



MADRID CITY GOVERNMENT
Arts Area



**“In the centre, looking south.
In the south, looking toward the centre.”**

Qualitative evaluation of Arganzuela District

ANTIGONA Procesos Participativos

Concepción Lorenzana
Lucrecia Olivari

Madrid, march 2007

We would especially like to thank all the individuals, groups, and entities who helped to carry out this research study by giving their opinions in interviews, as well as those people who helped to arrange them.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2005 the Arts Area of the Madrid City Government started Intermediae, an entity “which aims to offer the city of Madrid a space for contemporary creation where the City Government serves as a catalyst between creators and citizens for the purpose of looking for and presenting alternative forms of expressions, creation, and thought”¹. Intermediae is physically located in a warehouse at the former slaughterhouse in Legazpi, in an area that, in coming years, will be the headquarters for a set of cultural services for Arganzuela District, as well as for the rest of the city of Madrid². Since one of Intermediae’s main purposes is related to interventions in the physical space of the Matadero, its surrounding area, and other enclaves in the district, it was decided that it was necessary to carry out a social diagnosis in order to define the main characteristics of the neighbourhoods that comprise the district, as well as citizens’ opinions relating to general problems affecting the area and potential interactions by groups, local networks, and local residents in connection with projects structured through Intermediae. The diagnosis was planned in two stages: the first was a quantitative study of the demographic, economic, educational, health care, social, and cultural characteristics of the district³, which would permit a primary quantitative evaluation of the district. The second stage (which began while the first stage was still underway) comprised the qualitative study presented here. Field work was carried out between June and November 2006. This time frame is essential, especially as related to a number of comments about one of the district’s main problems: construction work on the M30 motorway. To a lesser degree, that time frame is also an influential factor in the evaluations gathered regarding the Matadero space, as by that date, only a few isolated events had been held in that space.

¹ Draft #1, Intermediae; www.intermediae.es

² The Matadero Project aims to offer an adaptation of the General Urban Development Plan (Plan General de Ordenación Urbana), based on a Sole Modification, through a Special Plan with the aim of transforming an environment comprising the former Municipal Slaughterhouse, the Paseo de la Chopera Workshops building, and the former Fruit and Vegetable Market in order to completely rehabilitate the complex. To that end, all existing buildings will be consolidated and restructured, while respecting protected architectural components. The quality of the surrounding area will be improved through the use of acoustic panels that muffle the noise from the nearby M30 motorway. The inner spaces between buildings will be paved, and lights and gardens will be installed. The land available to build on measures about 130,000 square metres, of which over 50,000 would be used for installations. Agenda Local 21, Sustainability Diagnosis for the Arganzuela District 2006. For further information about the “Matadero Project”: www.mataderomadrid.com

³ Quantitative evaluation of the Arganzuela District. ANTIGONA Procesos Participativos. Concepción Lorenzana y Lucrecia Olivari. Madrid, January 2007.

PURPOSE

- ◆ To ascertain the characteristics of the area of which the institution will become a part.
- ◆ To reinforce the interrelationship between the institution's activities and the neighbourhood.

OBJECTIVES

The aims of the diagnosis are two-fold. First, to aid Intermediae's technical team in improving their programming tasks through information and knowledge of the district. Second, to offer the artists and groups that intervene directly in the physical space the components and keys to creative and artistic relationships.

- ◆ To find out what individuals and associations think about the problems in their district.
- ◆ To find out how associations and residents see the Matadero Project.

METHODOLOGY

As mentioned above in the Introduction, the first phase of the project was aimed at carrying out a quantitative study that gave us our first photograph of the social reality of the district.

In this documentary review, the following sources were consulted:

- Padrón municipal de habitantes de la ciudad de Madrid. ÁREA DE GOBIERNO DE HACIENDA Y ADMINISTRACIÓN PÚBLICA. Dirección General de Estadística.
- Plan de acción 2004, 2005, 2006. OFICINA DEL CENTRO. ÁREA DE GOBIERNO DE ECONOMÍA Y PARTICIPACIÓN CIUDADANA.
- Guía de recursos para la conciliación de los distritos de Arganzuela, Centro y Retiro. ÁREA DE GOBIERNO DE EMPLEO Y SERVICIOS A LA CIUDADANÍA. DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE IGUADAD DE OPORTUNIDADES.
- Guía de centros culturales Ciudad de Madrid. ÁREA DE COORDINACIÓN TERRITORIAL, 2005.
- Guía de recursos para jóvenes distrito a distrito. CUARTA TENENCIA DE ALCALDÍA. CONCEJALÍA DE CULTURA, EDUCACIÓN, JUVENTUD Y DEPORTES, 1998.
- Agenda Local 21. Diagnóstico de sostenibilidad del Distrito de Arganzuela 2006.
- Guía de convivencia intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid. Observatorio de las migraciones y la convivencia intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid. ÁREA DE GOBIERNO DE EMPLEO Y SERVICIOS A LA CIUDADANÍA. DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE INMIGRACIÓN, COOPERACIÓN AL DESARROLLO Y VOLUNTARIADO. Edición 2005-2006.
- Anuario de la Convivencia Intercultural de la Ciudad de Madrid 2006.
- Mapa escolar. DISTRITO DE ARGANZUELA, 2006.
- Valores totales de la comisión permanente de escolarización Nº 4. DIRECCIÓN DEL ÁREA TERRRRITORIAL DE MADRID CAPITAL. CONSEJERÍA DE EUCACIÓN. COMUNIDAD DE MADRID. DEPARTAMENTO DE ESTADÍSTICA. INSPECCIÓN EDUCATIVA MADRID-CAPITAL, 2006.
- Relación de asociaciones inscritas en el registro municipal de entidades ciudadanas de Arganzuela. ÁREA DE GOBIERNO DE ECONOMÍA Y PARTICIPACIÓN CIUDADANA. SERVICIO DE FOMENTO DEL ASOCIACIONISMO, 2006.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Censo Nacional de Viviendas 2001.
- "Historia de los distritos de Madrid". Arganzuela. Mª Isabel Gea Ortigas. Ediciones LA LIBRERÍA, 2002.
- "Diccionario de Madrid". J. Montero Alonso, F. Azorín García, J. Montero Padilla. Ed. Rubiños, 1977.
- Diagnóstico sociodemográfico, ámbito territorial de la Oficina del Centro, 2004.
- Informe encuesta menores. VICARÍA V. CÁRITAS MADRID, 2005
- "La comunidad parroquial y los voluntarios de Cáritas al encuentro de la realidad

social de la vicaría V". CÁRITAS MADRID, 2004.

- <http://www.ine.es>
- <http://www.munimadrid.es>
- <http://www.intermediae.es>

In order to carry out the field work of gathering a collection of district residents' opinions and feelings, a structural sample was designed. It allowed us to visualize the broadest possible range of positions on the subject of our research to be found in the pre-defined territorial context. That is, the sample identified the subjects to be contacted as well as the type of technique to use to gather their comments.

In compiling that sample, we used two criteria:

- our starting point was a positional sample⁴ (see accompanying Social Map), which made it possible to visualize the relationships that exist among groups, associations, institutions, and informal groups active in the district. That sample was based on information gathered in the first phase, as well as a series of interviews with key informants.
- Secondly, we incorporated a set of relevant variables (gender, age, country of origin, economic status, residential status, job, etc.), based on the quantitative study carried out during the first phase.

