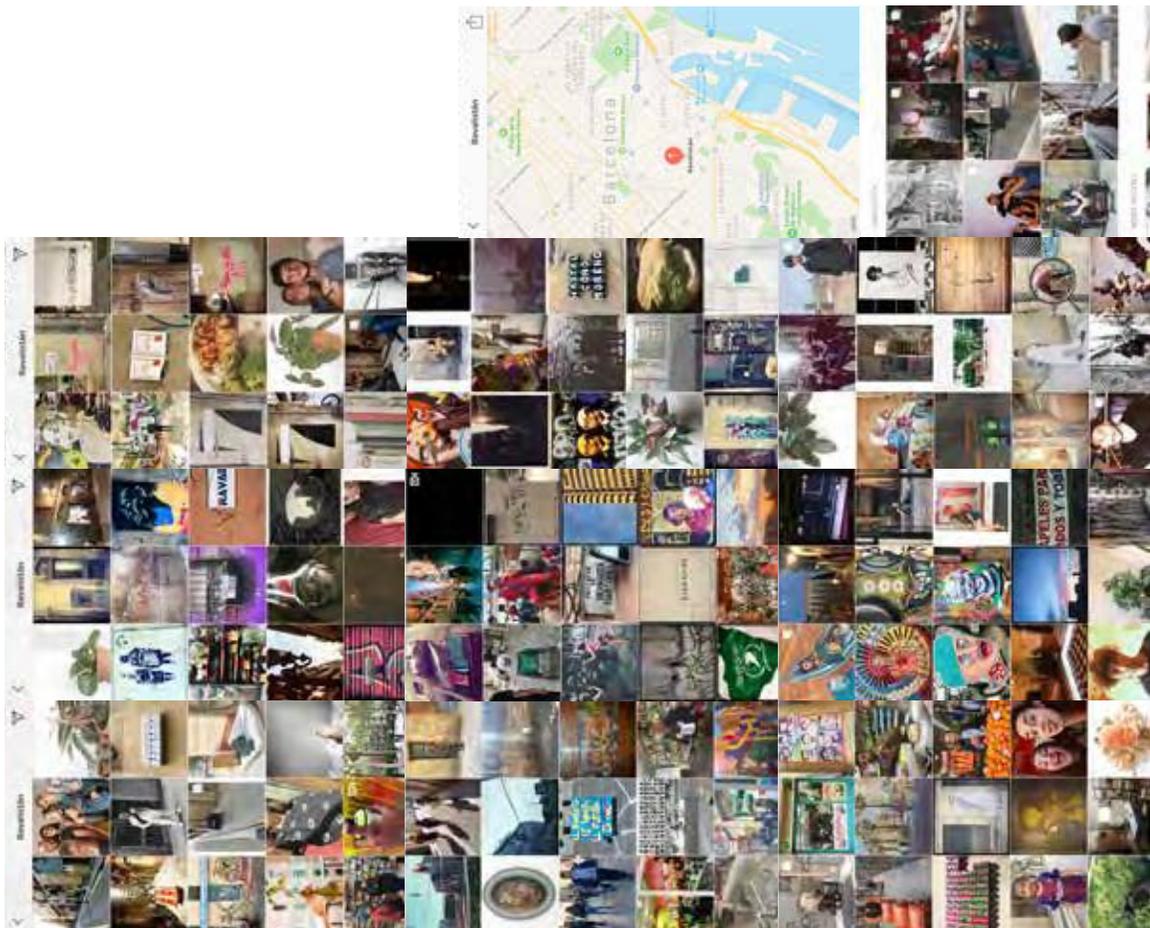
The Lonely Planet* suggests the following top eight sights to see in Raval:

1. Palau Guell
2. Mercat de la Boqueria
3. MACBA
4. Antic Hospital de la Santa Creu
5. Rambla del Raval
6. Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona [CCCB]
7. Esglesia de Sant Pau del Camp
8. Institut d’Estudis Catalans

* “El Raval, Barcelona Guide - Airbnb Neighbourhoods.” Airbnb. Accessed November 08, 2018. <https://www.airbnb.ca/locations/barcelona/el-raval>.

** Lonely Planet. “El Raval Travel.” Lonely Planet. Accessed November 08, 2018. <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/spain/barcelona/el-raval>.

Cultural documentation using the representation of Raval through social media outlets, in this case the use of Instagram, and the varying ways each narrative is portrayed. Using terminology specific to the neighbourhood [ravalistan] we are able to see posts from a particular demographic, someone who might resemble a similar story to the blanquita. Alternatively, when using widely know terms [El Raval, Barcelona] the tourist or short term visitor is prevalent.

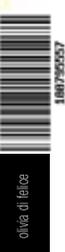




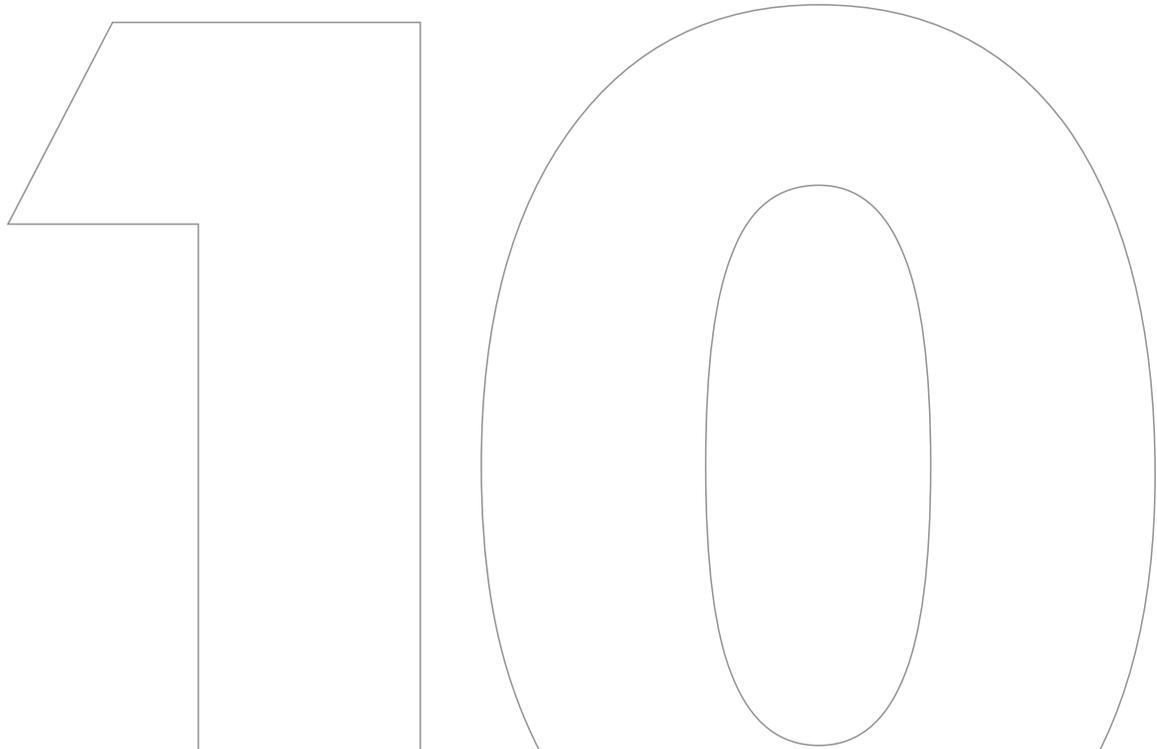
BLANQUITA @ PLAÇA MACBA
 - open 24/7. Featuring a selection of beer
 1€/can, provided by PakiBeer Raval.
 Get there before 03:00am for a spot on the
 ramp.

