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A
Space
for
Resistance

Understanding
the Socio-Ecological
Archetype of
Successful
Resistance:

Case Study
of Gallecs

by

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Science and Technology
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Ph.D. Thesis

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Archetype of Successful Resistance:
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A bstract

To build an archetype of successful resistance to urbanisation, the case study of Gallecs, a peri urban rural area of 733,52 ha at 20km from Barcelona is analysed.

A conflict that began in the 70s, this area and the people living on it have since secured a level of stability to live in a rural Gallecs.

Primary and secondary data collected was analysed at the micro level with grounded theory and at the meso and marco level as a case study of a “building block type” (Thomas, 2011). This was used to describe the evolution of the space during these years, along with the various social divisions within the population in this area. All of which works towards understanding the complexity of social segregation and group dynamics in a small town. It also offers a more dynamic narrative of that which is commonly given on the success of Gallecs.

The thesis results in an archetype along the axis of time, networks, size, strategy and vigilance. This archetype details the particular predicament of time in framing the action of the population and government as well as the use and mobilisation of networks built during those years. Strangely, the “evil” of the expropriation, had given Gallecs a size that could be fought for. While an emphasis on a strategy of long term legal protection within the social movement in association with the ongoing vigilance of the population supported the maintainence of Gallecs.

R esumen

Para describir el arquetipo del éxito de la resistencia a la urbanización, se analiza el caso de estudio de Gallecs, una zona rural rodeada de territorio urbanizado de 733,52 hectáreas a 20 km de Barcelona.

El conflicto comenzó en los años 70 y ahora esta zona y las personas que viven en ella ya han alcanzado y asegurado un nivel de estabilidad para vivir en un Gallecs rural.

Los datos primarios y secundarios recogidos, han sido analizados a nivel micro con las teorías fundamentadas y los datos de nivel meso y macro como “bloques de construcción” para el caso en estudio (Thomas, 2011), son usados para describir la evolución del espacio a lo largo de los años, junto con los diversos grupos sociales de la población en esta zona. Todo lo cual, ayuda a entender la complejidad de las dinámicas de desacuerdo entre los grupos sociales en un pequeño pueblo. También se ofrece una narrativa más dinámica de la que comúnmente se ha dado del éxito de Gallecs.

La tesis resulta en un modelo a lo largo del eje de tiempo, de las interacciones, el tamaño, la estrategia y vigilancia necesaria. Detallando la situación particular de cómo deben actuar en su marco temporal la población y la administración, en el uso y la movilización de las redes de contactos construidas durante estos años.

Extrañamente, la difícil situación debido a la expropiación, es lo que le dio a Gallecs un tamaño que permitió luchar por la conservación, además provocó la discusión sobre una estrategia a largo plazo dentro del movimiento social que podría proporcionar una protección legal y la vigilancia permanente de la población para mantener Gallecs.

R_{esum}

Per descriure l'arquetipus de l'èxit de la resistència a la urbanització, s'analitza el cas d'estudi de Gallecs, una zona rural rodejada de territori urbanitzat de 733,52 hectàrees a 20 km de Barcelona.

El conflicte va començar als anys 70 i ara aquesta zona i les persones que hi viuen han assolit i assegurat un nivell d'estabilitat per viure en un Gallecs rural.

Les dades primàries i secundàries han estat analitzades a nivell micro amb les teories fonamentades i les dades de nivell meso i macro, com a "blocs de construcció" pel cas de l'estudi (Thomas, 2011), són utilitzats per descriure l'evolució de l'espai al llarg dels anys, juntament amb els diversos grups socials de la població de la zona. Tot la qual cosa, ajuda a comprendre la complexitat de les dinàmiques de desacord entre els grups socials en un petit poble. També s'ofereix una narrativa més dinàmica del que comunament s'ha donat de l'èxit de Gallecs.

La tesi resulta en un model al llarg de l'eix del temps, de les interaccions, la mida, l'estratègia i la vigilància necessària. Detallant la situació particular de com deuen actuar en el seu marc temporal la població i l'administració, en l'ús a la mobilització de les xarxes de contactes construïdes durant aquests anys.

Estranyament, la difícil situació deguda a l'expropiació, és el que va donar a Gallecs una mida que va permetre lluitar per la conservació, a més a més provocà la discussió sobre l'estratègia a llarg termini dins el moviment social que podria proporcionar una protecció legal i la vigilància permanent de la població per mantenir Gallecs.

O verview

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I
took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Robert Frost — 'The Road Not Taken'

This study began with questions about what makes communities choose to protect and preserve spaces close to nature, that could be successful in the long term. My initial interest was more in the patterns or principals that could bring this about; with questions coming specifically from a conservationist environmental perspective (see details in Chapter 9 /Finding My Methodological Mecca/).

There are three sub-research questions within this broad question.

1. Do these principals exist?
2. How can these principals be identified?
3. And which are they?

Initially, it was supposed to be an exclusively theoretical study, but a chance encounter with Gallecs - a living case study of the thesis question - shifted the research to a more empirical and qualitative field study. The existence of Gallecs can be considered to answer the first question though it certainly shifts it. With Gallecs, the population was simply conserving their home, not protecting a space close to nature. While the people in the region were doing both; helping the residents of Gallecs to protect their home as well as protecting a green recreational area.

Hence it shifts the initial question to one of resistance. How can a space with a different relationship to nature coexist with urbanisation? Despite that shift, the thesis still

maintains the main research question, do these principals exist, and what are they, are discussed in Chapter 8 / A Recipe for Resistance /.

How can these principals be identified? The theoretical framework and methodology was designed to take me closer to the identification of these patterns as discussed in Chapter 3 / Framing the Research Space /. To deal with the varied types of data, a thick case study was conducted focusing on identifying the possible reasons for Gallecs's survival, together with an emphasis on the processes and actions of the communities in Gallecs.

The reasons for initiating the research at the community level are two- fold. First, my own questions and hypothesis begin at community level as I am interested in the capacity of the community to create these changes. Second, the rationale given by the communities in Gallecs and the surroundings was that it was “them, the people, who had saved Gallecs!” The research hypothesis, therefore, was provided by the communities themselves, I simply questioned if it was true.

Research focused on the understanding of events and the involvement of each social actor in those events. Focusing on the relationships among the actors, the space and the events that took place and understanding the rationale behind these sequences to develop analytic generalisation (i.e. patterns, ideals), then became the aim of the research. These generalisations then constructed a narrative of the possible reasons behind the success of Gallecs.

These questions are highly relevant at a broader scale. After all, how many inhabited spaces resist urbanisation, particularly when its surroundings have been completely urbanised? Thus, leaving Gallecs as an island of flatland resisting urbanisation for the last 46 years. The usefulness of this understanding to our current age, (where resistance such as the Occupy Movement is center stage) is clear, as it allows us to take a look at past events and answer questions about our future.