The field work was done during the months of July, August, and November 2006, and combined individual and group interviews, as well as participatory observation. In all cases, the interviews were held in the places where the person(s) carried out their usual activities: leisure, work, residence, etc.

The people and places contacted during the field work were as follows:

Educational Expert from the City Council

Students at the Adult Education School

Parents of district schoolchildren

Children and adolescents who participate in activities at the City Play Centre (*Ludoteca Municipal Técnica*)

Expert by CASI (Centre for Social Assistance for Immigrants)

District Co-existence Panel (*Mesa de Convivencia*)

District Equality Agent Council

Intercultural Mediator Intercultural Mediators from the Biblioteca Archivo Regional Joaquín Leguina

Caritas Volunteers

Women Immigrants

Senior Citizens Centre

Senior citizens who attend activities at Senior Citizens Centre "Casa del Reloj"

Adult Education School

S.O.S. Arganzuela

Residents assembly with the presence of members of parliament from the European Commission

⁴ See the accompanying Social Map

The type of interviews carried out is called "partially structured"⁵. Each interview lasted from 30 to 45 minutes, with a recording device and a list of topics to be covered which served to allow the interviewer to bring the interview back on track if the content was too tangential or not relevant to the study's objectives. People's identities were kept anonymous, as well as any specific data that would make it possible to identify them.

The topic list used in both individual and group interviews was basically the same, with a few questions that varied upon requesting the opinion of an institution or association.

Prior to introducing the research study, its objectives, and a description of what was to be done, the following standard questions were used to stimulate and orient the conversation:

For individual or group interviews

- How long have you lived/worked in the District?
- If you live in the District, what do you do in your free time?
- If you work in the District, what type of work do you do?
- Do you know of or are you involved in any associations?
- In your opinion, what are the main problems in the District?
- Who do you think is working to solve the problems in this District?
- What do you know about the Matadero Project?
- What is your concept of Contemporary Art?

If the interview was for an institution or an association, the following sets of questions were asked

- CONTEXT
 - Who are you and what do you do?
 - How long have you been active and what groups do you deal with?
 - What type of work, programmes, and activities do you do?
- RELATIONSHIPS/NETWORKS
 - What other associations/institutions do you have relationships with?
 - Do you coordinate activities?
 - Which ones?
- PROBLEMATIC ISSUES IN THE DISTRICT
 - In your everyday activities, what do you feel are the main problems affecting the district?

⁵ By "partially structured interviews" we mean those which do not follow a pre-established questionnaire and the questions are open, so that the person or group interviewed bring up the topics related to each question asked by the interviewer.

It is not an interrogation, but rather a time to converse and listen. However, a previously prepared outline based on our objectives and subjects of interest is used to guide the interview. Over the course of the interview, new questions will arise about subjects not anticipated previously.

- Who, in addition to you, is working to solve these problems?
- INTERMEDIAE/MATADERO
 - Are you familiar with the Matadero Project?
 - How would you approach programmes or activities related to contemporary art within the scope of your association/ institution?

Once our field work was complete, the information gathered was systematised and people's comments were analysed.

DIAGNOSIS

Prior to addressing the components of the diagnosis based on the results of our field work, we would like to set forth several considerations in order to place the limitations and potentials of the final product in context.

We would like to point out that the Social Map included in the following section is an essential tool for any attempt to portray the social reality of a given territorial space. Whereas the comments made by a territory's inhabitants reveal their feelings and perceptions, the Social Map provides us with information about their everyday activities, channels of communication, and the formal and/or informal circuits where they channel the problems and other needs related to their everyday lives.

Social reality is a complex fabric made up of multiple social processes that are constantly changing. For that reason, the Social Map plotted at any given time serves as a snapshot, a still photo of the specific time when it was made. Were we to take another snapshot today, the results would surely be different, which is also true of the participants and sources used in its creation. The only way we can attempt to visualize the movement and changes taking place in the relational fabric is through a series of still photos (much like animated motion pictures).

In accordance with the time allotted for the study, as well as its purpose, the Social Map presented here aims to meet the objectives of providing a preliminary still photo for the Intermediae team and groups that are initiating projects. It offers them information about the context where they will be developing their activities as well as input for their on-going process of building interrelationships and knowledge, which will be modified and become more complex over the course of future interventions in the projects carried out.

The same applies to the analysis of the information presented in the Subject Areas section: the material is to be used as input in new work spaces (such as workshops) which arise out of projects, in order to add complexity to the initial positions represented here (which are generally diametrically opposed), adding nuances and collectively building more creative outlooks that overcome the initial dualities.

SOCIAL MAP

Our findings identify 4 major subject areas that are the focus for a number of entities and groups to meet, act, and interact. They comprise a set of formal and informal channels used to give structure to concerns and problems associated with each subject area. In some cases, the actions taken are not coordinated among groups, and some of the relations among them are not reciprocal or lasting.

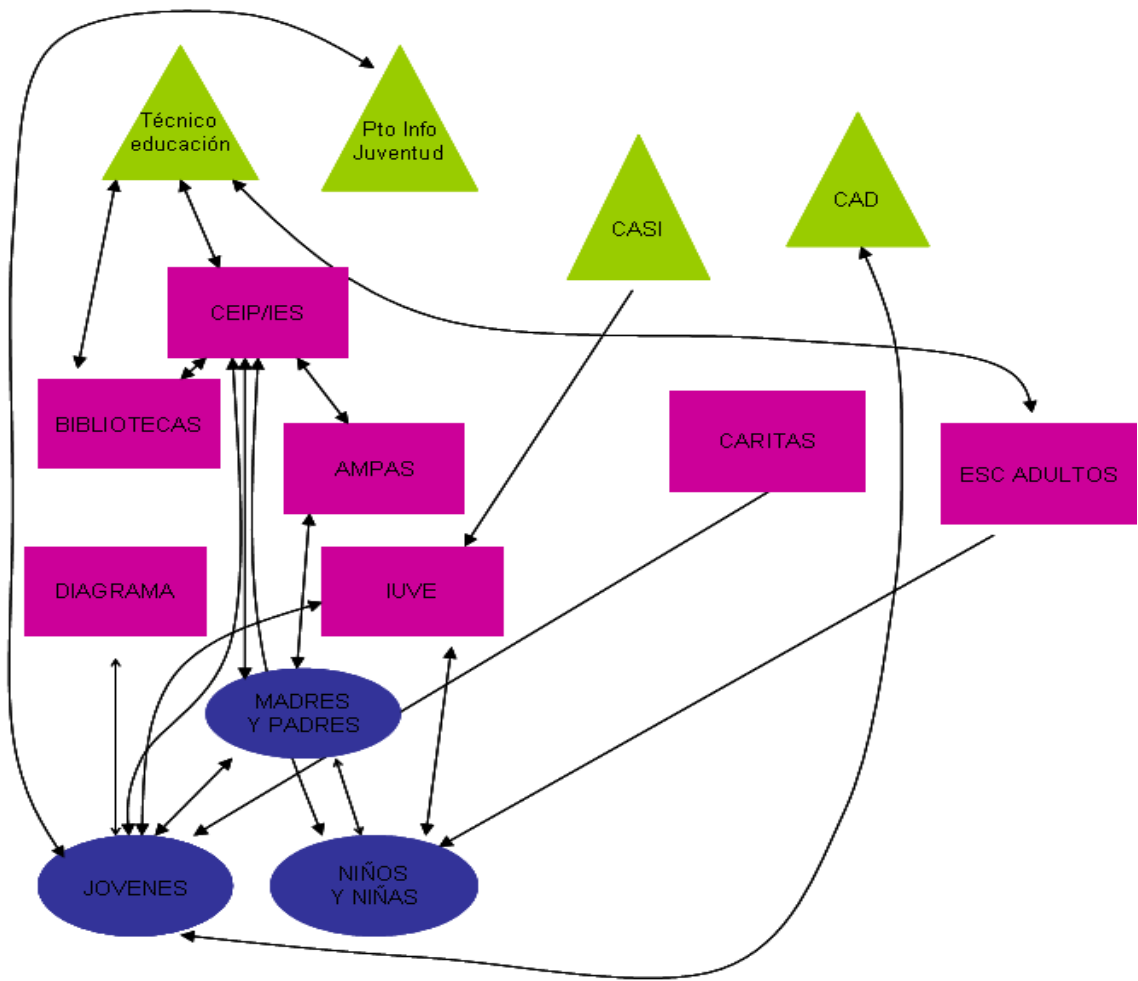
In some cases, this map matches the comments made in interviews, as it reflects the concerns expressed by residents (especially regarding citizen platforms arising in relation to construction affecting the district). In other cases, the map reflects an organisational system proposed by the city council, which is generally similar in all districts regardless of each district's specific characteristics.