We seek out this edge at plaça MACBA when the bars close, the alternative to heading to a club or ending the night by going home. Acting as more than an extension of the bar, a night time chance theatre where you are bound to meet a friend and observe.

RAVAL



oliva di felice



It's 2:30 and we are kicked out of the bar. I'm holding the remainder of my drink in a flimsy plastic cup, the sides buckling between my fingers. I've gotten good at rolling cigarettes with a drink in my hand - but I need to concentrate. We stand just outside the door of the bar, smoking and finishing what's left of our drinks. The street is packed - full of people spilling out of bars and the chorus of gates crashing behind them.

I'm not drunk enough for the club, but too drunk to go home.

You can't walk more than 10 meters without hearing "Cerveza beer?". On every corner there's a group of Pakistani men selling off brand beer out of plastic shopping bags for a euro a can. Always warm and always a surprise, you're lucky to get something you recognize.

MACBA is only a block away. At night there is less skateboarding and more sitting around and beer drinking. The usual cast of characters are all there; leftover skateboarders, their groupies, hipsters, maybe a drunk tourist or two, homeless junkies -- You name it and then add everyone in between. It's filled with the kind of loud and animated conversation you start to feel after your third drink.

We sit on the ramp, full of people the entire length of the plaza; a well lit courtyard that puts everyone on display.

Similar to the gay community, the creative class makes decisions based on location and lifestyle interests rather than employment opportunity, seeking lifestyle diversity, entertainment and environmental quality, namely;

- A diverse cultural and demographic population that reflects an open and tolerant community,
- Diversity in an environment that promotes nonconformity,
- An active and informal street life that provides for new experiences,
- A nightlife that offers a wide array of options

The urban agenda focuses on development for this elite class. The creative class is viewed as indifferent to social and economic disparity and racial inequalities and these issues are pushed aside in favour of the factors that are driving forces of relocation for this group.



There's a big poster in the middle of the Rambla del Raval. A guy is peeing on it and I can't really make out what it's about because it has been spray painted over.

Promising start.

A revitalization project stamped by the Ajuntament de Barcelona. There are pictures with a lot of smiling faces. What are they smiling about? Are we supposed to be happy about this poster? I hope whatever they are up to actually good for the community.



illustration 66 - rambla del raval [part 1]

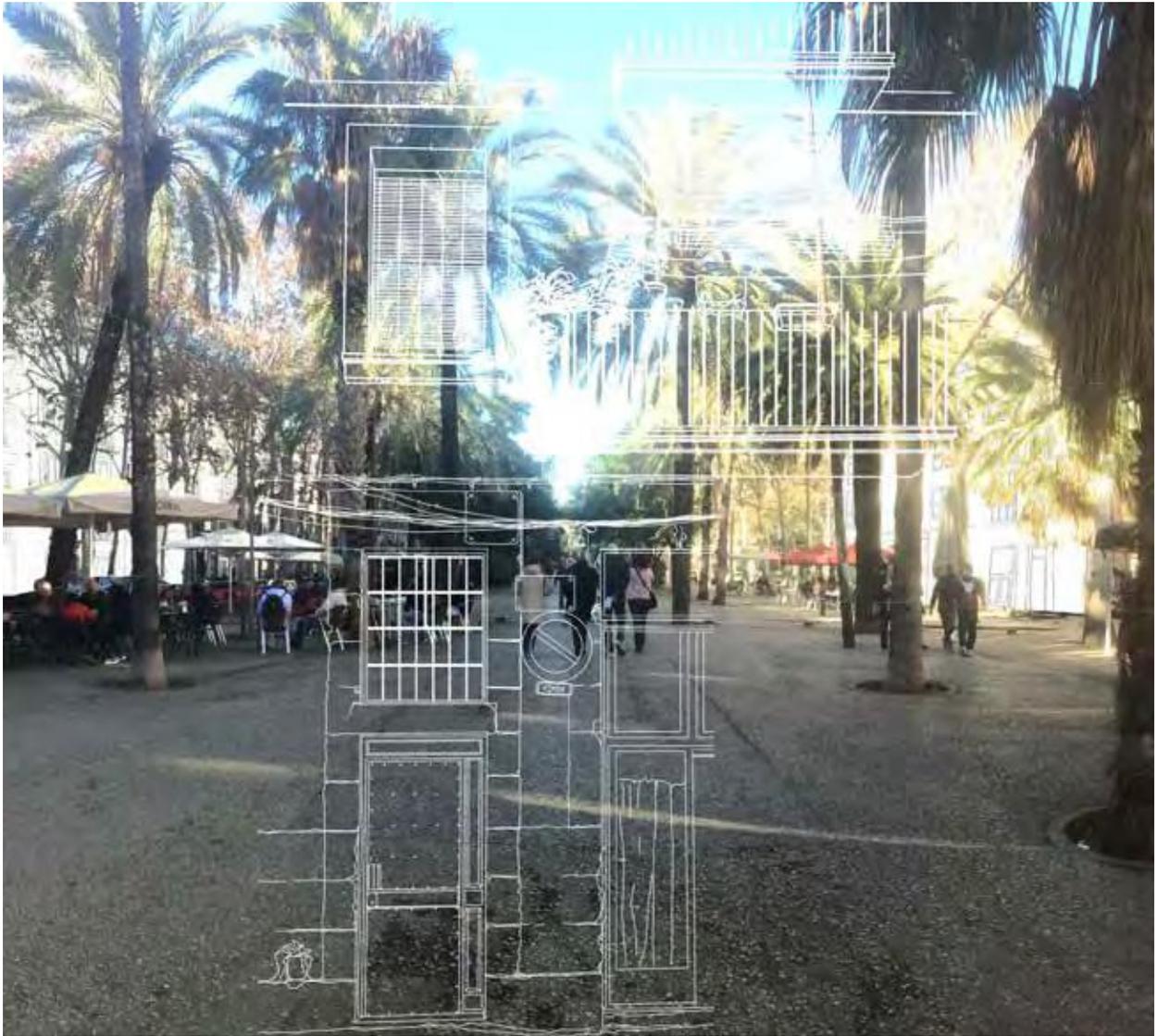


illustration 67 - rambla del raval [part 2]



illustration 68 - rambla del raval [part 3]



12

POST SCRIPT

The graphic features a large, thin outline of the number '12'. A solid black horizontal bar is positioned behind the lower portion of the number. Below the bar, the words 'POST SCRIPT' are written in a bold, black, sans-serif font. The entire composition is framed by four L-shaped corner marks at the top and bottom corners.