To achieve an understanding of the context of Gallecs, Chapter 1 digs into the context of the case study area, the “pueblo” of Gallecs. This is the narrative of the story of Gallecs

as commonly known, the written history of Gallecs along with a literature review of the scholarly work on Gallecs. Chapter 2 provides demographic, geographic and ethnographic observations of the surrounding towns and their relationship with Gallecs. As mentioned above, Chapter 3 consists of the theoretical framework. In Chapter 4 / Methods of Doing / I discuss the methodological framework. Chapter 5 / The Communities that Create Gallecs / the analysis is shifted to the sociological and description of the subpopulation in Gallecs. This discusses how they are divided and the communication among them as well as other populations outside Gallecs. Chapter 6, Epochs and Events, takes the 46 years of Gallecs survival and paints a picture of its evolution through Epochs, these Epochs are defined by social changes within Gallecs. Events crucial both to the creation of Gallecs and the changes it had gone through are highlighted and discussed in greater detail. Chapter 7 / From codes to conceptual threads / this is where we discuss the codes/ themes that stood out during the research and the various lines of ideas that help us understand what was happening in Gallecs. Chapter 8 / A Recipe for Resistance / details the final analysis, the various rationales for the perseverance of the space of Gallecs, triangulated from the literature available, perception of interviewees, and the ethnography conducted.

Chapter 9 / Finding My Methodological Mecca / as stated above, is a minor thesis of the case study. This is the reflexivity chapter of the thesis, discussed on three arms, the influence of experience, cultural cognition and the use of ongoing reflexivity in the conduct of the research.

With all this material, the points of confluence and divergence of what is understood as Gallecs' reason for existence is analysed and an alternative narrative to the question why is offered? Why did Gallecs survive?

Objectives

Understanding how Gallecs succeeded in maintaining its rurality is a highly relevant question in today's current negotiation of environmental spaces. The insights gained from the analysis of this case study are relevant to the bigger questions of what is needed

to create a space of resistance with a more sustainable relationship with nature. As the question is complex, the case study is broken down into four sub-objectives.

1. *Understanding relationships between and within the community of Gallecs and how these relationships kept Gallecs from succumbing to urbanisation.*
2. *Understanding how these relationships engaged within the broader context of towns and institutions surrounding Gallecs to help maintain the existence of the space.*
3. *The understanding of the historical evolution of Gallecs, understanding that evolution, identifying the phases, if any and what they consisted of.*
4. *What is the role of the researcher as an interpreter? This is a highly subjective role filled with personal subjectivities that needed to be actively deconstructed as part of the study.*

With these objectives, I now leave you to discover Gallecs.

1 **Micro Influences: The Story of Gallecs**

I have lived among people of letters, who have written history without being involved in practical affairs, and among politicians, who have spent all their time making things happen, without thinking about describing them. I have always noticed that the former see general causes everywhere while the latter, living among the unconnected facts of everyday life, believe that everything must be attributed to specific incidents and that the little forces that they play in their hands must be the same as those that move the world. It is to be believed that both are mistaken.

Alexis de Tocqueville, Souvenirs (in Della Porta and Keating, 2008)

Those involved in environmental issues in Catalunya during the 70s will remember the conflict of Gallecs. This, however, was not the case for me, since I had not grown up in Catalunya, for me, Gallecs was simply a clear example of a space of resistance towards urbanisation. A space that had chosen a pre-modern, “campesino” way of life, a way of life that is still rural despite being in close contact with urban lifestyles.

Gallecs, as it is seen today, is an oasis of agricultural land situated between supermarkets, apartment buildings and highways, in an area that is completely flat. It is prime development land, yet for 46 years, it has not been developed. Why?

The version you will hear if you talk to the people of Gallecs and the surrounding area is that “The people fought for it”. If you talk to someone from the Municipalities, they say the Municipality of Mollet set it aside. As with all catch phrases, the truth is a lot more complicated.

Where and what is Gallecs?

The *Consorti de l'Espai Rural de Gallecs (Consorti)*¹ describes Gallecs with the title *Què és? L'espai Rural. (What is it? The rural space.)*

Gallecs és un espai rural de 733,52 hectàrees, situat a quinze quilòmetres al nord de Barcelona, que conserva els seus valors naturals i paisatgístics en un entorn altament antropitzat. La principal activitat de l'espai és l'agrícola, àmbit en el qual s'està portant a terme la conversió a l'agricultura ecològica. És també, l'espai lliure referent, cultural i de lleure de les poblacions veïnes, i esdevé un pulmó verd al servei de la Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona i d'un entorn intensament urbanitzat de més de 150.000 habitants. (Consorti, 2015)

*Author's Translation*²: Gallecs is a rural area of 733.52 hectares, located fifteen kilometers north of Barcelona, which retains its natural and scenic values within highly anthropogenic surroundings. The main activity of the area is agricultural, which is currently undergoing conversion to organic farming. It is also a space of reference culturally and for leisure by the neighboring towns, it has become a green lung for the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona, a heavily urbanised environment of more than 150,000 inhabitants.

On *Wikipedia (2015)*

Translated quote: Gallecs is a rural nucleus in the Vallès Oriental³ within the province of Barcelona. It belongs to the municipalities of *Mollet del Vallès, Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, Palau-solità i Plegamans, Parets del Vallès, Montcada i Reixac, Lliçà d'Amunt i Lliçà de Vall.*

The website of the municipality of Mollet redirects to the website of the Consorti. The resources for the Consorti while jointly funded by the municipalities that it pertains to are managed by Mollet which has the largest hectarage in association with Gallecs.

¹ The Consorti refers to the institution between the various municipalities involved in Gallecs as well as the office governing which functions as its administrative arm.

² All translations aided by Google Translate and confirmed by a Native Catalan Speaker

³ Vallès Oriental is one of the 4 districts surrounding the Barcelonès district; most of the populations in these districts are heavily associated with Barcelona. The other three districts are the Vallès Occidental, Baix Llobregat and Maresme.

The *Associació de Veïns* (the Neighbourhood Association) does not have a definition of what is Gallecs on its website, but instead it has a list of articles and events about Gallecs (2015). While a Wikipedia definition is a sign of our times, as well as a useful contrast amongst the other definitions provided.

On the website of the *Associació Agroecològica de Gallecs (Farmers Association)*,

Gallecs és un territori agroforestal de 774 ha, 15km al nord de Barcelona, a la comarca del Vallès Oriental. És un espai periurbà, amb valors mediambientals, paisatgistics i culturals, on l'agricultura ecològica comença a obrir-se dins de la vida activa del món rural. (AAG, 2015)

Author's translation: Gallecs is an agroforestry territory of 774 ha, 15km north of Barcelona, within the Vallès Oriental. It is a suburban area, with environmental values, landscape and culture, where organic farming is beginning to develop an active role in rural life.

On the website of *the Plataforma per la Defensa de Gallecs (2015)*

La PDG va néixer fruit de la desinformació deliberada que hi ha sobre Gallecs i la seva falsa protecció. És per això que vam decidir actuar al respecte i continuar la lluita que des de fa més de 30 anys existeix per la defensa de Gallecs.