As mentioned above, due to the limited research time allotted for field work, we were unable to identify all the informal groups. That would have allowed us to incorporate differential elements within the standard pre-established categories (youth, persons over 65, children, etc.). Consequently, the map is much more representative of a set of formal channels which we believe can offer support to the work of groups linked to Intermediae. However, the map will be enriched by new interventions carried out in future projects.

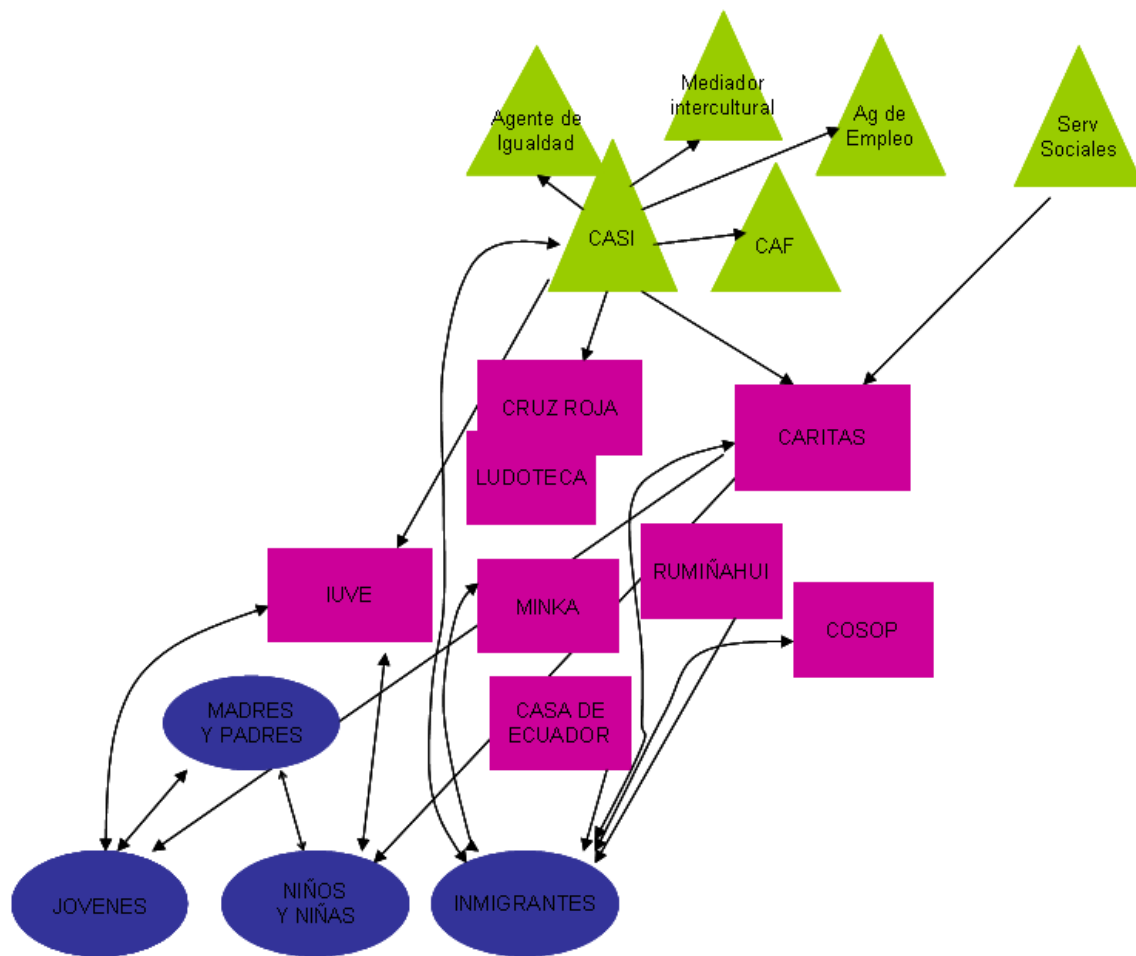
In all the figures, the following symbols have been used:

 Institutions  Associations  Groups and Informal Groups

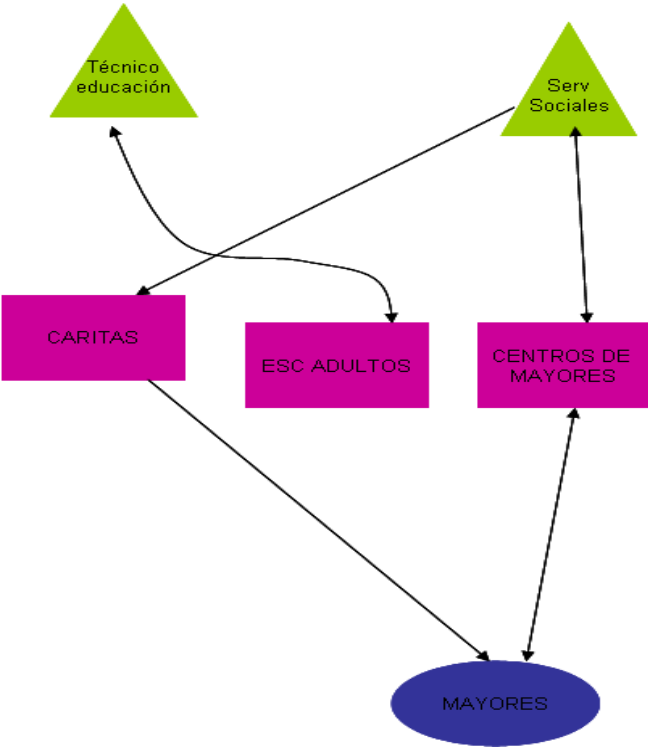
EDUCATION



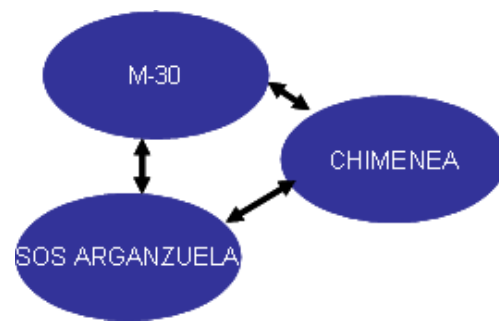
IMMIGRATION



SENIOR CITIZENS



CONSTRUCTION AFFECTING THE DISTRICT



SUBJECT AREAS

Our analysis of the information presented here is focused on the final set of questions, which are related to the problems people feel exist in their neighbourhood and alternative solutions, as well as questions about their view of contemporary art and Intermediae's future role.