I have never thought twice about that street, I only know about it because I like the fruit stand on the corner. It's a dark street, narrow to begin with, and any light that might have reached the ground is blocked out, by the loads of clothing hanging from the balconies. I've never had a reason to walk down that street and I definitely don't know it's name. On one end it opens onto a small plaza, where a bunch of sketchy dudes are always hanging out - and I have no idea what the entrance looks like on the other end or even what street it intersects with.

It wasn't until I told Jesse about the narco flag I found there that I discovered that it is also the primary street for the sale and distribution of heroin and cocaine by the moroccans. It is also the connection to a gated street of squatter flats that house and protect the families of those same drug dealers.

I speak a lot about transgressive types, because these are the people who thrive here. Careful observation of these types provides information about the streets, how they really work and how to use them properly. I would say Jesse falls into the transgressive. He's curious, indulgent, savvy and he's extremely hard to organize anything with. My best bet at finding him is by bumping into him on the street.

Jesse knows about this thesis and was eager to chat about it. So, as per usual, we grabbed a can and went for a walk. He knows what streets have the best Pakistani food and the best Filipino food. He knows which streets have the artist okupas - squatter flat - and where all the anarchist groups are. He also knows all the right people and more shopkeepers by name than I can keep track of.

I thought I would impress him by telling him about the narco flat I found, to which he responded "yeah those guys are scary". I should have known that he already knew, and then he one upped me by saying "did you know they gated off their own street two doors down from that flat?"

Jesse lives on the next block over and explained that he makes a point of buying hash from these particular guys once a week so they know who he is. He said it's better to have them know you and know that you don't want any trouble than to remain anonymous.

The social implications of architecture and urban intervention reverberate with the neighbourhood of Raval in an intimate way. The home extends into the street and domestic life is evident in the public realm.

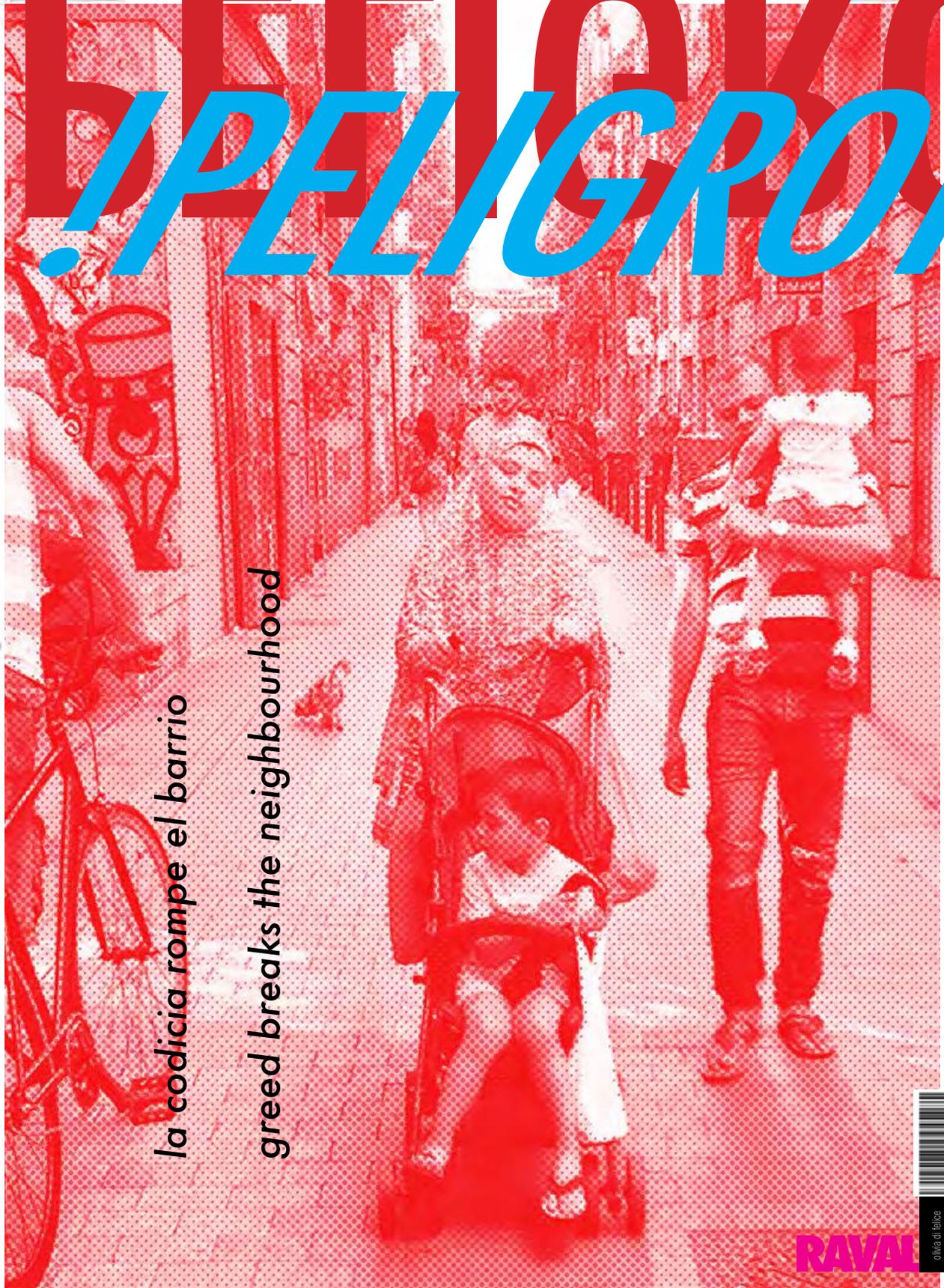
Historical upbringing and major factors of change outside of the control of the inhabitants plays an important role in its current development. Themes of inclusion, perseverance, intrigue and life that thrives in the margin, carry the neighbourhood throughout time.

This is not a design of appropriate intervention strategies or future urbanism to benefit the neighbourhood but instead provide a critical observation of the current and quickly changing ecosystem that exists today.

¡PELIGRO!

la codicia rompe el barrio

greed breaks the neighbourhood



01/14 di Folice

RAVAL

My Raval education is one provided by the people who call it home. A neighbourhood characterized and defined by its inhabitants; the diversity of its use by the diversity of its users.

This is my perception of the neighbourhood, the anxieties of change that loom over those who do not have control over it, the boundaries that are placed physically and how they differ from the boundaries that people place on themselves.



JOSEP MARÍA SAGARRA. c.1930.