El 30 de Juliol de 2008 es va convocar una xerrada informativa a la ciutadania molletana per explicar-los que Gallecs no està salvat i que existeix una amenaça imminent que s'ha de aturar com és la autovia Interpolar, entre moltes d'altres.

Author's translation: The PDG was born as a result of the deliberate misinformation about Gallecs and its false protection. That is why we decided to act in this respect and continue the struggle defending Gallecs, which has existed for more than 30 years. On 30th of July 2008, we convened a briefing to explain to the citizens of Mollet that Gallecs was not indefinitely saved and that there was an imminent threat which must be stopped, such as the Interpolar highway, among many others.

The first five lines of introduction to *Els paisatges de Gallecs* states that

Gallecs és un paisatge ben humà, un món de gent configurat per totes les generacions de residents i de passavolants que hi han fet cap, per la gent que viu i per aquells que hi van a fer alguna cosa i després marxen. Tot i aquest tràfec continuat, la fesomia d'aquest bocí de Vallès no ha canviat excessivament els darrers mil·lennis. La parsimònia del territori, es fa aquí ben palesa. L'atzar, les voluntats i les lluites, l'economia i les il·lusions, els interessos i els desitjos en capriciosa conjugació, han deixat Gallecs en el punt on ara el trobem (Riera, 2003; p.9).

Author's translation: Gallecs is a very human landscape, a world of people created by each generation of residents, passersby, those who have lived there and by those who created something and then moved on. Even though there has been constant bustle, the territory hasn't changed much over the last millennia, proving that it seems to have its own pace. The frugality of the territory is evident. Chance, will and struggle, economy and hopes, interest and desires in a capricious conjugation have set Gallecs at the point where it is now found.

These definitions of Gallecs are how the main associations define and describe Gallecs in their official portals. We can consider this the official view by these associations of Gallecs. But who constitutes these associations?

The Consorci is the official institution which handles the plans and negotiations with the municipalities⁴. Then there is the Associació de Veïns (The Neighbourhood Association, AV) which typically organises a lot of the demonstrations and keeps up to date on legal changes. *Els paisatges de Gallecs* is a book of reference, written as a guide to various people and institutes. It can be considered one of the more popular resources about Gallecs. The author wrote the book by commission of the Corsorci, and to my knowledge is not directly involved in these associations.

These definitions while common in some of their views and descriptions, difer in many ways in regards to the specific emphasis of each association and its relation to the area of Gallecs. Hence, through their introductions, we begin the analysis of the association and actors in relation to their space.

The lack of definition by the AV may seem peculiar, but this is a group that lives and is surrounded by Gallecs, it is simply where they live. The website is also very much a coordination portal between the association and interested parties. The Plataforma per la Defensa de Gallecs, however, is specifically organised to inform and convene demonstrations whenever Gallecs is threatened.

The first five lines of the book **Els Paisatges de Gallecs** are written by Joan Manel Riera, a scholar and biologist who is an environmental educator with years of experience in environmental movements. He works on environmental values and the diffusion of territorial knowledge. His work and vision are clear in these lines. I used his definition to contrast the definitions given by associations that are more involved in Gallecs on a day to day basis.

Within these descriptions by the various groups we begin to see the narrative each group has about its role and relationship with Gallecs and get a taste for the complexity involved in this case study. However before we get into the more contested aspects of the case study, let's begin with some less disputed facts.

⁴ List of the institutes and the responsibilities are detailed in Chapter 2.