Text in italics is a literal transcription of what was said and the initials in parentheses identify the speaker by profile.

- (CM) Senior citizens Center
- (A) Adolescents
- (VS) Social Volunteers
- (MI) Women Immigrants
- (EA) Schools for Adults
- (TA) Experts Associations
- (PC) Citizens' Platform
- (M/P) Parents
- (V) Resident

HOW THE AREA IS PERCEIVED / TYPE OF CITY

There's a very traditional part of the neighbourhood, from here on over there, from here back there, with the same small shops that have always been there... and then there's the new section, it's really nice, very close to the city centre, and it's very nice (P/M)

Throughout the entire analysis, there are two quite different views:

► On the one hand, some people feel and perceive that their neighbourhood has not changed much or at all, and that it shares the same problems and scarcity as the rest of the districts in the southern part of the city, which include: lower income, senior citizens, high rates of immigration and unemployment, a lack of facilities, etc.

Like I said before, I've been in this neighbourhood for 35 years and I've seen very few improvements. (EA)

There are lots of problems, all kinds of problems, like there are, I guess, in almost all districts, I don't know if in every part of Madrid but certainly in all the southern part of Madrid. (EA)

Except for the "Pasillo Verde" (Green Corridor), which is wide and modern, all the rest is a bit old. (EA)

Part of this view is directly related to housing; in the district's oldest neighbourhoods, almost 40% of homes are over 50 years old and a large percentage of them measure less than 30 square metres. In fact, overcrowding in this type of apartment is becoming generalized, inhabited mainly by immigrants or others with very low income.

There is a large percentage of unoccupied apartments and one of the lowest rates for public housing construction in Madrid.

Well, housing, but that (unintelligible) in all of Madrid; housing, which costs a fortune by the way, there's an apartment being rented for 1,200 € where I live... (MI)

► There are also people for whom this district is identified with the city centre. They see it, to a certain extent, as part of a modernized central area, in terms of both real estate development and social and cultural facilities.

Seeing the district as old or old-fashioned does not necessarily have a negative connotation, just as seeing it as modern does not necessarily have a positive one.

When we close down places for people to meet out on the streets, we end up with nowhere to meet... "no street". (VS)

There is a fairly generalized sense of a loss of neighbourhood identity due to the disappearance or re-modelling of many public areas where people gathered, such as squares. People are protesting the tendency to create the type of city where cars and traffic keep gaining space, while people are relegated to private indoor spaces where one's communication with others is limited to social formulas and not much else.

Problems in the neighbourhood? Well, in this neighbourhood, there are big differences, it's a very old neighbourhood on the one hand, near the centre, and it is located in the centre, don't forget, so it's a district with neighbourhoods in the centre that, I guess, maybe, the truth is that part of the neighbourhood is far from my home, you know? And problems with the whole new part? Well, it's a very new part, a new neighbourhood, for one thing, it's practically uninhabited, especially the area further south where they're all new apartment buildings; what's the problem there? It's a residential neighbourhood. (VS)

Everybody basically stays in their apartments; they don't get outside and spend time in public spaces with others. It's practically forbidden to pass your time outside your house; it looks bad if people are out on the street. They took away our benches, our fountains; we've talked about it many a time. (PC)

The 1997 General Urban Development Plan (*Plan General de Ordenación Urbana*) marked the beginning of a large urban development movement, which has tended to use land formerly zoned for industrial use as residential property. Up until that date, the district had housed numerous medium-sized industries, as well as scattered areas of substandard housing. The industries gradually closed down and moved outside the city limits, although some kept offices and sales representatives in the district.

Around the Paseo de las Acacias, Embajadores Street, and the Méndez Álvaro area, construction began and continues of high-priced residential buildings. Many of them are built as enclosed architectural spaces with exclusive facilities: garage, children's play areas, shops, etc... Only persons with high purchasing power have been able to acquire these homes, which has resulted in an exodus of much of the young

population to places on the city outskirts in search of housing more in keeping with their income level.

Well, a residential neighbourhood is not a neighbourhood. (PC)

...but you know, it's missing a lot of things, but of course, one thing you can be sure of is, in a few years, this won't be what I call a neighbourhood because there won't be, you know, I mean... a residential neighbourhood is a place you just go through, to your, from your... it's just a place you go through, a place where you leave your house, you enter a dangerous zone, where nothing looks familiar to you anymore, where nothing is yours anymore, you're going somewhere else, you go to work, you come back, you know, there's no place to walk through, I mean, it's a walk that's not, not a place, not... it's just a place you go through but it's uninhabited, I don't see myself in that place... (VS)

And it makes me think of, those dormitory cities, you know, what they're making are, dormitory-cities inside the city of Madrid... (PC)

Shopkeepers have formed organized groups because they are being strangled. (V)

You have to get involved, squares are disappearing, they are only for cars, for traffic routeing, and really, they're making this a horrible city. (EA)

...it's disappearing; the city is losing its character... (PC)

They want to make a macro-city, but not for people, only for businesses. (EA)

NEIGHBOURHOOD PROBLEMS

Two major themes were the focus of comments about problems in the neighbourhood. The first was related to infrastructure, construction work, transport, and the environment. The second was in connection with the lack or inadequacy of services, lack of safety, and social exclusion.

Thousands of district residents' daily lives have been affected by the construction work involved in burying the M30 motorway, which has created an overall feeling of discontent.