DO _

CUM _

ENT

las ramblas; border of raval

[1933]





las ramblas; border of raval

BETWEEN TALLERS AND BUENSUCESO STREETS
Frederic Ballell, 1907.



Casas i Galobardes, c.1930.
Assemblea Nacional Catalana [ANC]



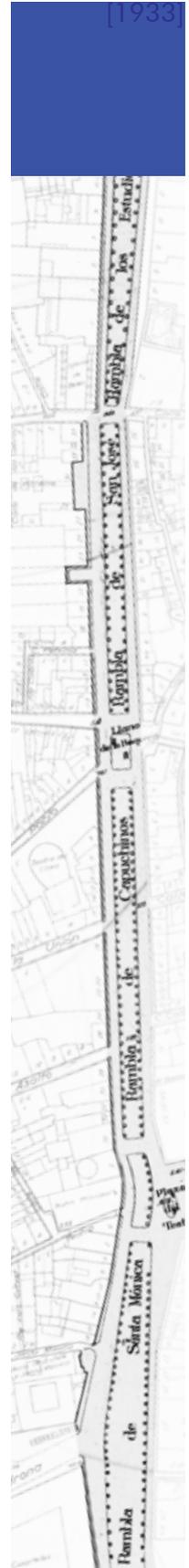
Casas i Galobardes, c.1930. [ANC]



Branguli, 1939-1942. [ANC]



Branguli, 1939-1942. [ANC]



r a m b l a c a n a l e t a s

las ramblas; border of raval



Branguli 1939-1942. Assemblée Nacional Catalana [ANC]



Branguli 1939-1942. [ANC]



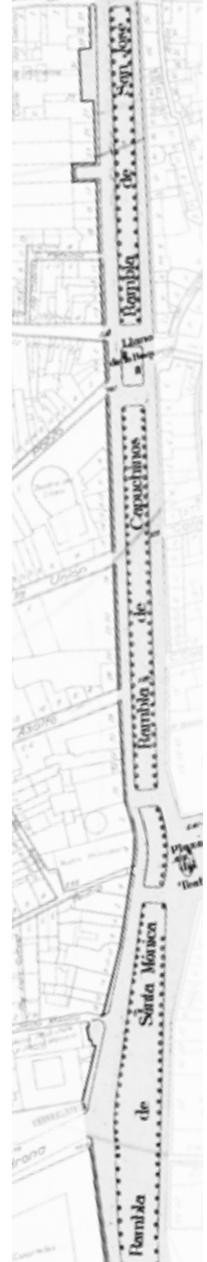
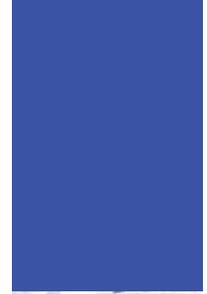
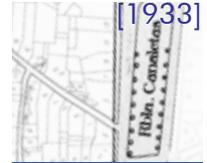
PALAU MOJA GARDENS Bert i Claret, 1924.



PALAU MOJA GARDENS [prior to demolition] Bert i Claret, 1924.



Branguli, 1939-1942. [ANC]



r a m b l a d e l o s e s t u d i o s



les ramblas; border of raval

Casas i Galobardes, c.1930.
Assemblea Nacional Catalana [ANC]



Branguli, 1939-1942. [ANC]



ABOVE HOSPITAL & CARDENAL CASANAS/BOQUERIA.
Bert and Claret, February 1924. [ANC]



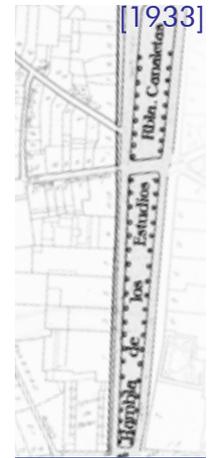
Sagarra, c.1920.



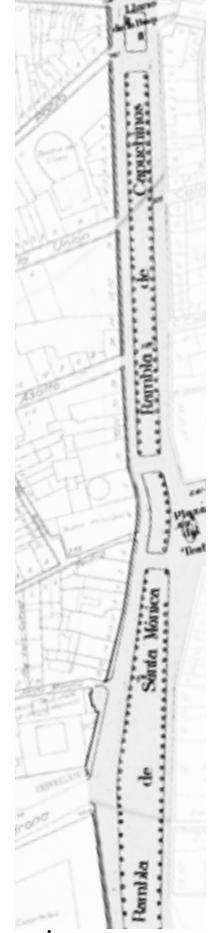
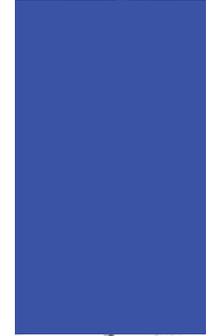
CARMEN AND PUERTA FERRISA STREET. Sagarra, 1927.



Josep M^o Sagarra, 1931. [ANC]

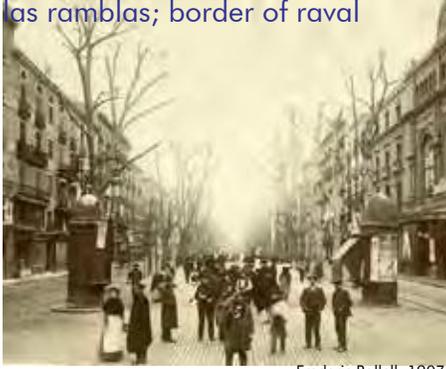


[1933]



r a m b l a d e s a n j o s e

las ramblas; border of raval



Frederic Ballell, 1907.



Sagarra, 1927.



Branguli, c.1930. Assemblea Nacional Catalana [ANC]



Branguli, c.1930. [ANC]



ENTRANCE TO SAN PABLO Branguli, c. 1930. [ANC]



HOTEL DEL CENTRO Casas i Galobardes, 1931.



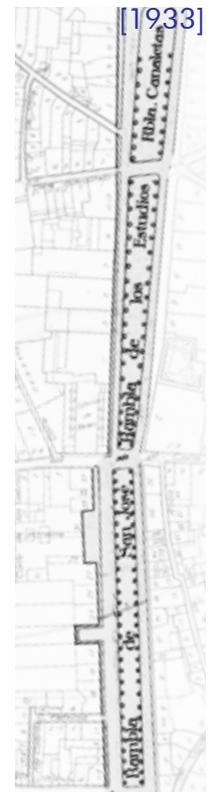
Casas i Galobardes, 1933-1935.



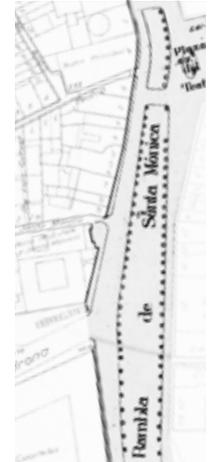
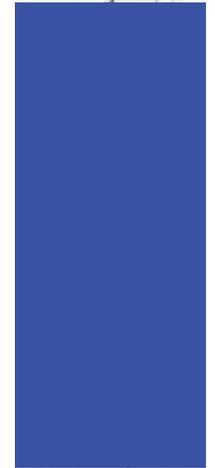
ENTRANCE TO PLAZA REIAL. Branguli, 1939-1942.