Location and Distance of Gallecs

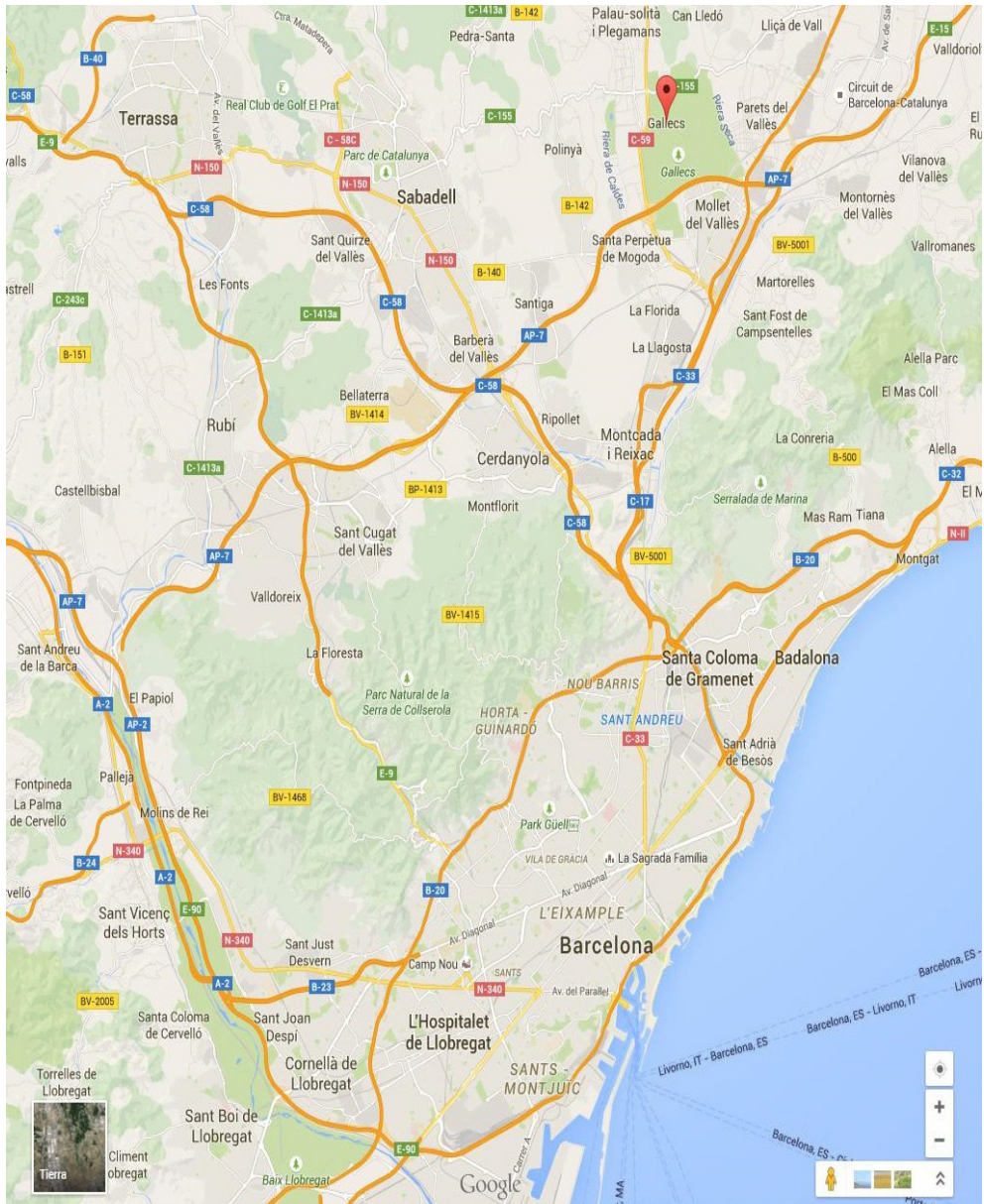


Figure 1.1 (2km: 1cm): The surroundings of Barcelona, with a marker for where Gallecs is located, 15km Nord of Barcelona as the crow flies. We also see the surrounding towns, Mollet del Vallès and Santa Perpètua de Mogoda at the South of Gallecs, Palau-Solità i Plegamans to the north, and Paret del Vallès, in the east. If you follow the town linearly from Mollet del Vallès to Barcelona, (Mollet del Vallès, La llagosta, Montcada I Reixac, Sant Andreu, Barcelona) this is Renfe R2 Nord⁵ line, one of the main lines connecting the surroundings with Barcelona. A common commute for many residents of Catalunya who work in Barcelona City Centre (Source: Google Maps, 2015).

⁵ One of the two main railway operators that serve Barcelona, Renfe is the national railway line and serves medium to long haul routes.

As mentioned earlier, Gallecs is a 733.52 ha⁶ area located 15 kilometers north of Barcelona, it has 49 houses and 150 people living in it. (ConSORCI de Gallecs, 2015). Figure 1.1 is a map locating Gallecs within the surroundings of Barcelona and its neighbouring municipalities of Mollet del Vallès, Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, Palau-Solità i Plegamans, Montcada i Reixac, Lliçà de Vall and Parets del Vallès (details of these municipalities are discussed in chapter 2).

Figure 1.1 and 1.2 show the oasis that Gallecs is in physical space yet connected to its surroundings via roads and streams. In Figure 1.2, the highway C-33 which is part of the AP-7, the “Mediterranean Highway” that intersects the surroundings of Gallecs, connects the entire Mediterranean Coast from France to Algiers (Wikipedia, 2015). Highway C-33 is an older section and is the main entrance into Barcelona from Mollet del Vallès, as well as the towns further north from Granollers onwards.

⁶ There is difference in acreage data between the ConSORCI and the AAG, we refer to the ConSORCI numbers, given the understanding that as it has administrative capacity it would have to keep this data more up to date and detailed than the AAG.

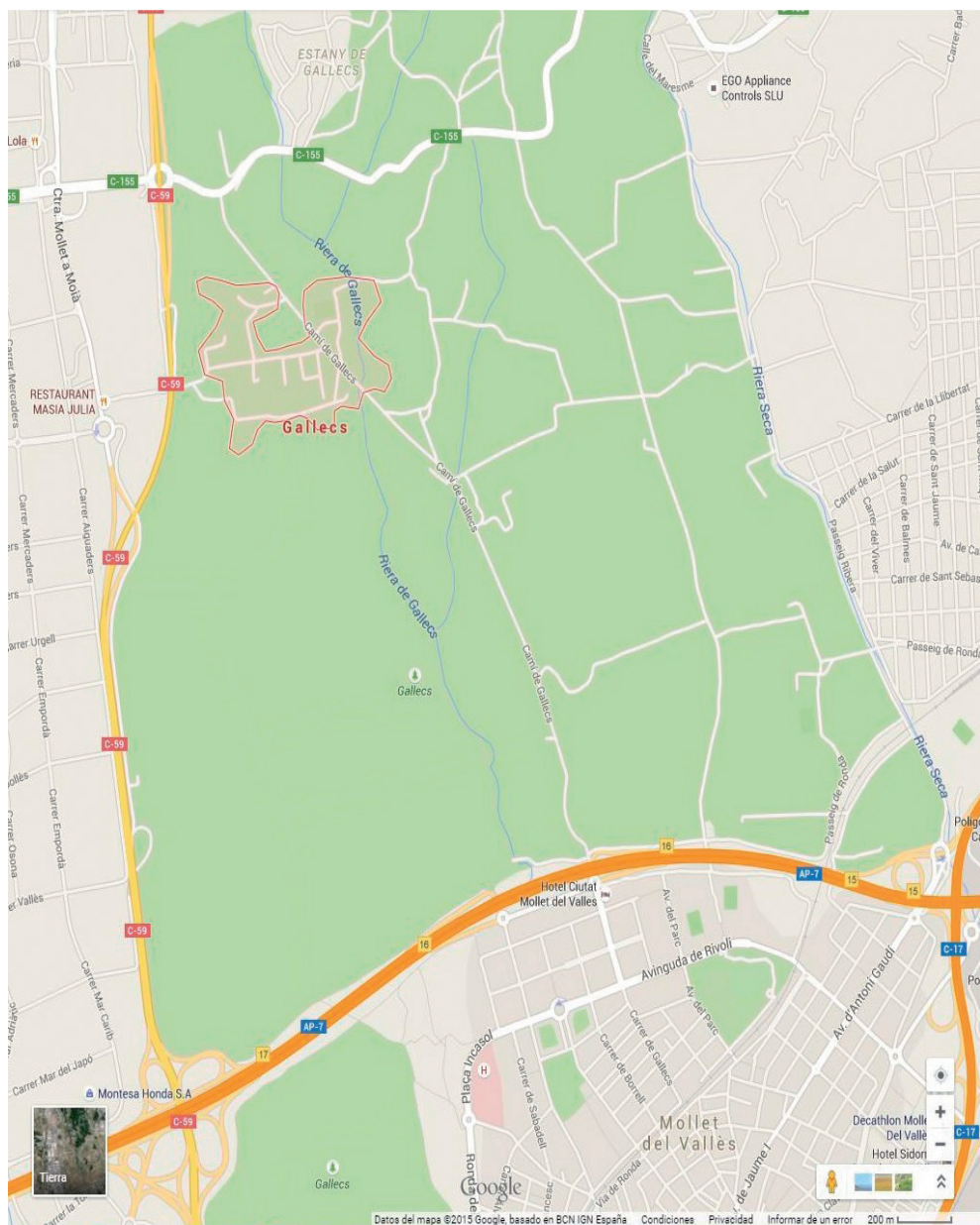


Figure 1.2 (200m: 1cm): Close-up of Gallecs, showing the lanes within it. The area highlighted in red is the official centre of Gallecs. Areas in green are mainly wheat fields and some vegetable farms. These are more clearly defined in Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5. (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

The Caganell river (also known as Riera de Gallecs, Figure 1.2) runs through the centre of Gallecs, with smaller tributaries creating the streams of Can Viere and Diablons as well as that of Can Salvi (Manel Riera, 2003; too small to appear on the map). The Riera (River) de Merdans borders Gallecs on the right (Figure 1.2, mentioned as Riera Seca).