Well, just imagine, if we're talking about Arganzuela, well, all that construction; all that construction means we've got almost no public transportation, you can't sleep at night, our homes are full of dust, people's apartment buildings are getting cracks in the walls. This is a very serious problem now in Arganzuela, and over time, possibly, that's when you'll see, when people, like when they built the permanent circus area, when people's apartment buildings get such big cracks in the walls

that the city has to move them out, just wait, it's going to happen, and there are going to be a number of cases, because you know they are digging way down deep, I don't know how many meters down, and that's making foundations cave in, see! In Antonio López Street, there's a building, I don't know the street number, that well-known tall building, right where the Hotel Praga is, well, I don't know if you've seen it, but they are making a huge hole there, it's really, really, really terrible! So, those people are going to have a lot of problems in the near future... The situation was... I think people aren't aware, in general, I mean the neighbourhood, they aren't aware of all the problems this huge project is causing. It's like something a Pharaoh would do. There are lots of problems in this area but right now, the most alarming one is this construction. But anyway, we're all upset about this because it's so huge, but there are problems... (VS)

the M30, an open wound in the city...(V)

Of course, I mean, it's awful how angry it makes all the residents in this neighbourhood, I mean, it's not just how dirty our homes get, which is horrible; there were times when, and especially if the city council organizes just the minimum, when I can't get out of my house; I mean, if there were a medical emergency, we are completely closed in, between the construction and if they set up a marathon or a... you can just forget it, no way you're going to be able to get out of your house. (VS)

For three years now, we've had to put up with this... (V)

The ratio of city park area per inhabitant is noticeably lower in this district than the average for the city, and in addition, park areas have been lost either temporarily or permanently due to the construction work. This has created new fears about health. There are new kinds of problems arising due to noise. As pointed out previously in the quantitative evaluation, this district offers many possibilities for building and there is intensive economic activity, which entail the disadvantage, due to the existence of infrastructures for surface public transport, of perceptions by a large number of people (the sustainability diagnosis for the district points to figures close to 50%) of noise and air pollution problems during the day and also at night.

They've cut down trees that were a hundred years old. (V)

Residents who live less than 50 metres from the chimney are going to be living in a gas chamber. (V)

But what about our health? What about the cancer we're likely to get from living beside those chimneys? (PC)

SERVICIOS

The district has excellent means of public transportation such as busses, the Metro, and local trains, which run at an acceptable level of frequency and are ample in size. However, many interviewees noted that there is insufficient public transportation among the different neighbourhoods of the district.

Another problem we've got in this district is with... (Unintelligible) public transportation, whenever they happen to decide, we're left without any. (VS)

Just as young people accept violence as a normal part of life, we adults have got used to really public transportation that doesn't run the way it should. (VS)

However, those problems are caused by large scale roadwork on the M30 motorway, which mean that bus stops and even whole bus lines are constantly being eliminated. Alternative itineraries are offered, which involve wasted time and daily inconvenience.

...public transportation, I mean, line 3 on the Metro is the most intermittent line, and line 5, the other line servicing the neighbourhood, is the worst line, in summer taking it is torture... (VS)

...the roadwork doesn't help the bus service any, I mean... it's one of our daily troubles, but we're so used to it by now... (VS)

As was shown in the quantitative study, Arganzuela is a district with a high rate of ageing and a high percentage of persons over 65 who live alone. Although people recognize that the Government has made an effort in creating Senior Citizens' Day Centres and Senior Centres, they say more needs to be done regarding this issue which affects a growing number of people.

Except for that subject, my! Well, from Senior Citizens' Centres to pre-schools; because we've been at all the plenary sessions for over a year, and we've seen the problems in this neighbourhood, everything's lacking. (VS)

There are some who think, though they admit the problem exists and is getting worse, that the City Government is responding properly.

Senior citizens, too, although the city council is certainly doing a lot for them, they've got all kinds of programmes for the elderly, but this neighbourhood, in some areas, has a high number of elderly residents, so this is a very important matter. (VS)

As shown in the quantitative study, for a number of years, the number of children residing in Arganzuela has been growing due to two factors. One is the large rate of growth in the immigrant population, which usually means a larger number of family members. The other is the arrival of "Other new residents" (as mentioned above), who usually fit the profile of young professional couples that move into the areas with the best facilities and usually have small children. This new reality makes it imperative to have enough teachers in pre-schools for children aged 0 to 3. There is a pressing demand for these facilities from all sectors and although a new public pre-school was opened this school year, more foresight and planning is needed to meet the growing demand.

...it's true; we know there aren't enough pre-schools or a lot of other social resources. (V)

That neighbourhood needs more of everything: sports facilities, schools, centres for the elderly, pre-schools; that neighbourhood's got some very serious problems. (VS)

SAFETY

Opinions on safety/ lack of safety tend to fall into two groups:

- Those who hold inhabitants responsible (due to their bad habits or the lack of them) and those who blame the city government (due to a lack of attention to cleanliness and maintenance of certain areas, especially parks). It is curious to note that whenever a problematic or unpleasant issue is mentioned, the district is never considered part of the Centre but instead is grouped with other districts in the South of Madrid, which are perceived as receiving less attention and fewer services.

But that's happening in every part of Madrid, whether it's Arganzuela, or Carabanchel! We're not going to talk about the good neighbourhoods in the centre of Madrid, we're not considered on a par with them, we're talking about the ones on our level. (EA)

Well, uh, the streets aren't safe, you can't go out at night, and then, too, the neighbourhood's become sort of rundown, it's not being kept up at all, I mean, the streets, they're not clean. (EA)

I don't know, you see cars, things I don't really understand, but I see things (unintelligible), it's not as safe as it used to be; what's more, the streets (unintelligible) used to be nice and clean, it's not because the city doesn't collect rubbish, it's because people don't do their bit, they've got bad habits, it's the population, not just papers but now you see rubbish, glass, things you can't, (unintelligible) we've even found syringes, right in the middle of a park for toddlers and babies, condoms, everything... it makes you angry! (MI)

- Frightening or dangerous situations, as we will see below, are always associated in people's minds with certain groups (especially immigrants and groups at risk of social exclusion).

I, the only dangerous thing I see is if you see one of those people who supposedly are dangerous and you don't know what to do right then, you don't know what they might do to you, that's the only problem I see. (A)

The biggest problem now is, before it (unintelligible) we used to stay at the Casa del Reloj Park till midnight, till half past twelve at night with our babies, especially in the summer, and it was just girls, women, and now it's unsafe, because you go out, especially on weekends, and now there are all kinds of undesirable people in the neighbourhood. (MI)

IMMIGRATION

The topic of immigration comes up in almost all the interviews. Although immigration is not discussed directly, it comes up in connection with each of the district's current problems (lack of safety-immigration; insufficient services-immigration; etc.). We have decided to devote a specific section to that topic, given that it and the construction work underway are the most controversial aspects of the diagnosis.

► People who deal with immigrants or are friends with them through their work in organisations or institutions point out all the positive aspects of immigration: it contributes to the nation's wealth and cultural enrichment and brings new views of reality... In general, they decry situations where immigrants are marginalized, discriminated against, suffer racism and xenophobia if not downright slavery and they consider the government responsible for the situation.

The whole subject of immigration, basically, there are lots of people living in rooms, some of them are even rented out by the hour, or in the smallest room of the house; the subject of immigration; um... immigrants, and also basically the subject of unemployment, there are lots of immigrants without papers that (unintelligible) others because since these people don't have papers, they have a hard time getting a job. And well, basically... (VS)

I don't see any problem at all with having immigrants here; what I do see as a problem is that people, depending on how long they've lived here, some integrate sooner than others, and some find it easier than others, but for me, immigration isn't a problem, personally or for the neighbourhood in general, whether you're coming or going, that's no problem for me; it's true that government institutions should be doing a lot more about this issue and not just leave them there on the margins of society and it's a lack of budget and, and of everything, of interest and the will to do something about it; but immigrants cause me no trouble, in principle, none at all. (PC)

► People who live near immigrants usually emphasize the negative aspects of living nearby and some even act contemptuous, without having had anything to do with them, parroting what they've heard from the people around them. The type of person who rejects immigrants is to a large extent the kind of elderly person living alone in old buildings that are barely inhabitable.