Unknown Author, c.1950.



[1933]



r a m b l a d e c a p u c h i n o s

las ramblas; border of raval



Casas i Galobardes, c.1930. [ANC]



TERRACE OF THE HOTEL ORIENT

Frederic Ballell, 1907. [AFB]



FRENCH BOOKSTORE

Casas i Galobardes, c.1920. [ANC]



THE BLACK CAT

Gaspar i Serra, c.1930. [ANC]



Casas i Galobardes, c.1930. [ANC]



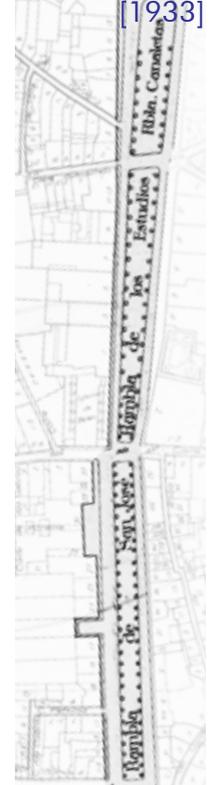
Frederic Ballell, c.1907. [AFB]



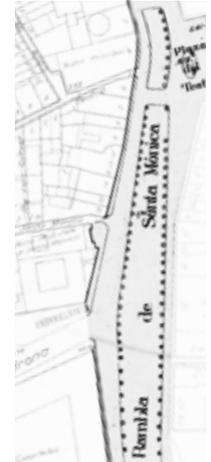
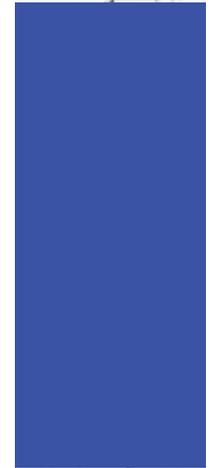
Frederic Ballell, c.1930. [AFB]



Branguli, 1910.



[1933]



r a m b l a d e c a p u c h i n o s



Branguli, c.1930. Assemblea Nacional Catalana [ANC]



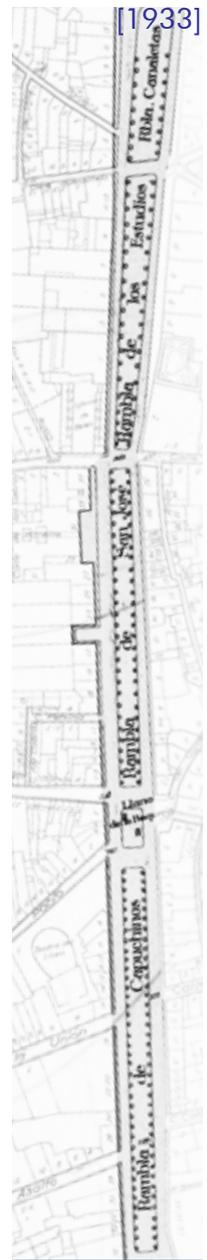
Branguli, 1939-1942. [ANC]



BELOW PLAZA DEL TEATRO Gaspar i Serra, c.1930.



Josep Maria Sagarra, 1935. [ANC]



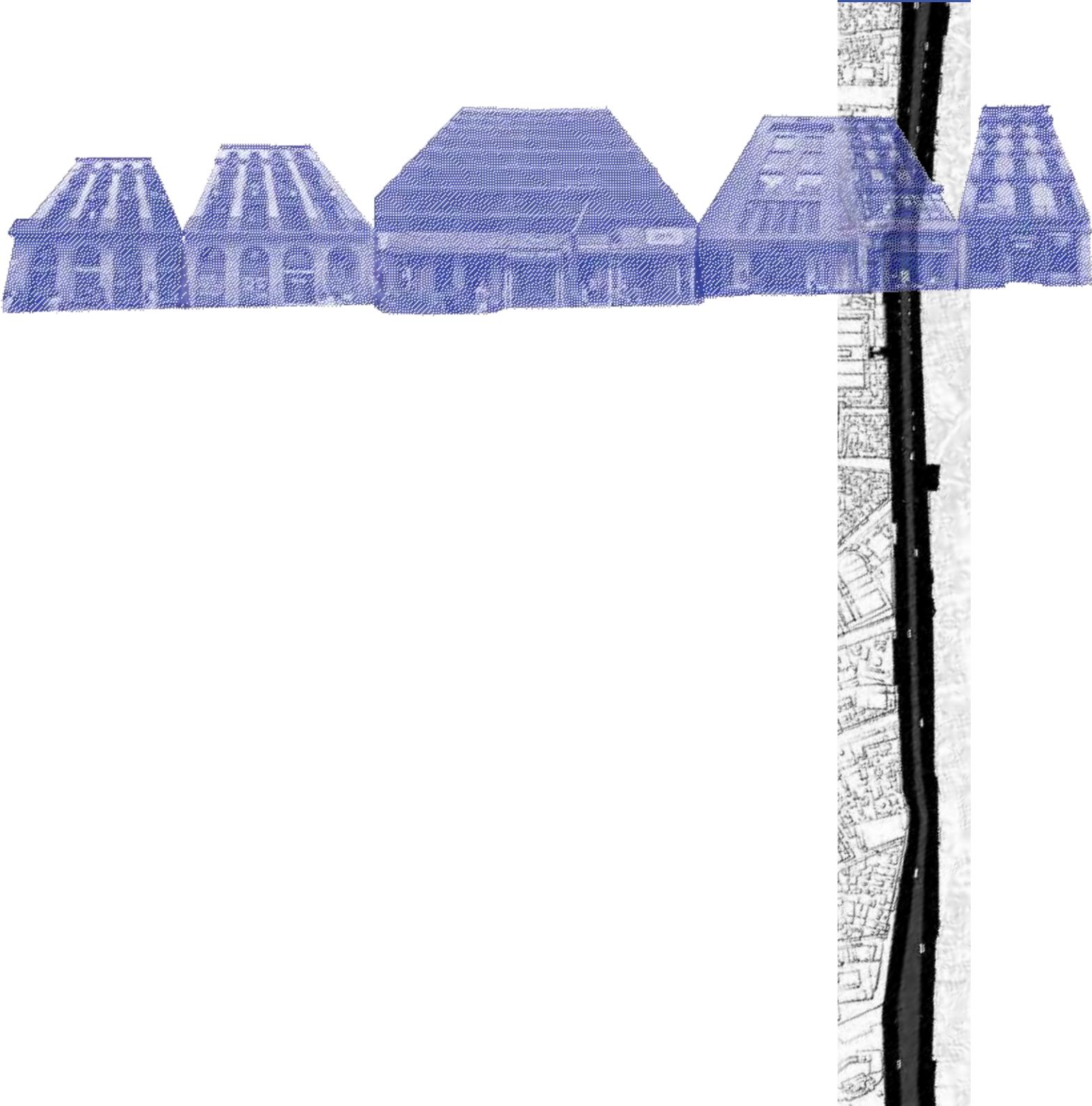
[1933]