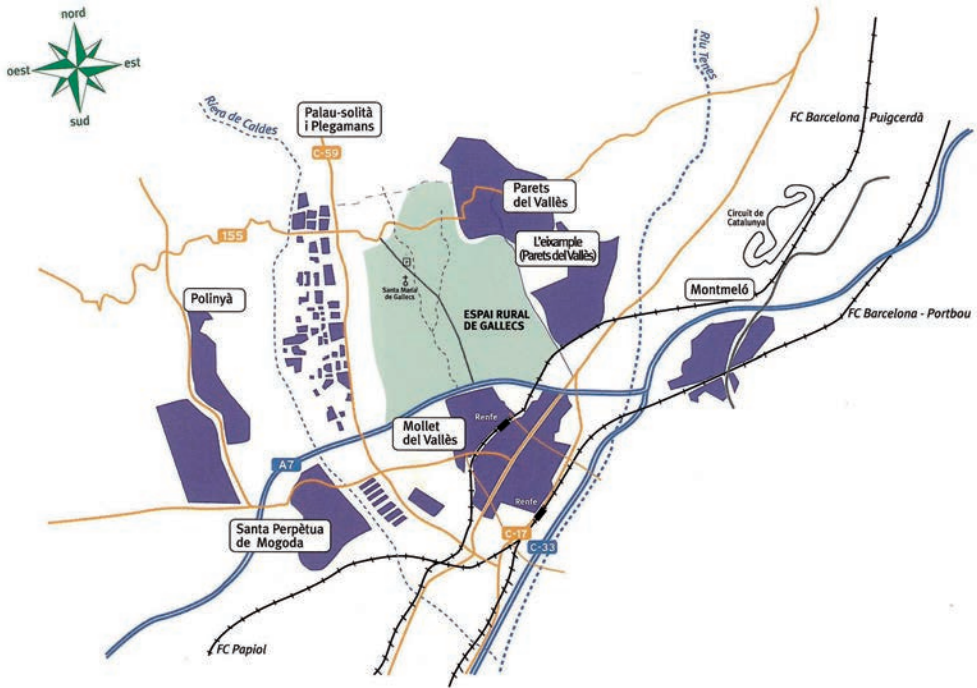


Figure 1.3: Schematic of the area around Gallecs, showing the various major highways and train lines that circulate around Gallecs, the noise from these highways are as commonplace to the residents as birdsong. (Source: Manel Riera, 2003 pg. 35)

The Grand Prix circuit of Barcelona- Catalunya is in Montmeló, whose spectators use the AP-7 to get to racing events. The sound of the circuit can be heard from Santa Maria de Martorelles, at times in Gallecs. There is also the C-17, which is the Autovía de l'Ametlla, which heads north towards Vic and Ripoll. In addition, the C- 59 and C-155, which bypasses the industrial area on the left of Figure 1.5, are well-known trucking highways.



Figure 1.4: Satellite close-up of Gallecs, here we see the various patches of agricultural land, the main highway that crosses a small section seemingly isolated in the lower left-hand corner, as well as the surrounding urbanisation. Gallecs is located with an industrial park towards the south end. Taken in this frame, Gallecs is certainly a rural oasis surrounded by urbanisation (Source: Consorci de Gallecs, 2010). For a more moving visual look at Gallecs: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q54JV-N7Z_I

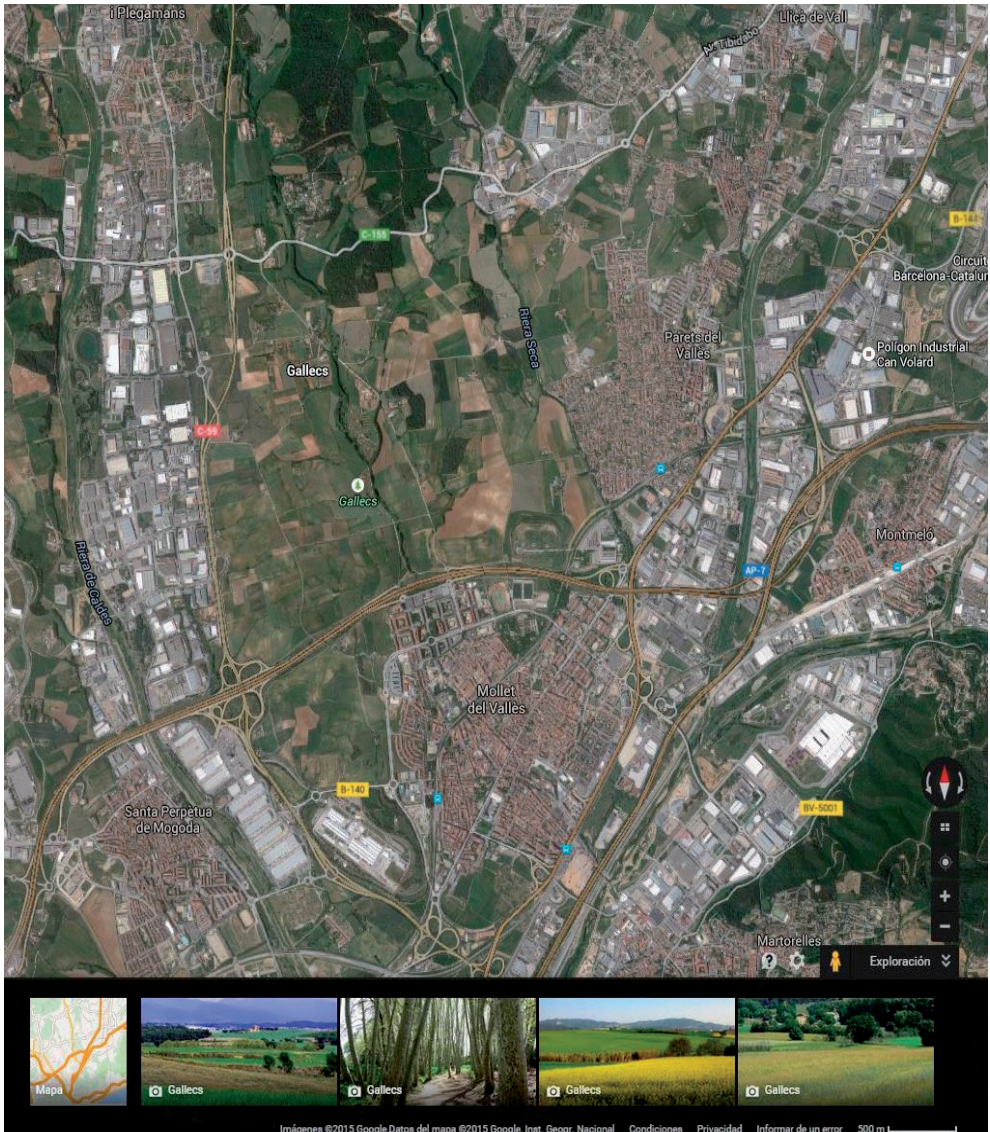


Figure 1.5: Satellite close-up of Gallecs, here we see not only agricultural land but also the main highways as well as the surrounding urbanisation. We also see clearly the industrial park towards its south end. (Source: Consorci, 2015)