Emigrants are our biggest problem, they won't let you sleep, they won't let you eat, and they won't let us do anything, that's emigrants! (CM)

Well, because they fight, they drink a lot, because they're really noisy and they think that any time of day is like 10 a.m. (CM)

Immigration, yes, there are too many immigrants in the neighbourhood and more attention is being paid to their needs than to people who are from this neighbourhood and I mainly see that what they need, they should do more for people from this neighbourhood, first of all and then later we'll see what foreigners might need, but first, people who were born here, help them with their problems, they've got plenty. (EA)

In some cases, people speak with such clear rejection of immigrants that not a sole positive aspect can be found related to the arrival of immigrants and living together in the same area. In the section on relationships below, this subject will arise again.

Noise, no one can sleep at night and you always have to be ready to call the police about fights, so emigration's the problem; they've brought the, the worst people from everywhere, that's what we've got here; cripples, people missing an arm, thieves, hookers, I'll tell you straight, we've got the worst sort of people here. (CM)

Nooo, at least not from the civilians, like I say, nothing (laughter); we call them Indians, see, don't want to say Ecuadorians or anything, to us they're all Indians. (CM)

► When immigrants' opinions were gathered, they felt torn. While they admitted some rejection was due to the sheer numbers of immigrants arriving and the lack of civic behaviour on the part of some, intolerance in the host society was also seen as a cause.

That has led to something else: now people have lost the ability, the patience, to put up with it, now, now just by taking one look and seeing someone who's not... you feel like saying, "I've had it!", like a man said to me once, right to my face, he was angry, but I swear, (laughter) but he was right, because now the foreign population has grown so much and it upsets some people, they feel like it's an invasion or something. (MI)

BABIES/ CHILDREN/ YOUTH

Concerning babies, children, and youth, there are several issues: student distribution among public, private, and publicly-funded private schools; leisure time resources; how immigrant and native-born children get along; and specific programmes for different age groups. Various experts on the subject emphasized the need for more governmental support programmes to help keep children from failing school.

The only problem here is, in the neighbourhood, I mean, there are lots of things for small children but they should do something for the teenagers, so they get out of the house. (A) At elementary and secondary schools, I've been visiting elementary and secondary schools in the district and the problems they see, or emphasize most as far as education goes is that, that, well!, that they need support for students and there aren't any problems among them, because, you know, the immigrants stick together and the Spaniards stick together. (TA)

The problems with um, immigrants' children, those children, because there are problems about which schools to send them to, big ones, a lot of them fail, and there's overcrowding, and so, I think that's one of the major problems because if a child fails school, he may never have a place in society and so I don't think enough is being done about that by... that's why they've started projects here, right?, to give support to

studying in all those things, we shouldn't have to do that, I mean, schools should do that, when they see that a child is failing, that kid isn't just "well, it's his fault he failed, isn't it?", no, we need to look at the larger picture, but anyway, it's one of the major problems looking ahead to the future, all of this, um, um, ... like what happened in France, we really have to ask ourselves if that isn't happening here, it will happen, because there are a lot of kids who have failed at school and they have no place in society. (VS)

There's a huge social dimension to the problem. As far as balancing work and family life, paradoxically there are fewer differences than you would think among different social or economic classes: it's a matter of time, parents don't have enough time to spend with their children and that causes emotional difficulties and problems at school. Parents who can afford it end up paying someone to take care of their children when they're not home or they sign the kids up for extracurricular activities, which have to be paid for in addition to school. However, parents in the same situation that lack economic resources have to run the risk of leaving their children on their own from the time they get out of school until their parents get home or manage to get them into some free, or practically free, programme that offers aid to children. I'd like to point out that volunteer organisations like Cáritas and others that specifically offer support to immigrants carry out these programmes that aid school children. And the Arganzuela District Council has a Play Area ("Ludoteca") run by Cruz Roja Juventud (Red Cross for Youth) that works with groups of elementary and teenage students, although they only have room for 30 children which is obviously not sufficient if you look at the school-age population in the district, which is about 15,000. The problem is worse during school holidays and bank holidays, when a large number of families have to come up with imaginative solutions that allow them to go to work but make sure someone is looking after their children.

At this time, what really concerns us most are the children, because there aren't any resources that are reaching them; I mean, there are city day camps, that last for two weeks, um, and then there are also city day camps that... well, you pay for them, and they don't last for the whole time children are on vacation from school, the camps are mainly held in July, and when July's over, there's still the whole month of August and the first week of September, the month of August, mmm... there's nothing and that week in September, there's nothing and we see children whose mothers work because from here, especially, we see lots of single mothers with children and we wonder what we can do. (TA)

Then, well, it's not a problems, maybe because there are no fights, it's not a problem, but I think it is a problem that Spaniard and immigrants are two different groups at school. (TA)

From what people say in high schools, that's true, kids from the same group play with each other and there are no problems, but I think that's a problem, I mean, I think that they all should play together, it doesn't matter whether you're from Spain or China, so that is a problem; however, it's also true that I didn't find that in all elementary and high schools; some schools are working on this issue very hard, working to create good intercultural relations, because at school, I don't care who, but everybody plays together, I'm going to what it takes... I think that's

fundamental, I mean, we have to remember that today's kids are tomorrow's senior citizens, so this has got to improve, things have to change... without making distinctions, about what country you're from, then... (TA)

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Curiously enough, it's the residual problems that are hardest to solve, the ones nobody mentions unless you insist on asking the questions—they're the most precise answers people gave: they say what happens and especially, where it happens. Using only the answers to these questions, given below, and placing them over a map of the district, you could draw a map of Social Exclusion in Arganzuela. Something that did not come up in the interviews but that was verified through written information proves that this is one of the districts where census information shows the highest number of homeless people.

I, in the park: there are a lot of, like he says, junkies and all that, you shouldn't see those people there and the parks and the benches really stink. (A)

Look, I live at number 125 and in 127, there's a prostitution ring, that's sixteen floors of prostitutes; and you can imagine what goes on in the courtyard between the two buildings, beside mine, the things you hear, you don't see them but you hear them, what a bunch of low-lives, so for us that's the worst thing about the neighbourhood, at least for me, because I live there. (CM)

Talking about exclusion, like talking about almost social issues, is complex; when asked directly why these women were rejected-- whether it was because they were prostitutes or because they were immigrants, the answer was:

No, because they're prostitutes and emigrants⁶, both reasons. (CM)

...there's another problem, with young people and places for them to gather, if you look around the area, and I suppose you already have, the parks around here, no, I'm not worried about them all drinking alcohol outdoors in one area, what worries me are the city gangs and the violence among them; each park is the territory of one type of youth and they won't let anyone else in; I think that's a problem, I don't know if it's for the district or it's close to the Calderón Soccer Stadium and the violence among certain gangs on days when there's a match; the way certain kinds of kids can't leave their houses because of the types of people who come!; I think that's a problem in this neighbourhood, I think it's a problem for young immigrants, too, they have problems when they get together, depending on where, and if they're drunk, and more so now that they've taken away the big park in the district, so I think that one problem is the places where young people can hang out together. (VS)