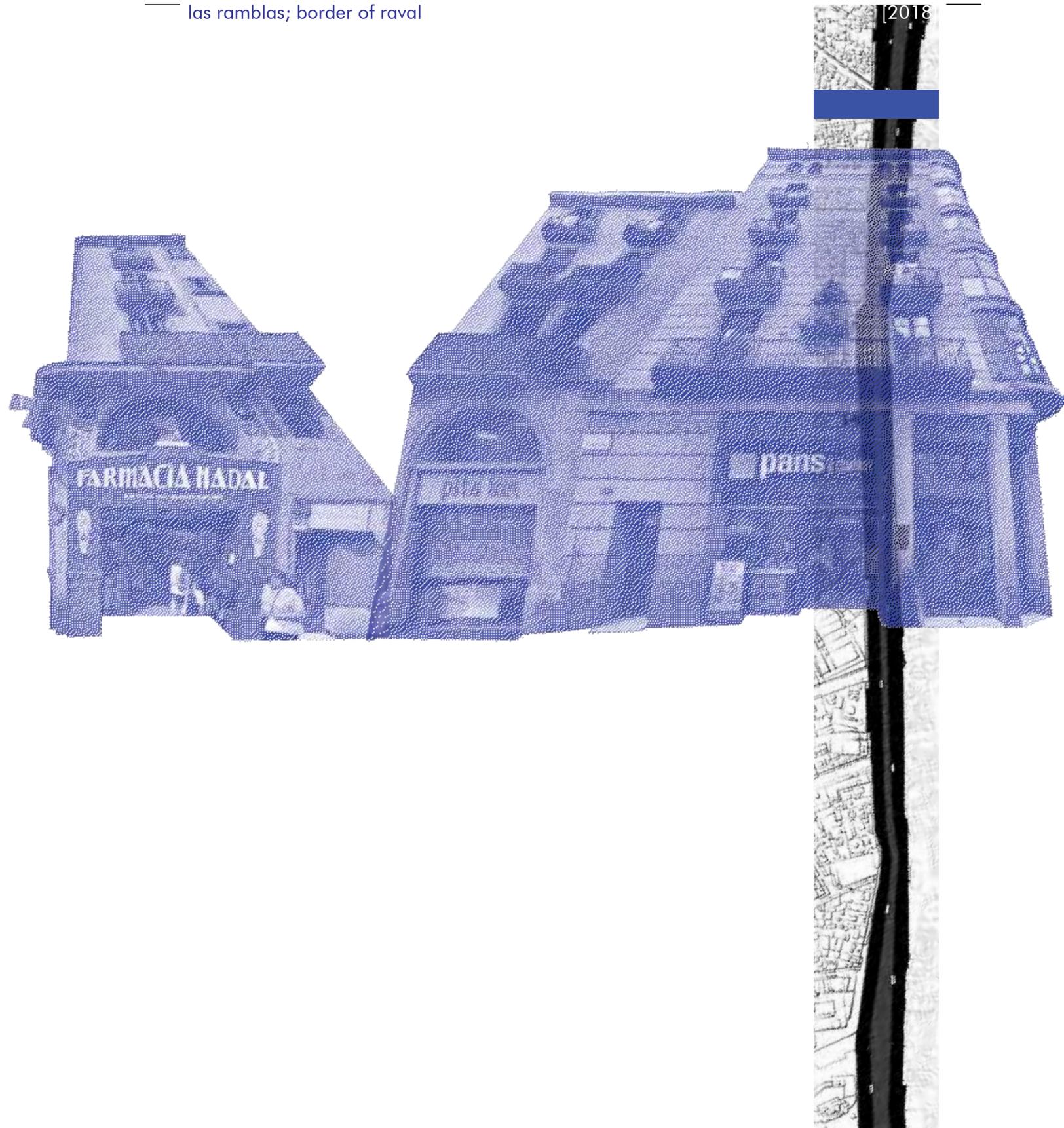
r a m b l a d e s a n t a m o n i c a

las ramblas; border of raval

[2018]