Gallecs is considered flatland (Video link, Figure 1.4) that physically means that while it is an oasis visually; it has no buffer to sounds. Its flatness as an unurbanised landscape is rare; these are usually the first to be urbanised. The hilly surroundings of Martorelles and Santa Maria de Martorelles⁷ have managed to retain some of its rurality due to its

⁷ Municipalities on the opposing side of the river besòs whose inhabitants largely depend on the jobs available in industries in Mollet.

landscape formation⁸. Gallecs, however, surpassed them in regard to its maintenance of rurality. However, according to an interviewee, land in Gallecs and the surroundings was being sold off just before the expropriation. After expropriation, Gallecs was maintained as a sizable chunk of 733.52 ha till today; even though the initially expropriated area was twice the current size. While I refer to Gallecs as a separate entity, legally and institutionally it has not existed as a town or a municipality from 1976 onwards. To the residents within Gallecs and its surroundings, it is referred to and seen as a “poble” (village in Catalan).

| | Ha | % |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Superfície total àmbit | 733,52 | 100,00 |
| Mollet del Vallès | 448,24 | 61,11 |
| Santa Perpètua de Mogoda | 119,45 | 16,28 |
| Parets del Vallès | 71,37 | 9,73 |
| Lliçà de Vall | 36,94 | 5,04 |
| Montcada i Reixac | 32,33 | 4,41 |
| Palau-solità i Plegamans | 25,16 | 3,43 |

Table 1: Hectarage pertaining to each municipality. Reproduced from Consorci (2015)

Officially, it is government land that was divided among the various municipalities that surround it. Official decisions on the land called Gallecs are taken jointly by the Consorci. The table above is a reproduction from the Consorci, showing the hectareage that each of the municipalities surrounding Gallecs owns.

Figure 1.3 above shows the relation in physical space of Gallecs with the surrounding towns as stated in Table 1. Mollet del Vallès is located in the south-east of Gallecs, with the largest hectareage (61%), followed by Santa Perpètua de Mogoda (16%), to the south of Gallecs and the west of Mollet. While in the east lies Parets del Vallès and towards the north is Palau-Solità i Plegamans, and Lliçà de Vall, in the north east which is near the sign for the C-17 highway. These towns are all involved in the Consorci that makes official decisions on Gallecs. They all share borders with Gallecs and are clearly affected

⁸ Flatland is usually built up first as slopes bring about greater problems to navigate. This is a common feature in the development of urban landscapes worldwide, yet Gallecs circumvented even this.

and involved with the management of the space. However, none of these towns are involved or affected in the same capacity. Aside from the connection institutionally through the Consorci, and despite the fact that the Gallecs trajectory changed suddenly in 1976, most of the evolution of Gallecs as a town before that was in tandem with the surrounding towns, those referred to in Table 1.

Gallecs's Beginnings

The story of Gallecs as a town is long. The first reference to its name is in the year 904 (Vilaginés, 1994), alluding to its existence through the name of donation records of the Monastery of Sant Cugat. However, direct reference was first to the church shown in Figure 1.6 in the year 1008, while the first mention of the parish of Gallecs was only in 1089 (Vilaginés, 1994). The structure of life in Gallecs at the time was one of rural village life. With families grouped in small houses with plots of land to be worked on. There is some reference at this age, of the production of cereal or wine (Vilaginés, 1994) in combination with fruits trees at the edge of the plots. While vegetables were typically cultivated along the river of Gallecs. This agrarian lifestyle continued well up to the 1970s. In conjunction with the “green revolution” that spread over the world, Gallecs too adopted fertilisers, herbicide, pesticides and mechanisation, this is when cereals became a main produce of Gallecs and mechanised farming entered the picture. With this mechanisation, also came a need to increase the irrigated area. Therefore, a pond was constructed in Gallecs (Consorci de l’Espai Rural de Gallecs (Consorci), 2015).

While the lifestyle stayed in a similar vein, administratively things did change. During the 14th century Gallecs along with Parets and Mollet formed a joint administration (Vilaginés, 1994). While there is evidence that Parets and Gallecs tried to separate, it was only later on, that Parets eventually succeeded in doing so (Anso, 1994).



Figure 1.6: The church of Santa Maria in the centre of Gallecs, in black and white taken in the 20th Century (Source: ICGC, 2009), currently in colour (Source: Gill, 2015), the house on the right in the first picture has been demolished, but the church still stands.

Formal institutions in Gallecs

The list of institutions involved in Gallecs can be very confusing; hence, I list and explain them briefly here. ACTUR: Sobre Actuaciones Urbanísticas Urgentes en Madrid y Barcelona (ACTUR), this is a decree given on the 27th of June 1970 and given the notation 7/1970 which refers to the urgent urbanistic actions in Madrid and Barcelona. This was decreed by the Franco dictatorship and aside from Gallecs referred to 2 other areas of land that was appropriated to build apartment buildings to deal with the influx of people to Catalunya at the time (Altayó Isern, 2010).

INCASÒL: Institut Català del Sòl, or The Catalan Land Institute is a public company of the Government of Catalunya. It is attached to the Department of Regional Policy and Public Works as well as the Department of Environment and Housing. Its responsibilities are to develop land for economic and residential purposes, and functions also as a land holding company (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015b; Incasol, 2009). It still owns the land that is Gallecs.

CONSORCI: Consorci in these pages refers to the administrative office in charge of the day to day management of Gallecs; it has its office in Can Jornet⁹. However, the Consorci is really the body created by the municipalities involved in Gallecs to make decisions on Gallecs. As part of the formalisation of Gallecs as a protected area, the management arm was created and the Consorci office came into being on 22 November 2006. This office is under the direction of the Department of Environment and the Department of Agriculture, Food and Rural Action of the Generalitat de Catalunya along with all the municipalities involved in Gallecs.

ASSOCIACIÓ de VEÏNS: Neighbourhood association; these associations were typical in the years before the death of Franco, with far more responsibilities than what we would commonly understand in English of a neighbourhood association. I explain in brief later on in the chapter the particular role the Associació de Veïns came to play in Spain. However, in these pages, Associació de Veïns, refers specifically to the one in Gallecs.

⁹ Can Jornet is a Masia (a style of rural farmhouses typical to Catalunya, Aragon and South of France) in Gallecs.

ASSOCIACIÓ DE PAGESOS DE GALLECS: It is the formal association of the farmers (pagesos) and their families, who farm ecologically. It started in 2000. As an association, one of its main objectives is the diversification of the produce so that Gallecs farmers are not dependent on cereals, as well as to provide a more direct path between farm products and the consumer (Safont i Artal, 2008).