⁶ The person who answered used the word "emigrants" during the entire interview to refer to immigrants; it is not an error in the transcription.

and there are other issues we're not addressing because we just can't take them all on, we can't do any more, but we are also worried about the prostitution in the area near the Planetarium, for example...(VS)

There are lots of social issues here, one is in the Plaza de la Beata and in the Plaza de Carlos V, at five or six a.m. they're slave markets, there are huge lines of immigrants and vans that come to take them to work in Pinto, Valdemoro, or God knows where-- it's a slave market... (Unintelligible), of course this worries us but you know, it's a problem that's out of hand and so they're all coming, especially people with no papers, taking a job for a day or two and they pay them the same day, but that's, that's every day in the plaza de la Beata and in the plaza de... (VS)

The one in... (unintelligible) Legazpi, the... (unintelligible) in Embajadores, the ones... (unintelligible), picking up drug addicts to take them off in search of drugs, they're in the area around the Glorieta de Embajadores... (VS)

RELATIONSHIPS

Conflicts in relationships show up in all the interviews and relate to issues including social, generational, spatial, and political ones. Repeating what was said in the quantitative study, the low percentage of people involved in voluntary organisations in the district was corroborated in each and every one of the individual interviews (only one person claimed to know about and volunteer with a sports association), except, of course, those interviewed in their roles as volunteers or technicians who work with these organisations. All the quotes below, arranged randomly, speak for themselves: taken from children as young as 9 years old to people over 85, from men and women, immigrants and people born in Spain, professionals and residents, they comprise a number of snapshots of with whom, how, and where people gather and how they analyse problems and conflicts. These are reflections which, in view of the objectives of Intermediae, may be of special interest in planning artistic interventions that aim to have social and relational support.

I don't remember anything but this, only what I told you, we used to be a very good neighbourhood and now it's become very bad. (CM)

It's true there are no spaces anymore, they're forcing us to stay in our apartments more and more, more in private spaces and there's no communication and no relationships. (PC)

Well look, we've discussed this many times at the table and we've wondered if there really was a problem with gangs in this district, okay? because it is true that there is, on a citywide level in Madrid, definitely in Madrid, I'm sure that some of the gang member live in this district. (TA)

This is what they're doing because it's the way of life; it's the way they've structured these neighbourhoods, they're just bedroom

communities where people don't go to communicate with each other, there's no activity there, there's nothing at all, nothing; that's what they're doing in Arganzuela, the whole new zone is already like that. (PC)

People drinking right out in the street, people doing everything you can imagine right out in the street... (MI)

First, above all, there's no social fabric (unintelligible)... there are no associations and if there is one, I don't know if it's a residents' association, a neighbourhood association... I, I really don't know but we certainly don't know of any that's set up as an actual association, I mean (unintelligible) what we've always known as a neighbourhood movement, residents' associations. (PC)

We came to the conclusion that often, we may think we're talking about gangs in the district when we're really talking about people who imitate gangs, I don't mean that's less important, but these small groups just gather among themselves, not like the Latin Kings, we're the... but they're not set up as gangs, they're not violent like gangs. (TA)

....where I recognize my residents, where I chat and ... (unintelligible) maybe it's just saying "Good morning", maybe it's just saying "Good morning, good afternoon, let's have a cup of coffee", but at least I've got a place to have a cup of coffee, a bakery where I can buy bread, and there's less and less of that... (PC)

People even... (laughter) doing their private business, doing everything you can imagine, everything you shouldn't do in public... benches full of... you feel afraid, I'm afraid, I try to be home by 9 or 10 pm on Fridays but I used to, you know, go out, at one a.m. you were out and there was never any problem in this neighbourhood and now the little squares, the parks which are usually for children and their mothers, now in the parks, they sell anything you can think of... (MI)

And especially the young kids, the young kids are getting more... at the age of 12, they're out on the streets and... the mixture of ages, the mix of stuff they get up to, I think that's a problem; it's really good when they do that Urban Culture thing here, I mean, the neighbourhood participates, kids those ages participate, 14, 15, 16, 19 years old... (VS)

That's exactly, exactly what he's saying is that they've taken away our spaces; so now, of course, people don't have anything to do with each other, they don't communicate, they can't solve their problems, because people solve their problems out talking with others, that's as clear as can be, but it's true that there are fewer and fewer public spaces, they're forcing us into our houses, more into private spaces and there's no communication, no relationships, but that's what...; and they're pushing us so hard they're getting what they want. (PC)

The last chapter of this report is about how people see contemporary art in general, and specifically The Matadero Project, and it can serve to complete what was said earlier.

PEOPLE'S OUTLOOK ON AND RELATIONSHIP WITH CONTEMPORARY ART

In the interviews, a simple summary was given of the Matadero Project, explaining what is known to date: it will gradually get going over the next five years, each warehouse will be used for a certain cultural area such as: theatre, cinema, library, design, and contemporary art, in addition to spaces for people to take walks and gather. The majority of people interviewed, except those whose jobs were related to the City Government, did not know that the Project existed or they had only heard vague mention of it. Very few people said they had any kind of on-going relationship to this type of artistic manifestation.

We do go to some exhibits... (M/P)

In the majority of cases, merely mentioning the term "contemporary art" led to the expression of doubt, amazement, surprise, distrust, and disbelief. When people gave their opinions about it, some argued to justify their position about the subject.

Contemporary art?, this is my own personal opinion: I like contemporary art, not everyone understands contemporary art. (TA)

I think it's a good question because really, today, I think there are a lot of us... where you go to a place with art and you find things there you don't understand, you don't know about. (EA)

When you have a child, that really determines your schedule, your free time changes. (M/P)

An exhibition so you can see, but you stand back two metres from the wall, just stand there and say, well, now that's very nice but... that's it. (EA)

You should enjoy it and I don't know if everyone is able to enjoy it. (TA)

Those who had barely had any relationship with contemporary art immediately started to imagine it and to define the concept using parameters based fundamentally on:

MOTIVATION AND PARTICIPATION

I think art's a good thing, it's something you see and we live with it every day of our lives, but sometimes art is, um, how can I explain it? Well, instead of saying another word that I can't think of right now, it's boring; but I wish it was, um, more lively, that you could see it and everybody liked it, and sometimes there aren't many, you don't see many young people who go to the museum to look at photos, to look at this, if you see it it's because of some activity you're doing or something

like that, but... for them to feel motivated to see that, for them to like it and really feel it inside, for them to do it. (A)

We have to do our part, too, if we want to achieve something... and ask people's opinion and all that... (A)

That's it, make it possible to participate, spaces where there's information, we're in a city where our information spaces have been stolen. (PC)

Yes, I think that things could be done on a level that's more... what you were saying, more receptive, like on a participatory level; we've got a pretty settled group that, that's open to everything we, we suggest, so even if just with that group, I think yes, things can be done that are more... (TA)

Interactive, in sum. (A)

A lot of people, especially those of us with jobs, free time, leisure time isn't in our plans, we say, okay? Then, um... I think that motivating, uh... people to do something different than their usual lives could be appealing. (TA)

People get organized, people know things, people, when, when they've got their space to talk about what they're going through, to look for solutions, we think of solutions. (PC)