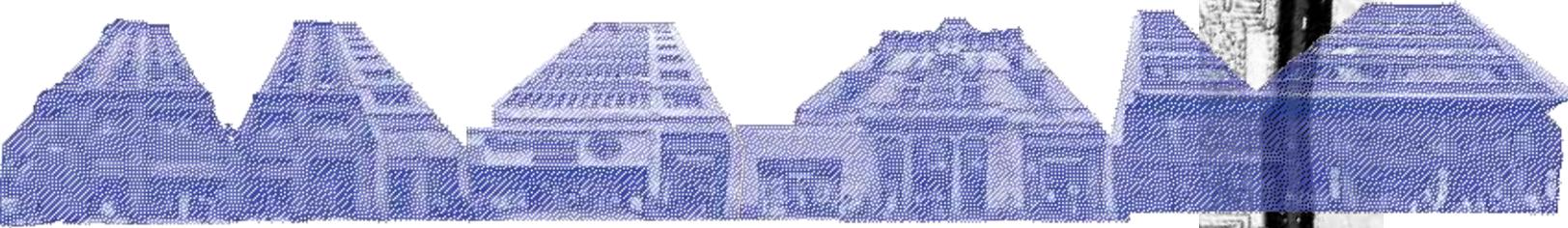






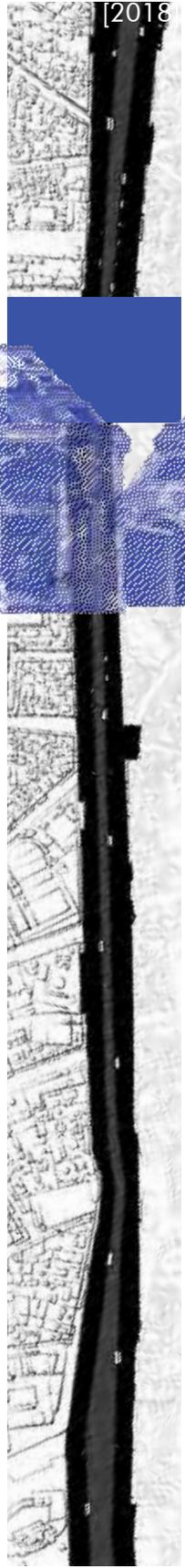
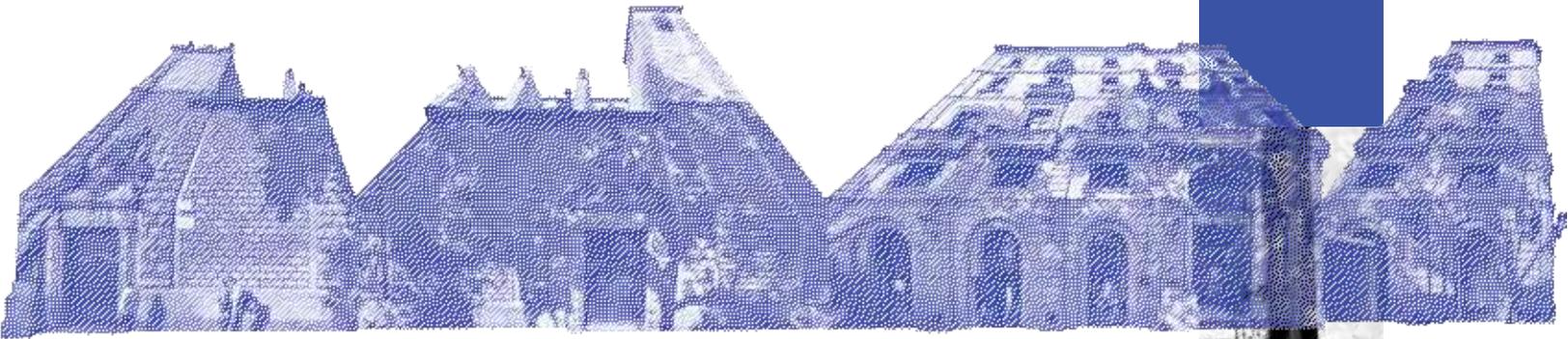
las ramblas; border of raval

[2018



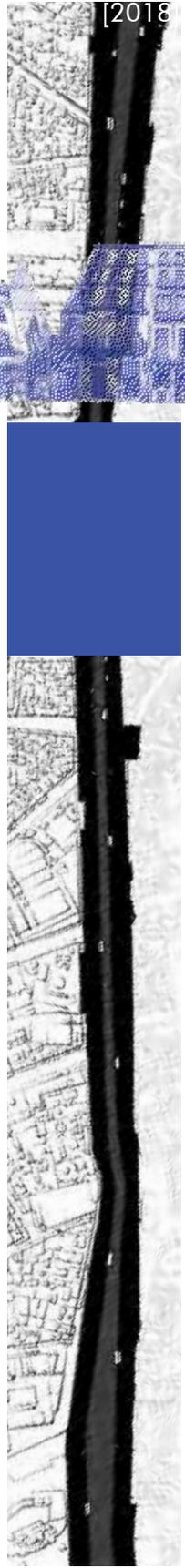
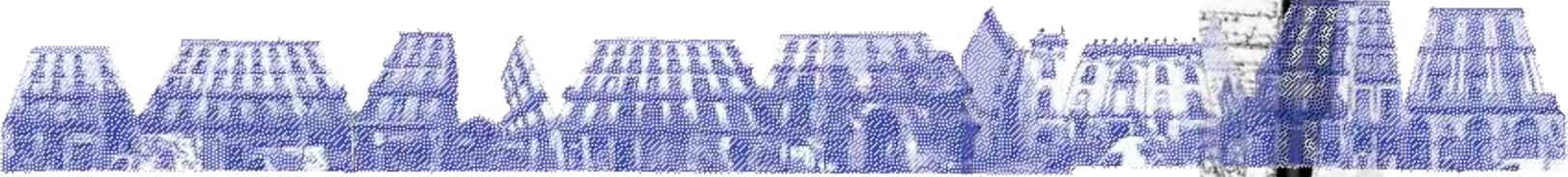
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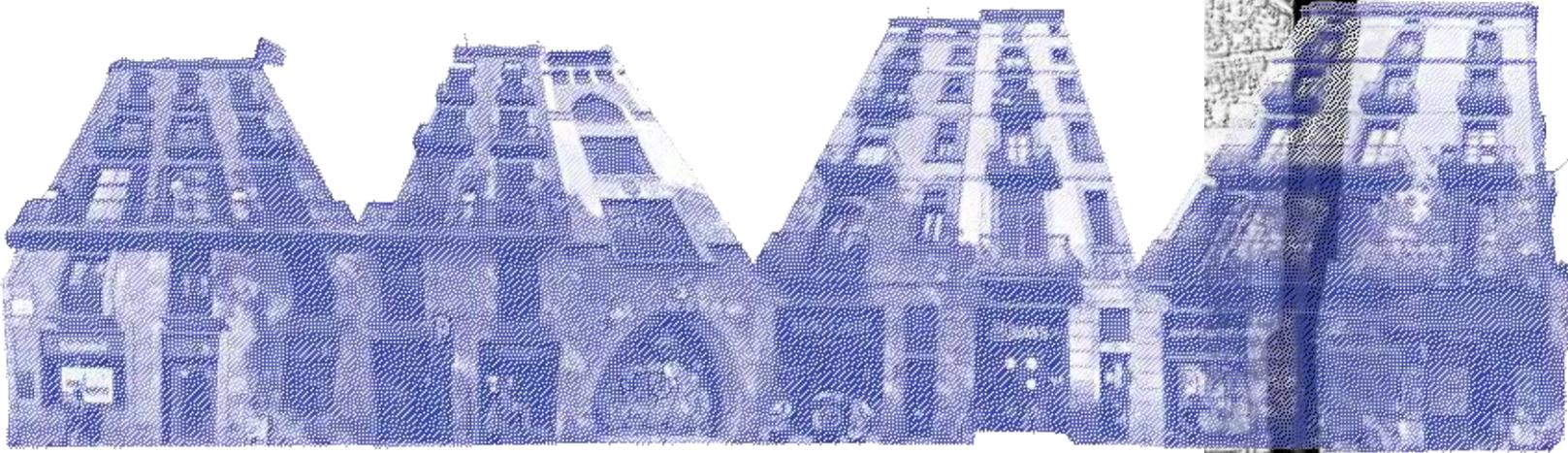
las ramblas; border of raval