PEIN: Pla Especial d'Espais d'Interès Natural is a planning instrument to create a system of natural protected areas to represent the richness and diversity of Catalan territory. As such it provides basic legal protection to all the territories included under the plan. However, the type of protection varies according to the type of space declared. In Gallecs, it is protected as a Rural Park (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015a). Details of the use of the land under PEIN is still being defined by the office of the Consorci (2015).

The expropriation and thereafter.

On 27th of June 1970, the decree 7/1970 was enacted. Here on referred to as ACTUR. Its goal was to decentralise the growth of Barcelona (Altayó Isern, 2010), a total of 1,500 hectares were expropriated to make a city of 130,000 inhabitants in the area of Gallecs, previously part of seven municipalities which were Mollet del Vallès, Parets del Vallès, Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, Palau-Solità i Plegamans, Lliçà de Vall, Montcada i Reixac and Polinyà. This was done by the Ministry of Housing under the Decree-Law 7/1970 of the emergency planning activities (ACTUR) and Decree 3543/1970 of Delimitation of ACTUR Santa Maria de Gallecs (Figure 1.7).

Fifty percent of what was initially expropriated is what remains of area we now refer to as Gallecs. The other 50% was used by Mollet to build apartment buildings, what the locals call “ciudad dormitorio”.

Shortly after the expropriation, began the oil crisis of 1973, a change to democracy due to the passing of Franco in 1975 and popular pressure against ACTUR Santa Maria

de Gallecs. All this combined to stall the project. A commission was established in 1977 to defend Gallecs.

In 1980, by the Royal Decree 1503/80 of 20 June, the Government of Catalunya transferred ownership of the land from the former National Institute of Construction (Inu-*rria*) to the newly created Catalan Land Institute (INCASOL) through Law 4 /1980.

To the inhabitants of the expropriated area, 1970 to 2001 was one of great instability, some left, others stayed, and others moved into Gallecs to occupy the houses. However, even those who came in late have usually been in their house for 20 years, and as far as the residents of Gallecs are concerned they are on their land in their home. But the question of occupation is an interesting one, and it will be something to come to in detail in the subsequent chapters.

For agriculture, however, because of the uncertainty of the situation in Gallecs, investment in machinery diminished (Guillamòn, and Moreno, 2005), yet the cropland and mode of farming are still predominantly through equipment. This imbalance is managed by the rental of farming machinery.

Additionally, due to the insecurity of the cropland, farmers reduced their long term crops for sale, selecting cereals as these could be planted and harvested within 6 months. The need of a crop to be harvested in six months was due to the provision of a license of use for the land, essentially insurance for the crops of six months. Hence, farmers changed the rotation of their crops to be assured of insurance coverage. This helped create an area of farming heavily dependent on cereals as this could be reaped in 6 months. Thereby through the landscape of wheat fields that one will see if passing through Gallecs.

In 2001, shortly after the re-zoning of Gallecs to a non-urbanisable space, there began the development of a sustainable agricultural management plan (2001-2005) based on moving the brand of Gallecs through the local businesses and a small *Agrobotiga*¹⁰ managed by farmers through the *Associació Agroecològica de Gallecs* (2014).

¹⁰ A shop in the centre of Gallecs where the farms produce/product is sold.

It is through this association and work with the Consorci that in 2005, 11 farmers decided to transform 63,57 hectares to ecological produce which by 2007 became about 100 hectares (Safont, Chamorro and Sans, 2008), the idea is to expand the plan to the rest of the agricultural land.

This enables us to have a description of how the land and landscape therein has changed in Gallecs. Figure 1.8 below offers a view of Gallecs at present. However Gallecs is not on its own, it used to be one of many “pobles” in the region. And as seen in comparing Figure 1.9 (shows Gallecs in 1912) to Figure 1.8, the area these “pobles” used to occupy are now heavily urbanised. While Figure 1.10 is a map of Mollet done in 1914 showing the land height in Gallecs and importantly for us the borders of the surrounding towns.

Alluding to the distinctive nature of Gallecs and to help understand the particularities of context in Gallecs, in Chapter 2 the evolution demographically and spatially among the other “pobles” will be described.

The events of the expropriation set Gallecs on a trajectory that separated and isolated it spatially, yet made it more dependent on institutional and population changes in the area.