EMOTION

So they'll be inspired and so they can imagine seeing it. (A)

And to stimulate your imagination so you can do it, too, and that way it spreads. (A)

...something like that because people should be open to new experiences like this whole... (CM)

There should be a space, a time, a chance for those who have less so they can also feel that emotion. (A)

Aside from what they show us there, there should be a workshop that inspires us to make what seeing that inspired us to do, what they told us and what stayed with us. (A) I think they should also give people who don't know a chance, to learn and express their ideas and feelings with art, to feel it... (A)

INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Of course, if you don't know about things, I can't participate in those things, so I think all kinds of information is a good thing, through the Internet, through the... press, I mean, I think getting information out is the most important thing you can do because with information, when people get information, you can do a much better job. (M/P)

There could be virtual exhibits, too, those are something new, I don't know if... (A)

I don't have any information. (TA)

Making it possible for people to participate, spaces with information, we're in a city where our information spaces have been stolen, now there aren't any at all, when... a few years ago, there were at least... you could put up signs somewhere, you can't now; you can advertise, that's for sure, we've got large spaces for advertisements... (PC)

That would be great, later we'd have to see how it really works in practice, and, like a web site, when it's ready and we can see it, well then we'll see, I guess, but in principle... Of course! (PC)

DISTRUST

If they tell us they're going to have an exhibit there and they're going to bring us the great Goyas and Murillos, we'd be as excited as if... well, if they want to show Tapies, well, maybe, but the way things are going... (M/P)

There are very, very, very very few people trying to help us to do what we'd call, those activities, that place, and so, you sort of sense that nobody's doing anything, because there are so few, you get the impression that there's nobody. (EA)

CRITICISM

Nobody comes around here asking us anything, trying to solve anything at all, nothing. (EA)

I about Matadero we talked to mothers from this area, who were born here, their children, and they're angry because what are they going to do there?... Why don't they give us a little piece? Use a piece of it to build a school with a sports centre, with a lot of things, an elementary school and a secondary school, for example; all of us, the mothers who go to Unamuno, were talking for a loooonnnnnng! time, there's lots of land and lots of space and if they do it like that, that's okay, too. (MI)

But they should do something that does us some good, not just throw something up and say, there! Our job's done! (VS)

There are no buildings where people can gather, where you can tell some kids, look, you can rehearse here or do whatever you want! (PC)

The only thing they're going to do is attract visitors who are going to park in the few parking places we've got, so it's better if they don't come! That's exactly what I think! (VS)

We haven't got room for that! There are no places where people can get together, where you can tell some kids, look, you can rehearse here or do whatever you want! (PC)

So I think nobody cares about neighbourhoods like ours, you know?, they care about important neighbourhoods like Salamanca, Puerta de Hierro, and all those posh neighbourhoods, not a neighbourhood like..." (EA)

PREJUDICE

I think contemporary art is just fine, I'm sure they'll even have exhibits with graffiti artists, but they won't let the kids do their graffiti, and this neighbourhood's really... suffered because of graffiti, so I mean, they should either let them in and let... (VS)

You like it better, of course; at least, I do; I'd like to see it when it's finished but I don't think I will, because when they say something's going to take a few years, it can take ten years. (CM)

I, I've read something; well, it sounds like it's really going to be, since they want to make a, a cultural route from the Prado to there, don't they? (EA)

I think so, but, well, in theory it exists but I haven't seen it, so I'd have to see... (PC)

I think for now, the projects I've read about, not many are going to fit in, and not many are going to be participatory, interactive, and above all, I'm afraid not one will be free. (VS)

Where are the spaces where you can announce there's a party in the park... on Saturday? (PC)

EXPECTATIONS

Well, sure, I'd like to see it because it's always good to see and learn new things and you always like to see new things, although afterward, you might or might not do it, but you like to see it, sure! (CM)

I hope it's well thought out and not culture for an elite and that, and that it's something for the general public, something for ordinary folks! (VS)

I'd take another friend along, if that's allowed. (MI) Yes, no, they should do it, that action. (A)

That would be great, later we'd have to see how it really works in practice, and, like the web site, when it's ready and we can see it, well then we'll see, I guess, but in principle... Of course! (PC)

You can't say just say no, and close a door. (PC)

I, in principle, I tell you, it's interesting, I mean, any kind of communication is interesting and of work and of... (unintelligible)... I think so but well, that's true in theory, but I haven't seen it so I'll have to see... (PC)

The most important thing here is their word. (A) In theory, sure, why not? But in practice, I don't know, I mean, I don't know, I'd have to see it, see what's there, how it works. (PC)

DESIRES

Send me information about the Matadero. (TA)

Just like senior citizens have the opportunity, I mean, young people should have one, too, that's the best thing you can do. (EA)

The idea is for this to get going fast! (M/P)

They should think of people from the middle class on down, not from the middle class on up, because they always think of the people from the middle class on up, talking about culture and social classes, they should think of people from the middle class on down. (VS)

It's true that around here there's nothing open like that... I remember it was very... you could come and go, there were movies in summer and... (M/P)

CONTENTS

I'm not in favour of a big warehouse or big... (PC)

well, a sort of auditorium, for concerts. (M/P)

The plans should be, in principle, very small and that's the feeling and that's been my experience, when do they work? When you bring people together in a small space. (PC)

They want a programme that teaches but is also stimulating for everybody. (EA)

They could even put in discotheques! (M/P)

No, great, lots of things, right? (M/P)

It's true that around here there's nothing open like that... I remember it was very... you could come and go, there were movies in summer and... (M/P)

FINAL USERS

I think they should make places where people our age feel welcome, you know? (A)

They should remember there are different sectors of the population, so there should be things for children and youth and senior citizens and everything, because not all projects are appealing to everyone, right? (VS)

...young people, with a centre like that, other types of things, they can try... (EA) Focused on children? No, I mean for the Matadero Project. (M/P)

The only problem is that, in the neighbourhood they do lots of things for small children, well they should do something for teenagers, so they're not just stuck at home. (A)

And if they remember that this isn't just for the whole city of Madrid, if they take into account that it's for this neighbourhood, well, they should do that, think of the population of this neighbourhood and what people's expectations are. (VS)

OPENING HOURS AND OPERATION

And with opening hours, a little, sometimes, regular ones, I understand that the people there are workers like anyone else but (unintelligible) a morning activity aimed at a particular audience, where only a certain type of people can go, is very different as an activity in the afternoon, or much later in the evening, or at the weekend, so I guess that of course that makes it possible to , well, have different objectives and different activities depending on the schedule, on the ages and everything. (M/P)

Something on weekdays between 5 and 8 p.m. (M/P)

Opening hours, if they don't make them long... (M/P)

For me, it would be ideal if there was a workshop for children and another one for me and I could be one place and leave my child there with no problem, that would be perfect, really, for me, ideal; to be able to sign myself up for a workshop, I don't know, if it lasts for a week. (M/P)

In principle, it sounds good, if it's free, it's free, isn't it, everything? Or well, with subscriptions... (M/P) That's good, you're not obliged to go, if you want to, you go, and if you don't feel like it, you don't. (M/P)

That would be great, later in practice, we'd have to see... when it's finished and we can see it, well then we'll see, I guess but in principle... Good, of course! (PC)