[2018]



las ramblas; border of raval

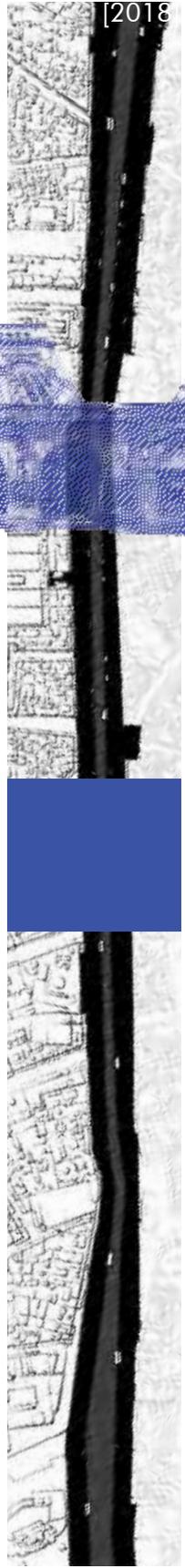
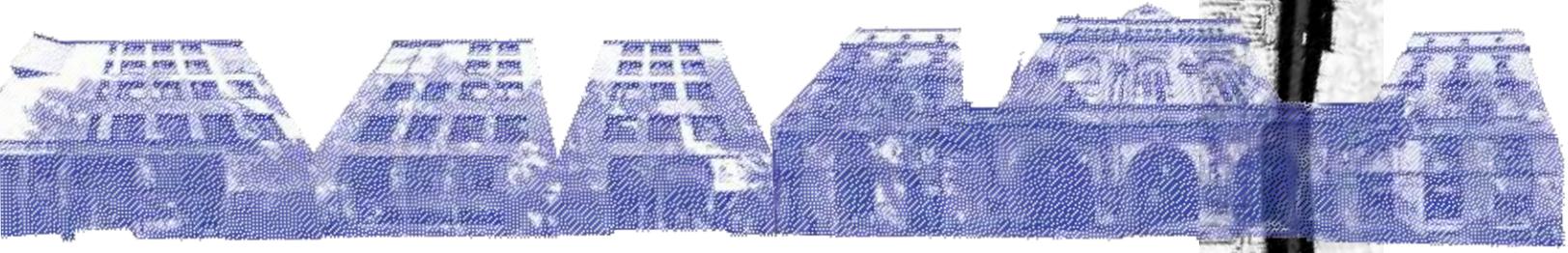
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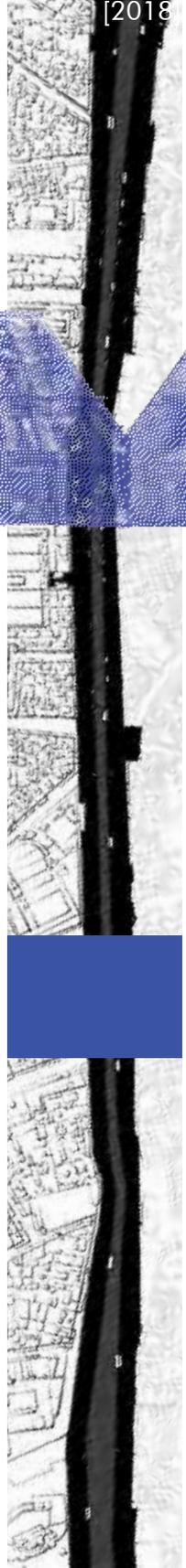
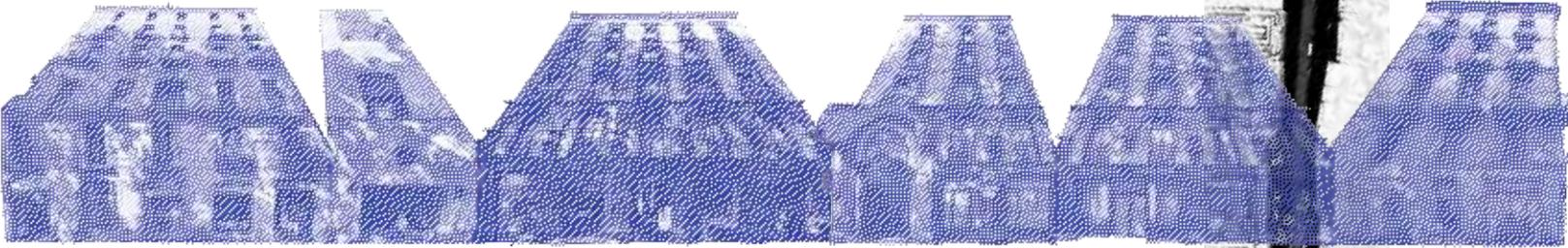


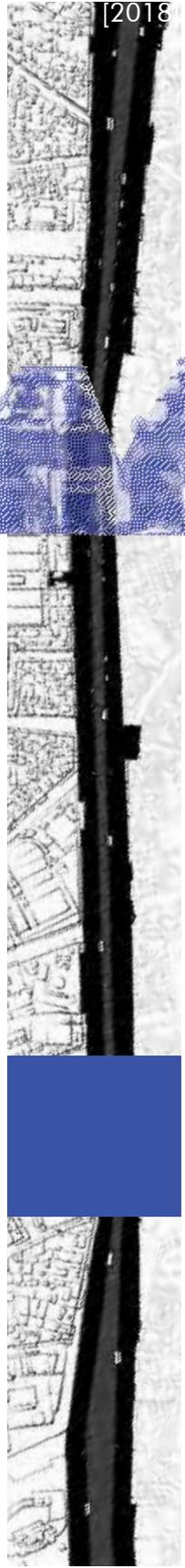
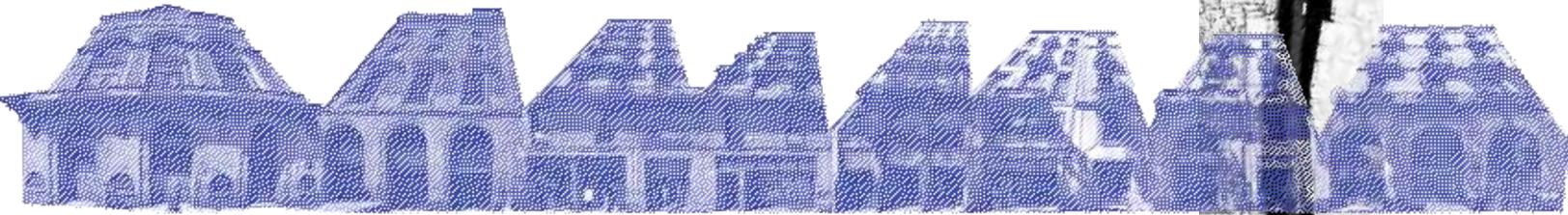
las ramblas; border of raval

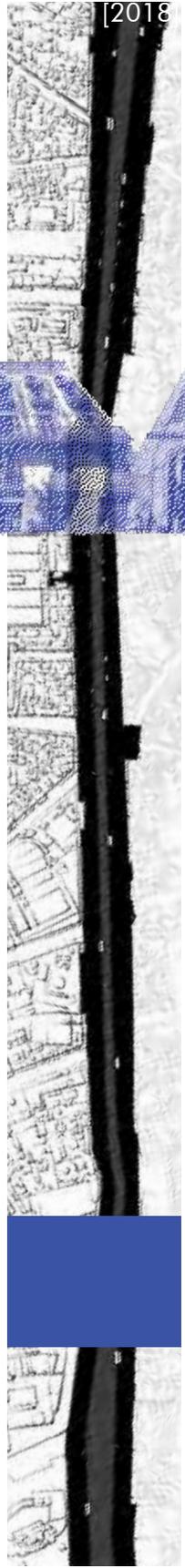
[2018]











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