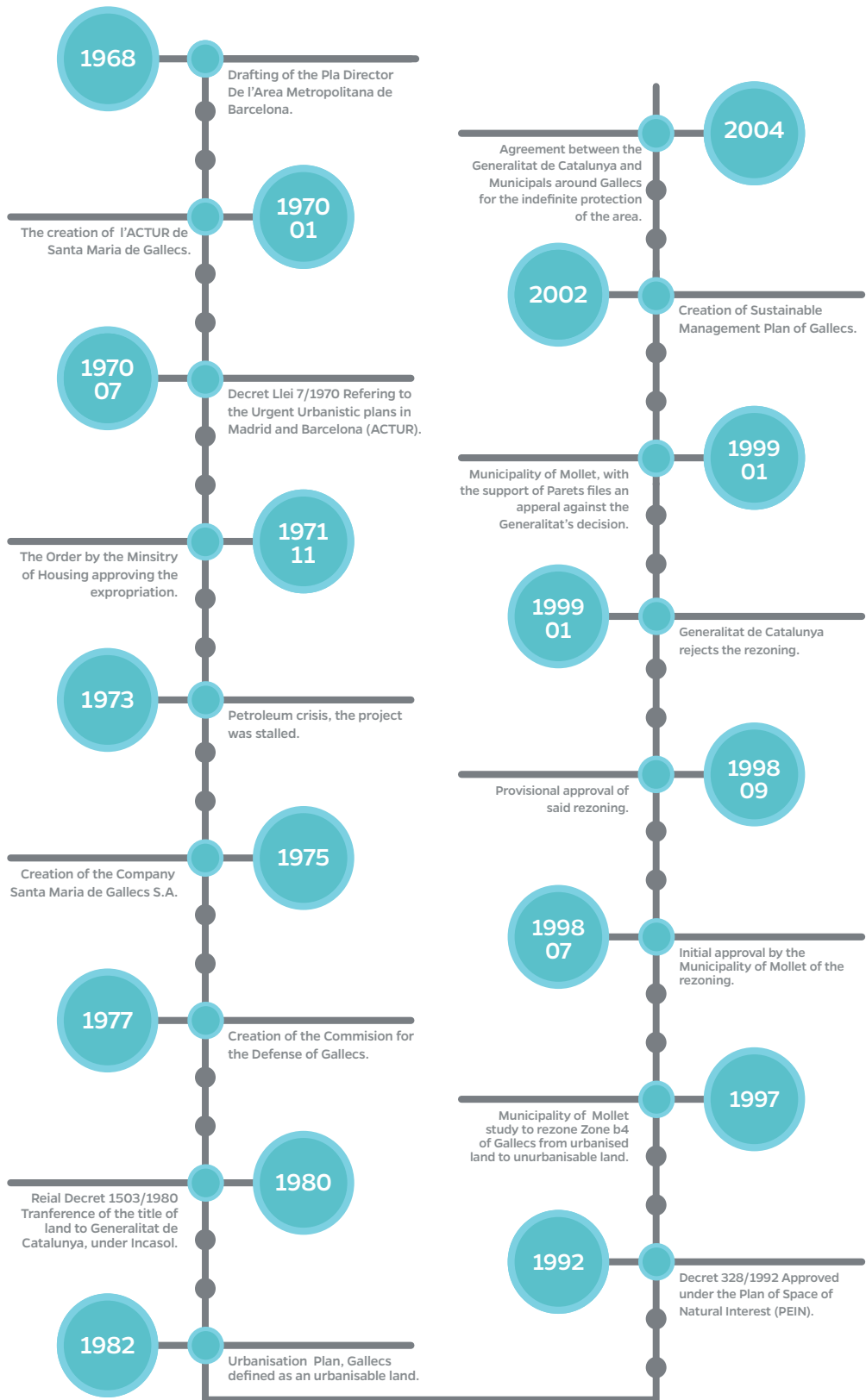


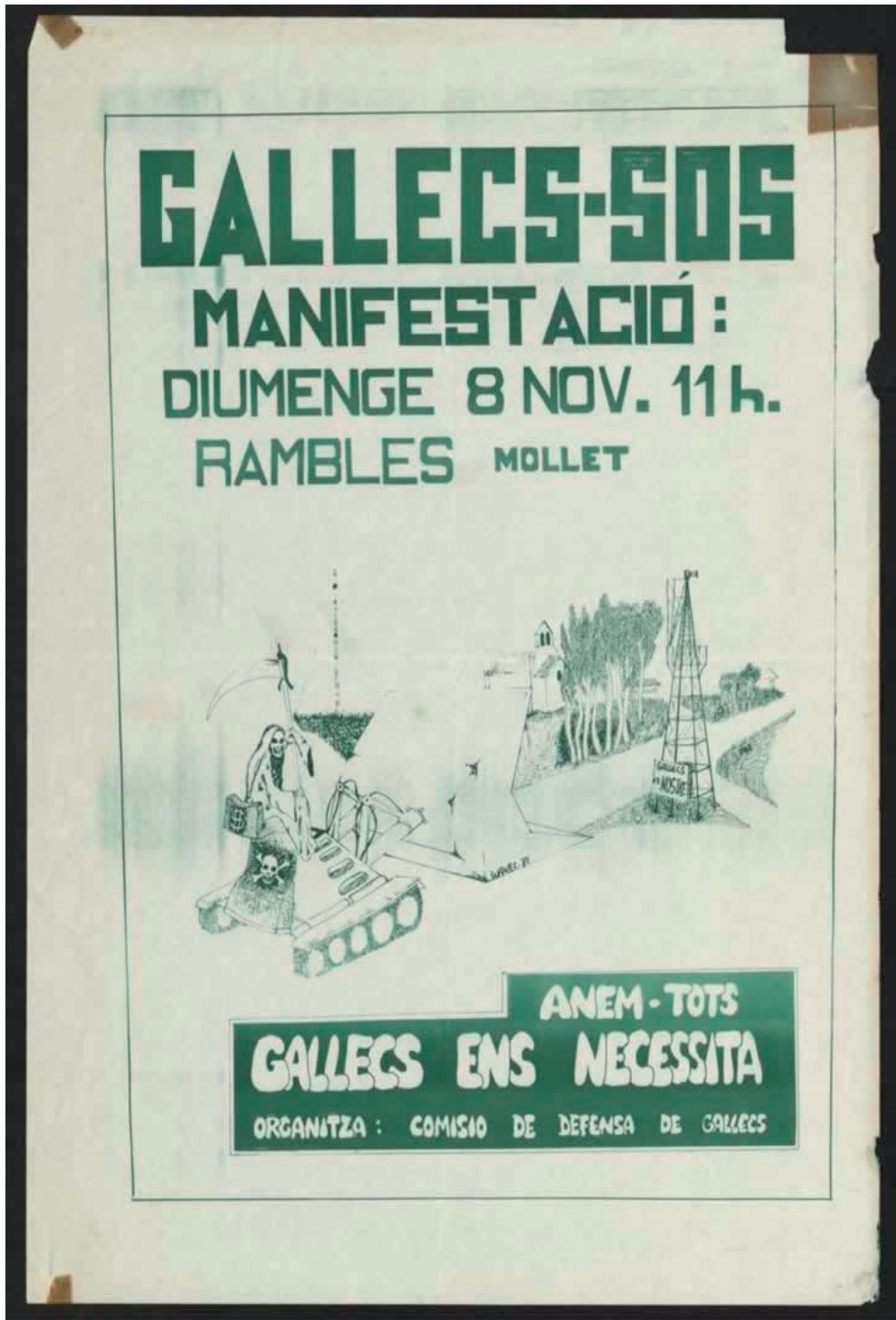
Figure 1.7: Sequence of Events based on the references in the literature review (Author's Work)



Figure 1.8: Schematic overlay of Gallecs. In this map, one sees the built up area surrounding Gallecs, and can have an idea of the changes in these last years. Unlike the other towns in Figure 2.3 which were agricultural land, Gallecs still is (Source: Consorci, 2015).



Figure 1.9: Map of plot lines in Gallecs from 1912 (Source: Consorci de Gallecs, 2015).



: Demonstration poster from 1981 of Gallecs SOS (Source: UAB Biblioteca de Comunicacion i Hermeroteca General CEDOC, 2015)

Literature Review

Gallecs is currently considered a periurban space, this is a rural space in continuation with an urban space (Safont i Artal, 2008). This makes it very unusual indeed and as such, studies on Gallecs abound, there have been studies on landscape (Serrat, 2010), agriculture (Safont i Artal, 2008), ethnobotany (Galobart, Molina, Camprubí, & Vallès, 2012) and flora (Crespo, 2013; Gordi i Serrat, 1999), as well as the history and architecture (Ortiz i Chacón, 2003) along with historical ways of living (Anso Ros, 2011). I do not presume to provide an extensive literature review, however the bibliography maintained by the Centre d'Estudis Molletans¹¹ (appendix 2; as of January 2016), can be considered the best list of academic and municipality produced work with reference to Gallecs, though it too is not exhaustive. To situate the relevance of this thesis, I've categorised the topics covered in this bibliography to provide an overview of the research topics predominantly done about Gallecs.

Categorisation of the Literature

There are 145 articles in this bibliography, of which I placed into 13 categories, Agriculture, Fauna, Flora, Geology, Plans, Sociology, History/Biography, Food, Itineraries/Landscape, Risk, Jurisprudence, Management, and Territory/ Urbanism. Most of the categories are self-explanatory; however some may not be so clear. Plans refer to Maps or architectural plans of the area, to differentiate between Territory/Urbanism which refers to articles that analysed or discussed the planning of Gallecs in comparison with other plans or in relation to the broader metropolitan region. History/ Biography was originally separate given the relevance to information for the study that could be found in biographies of residents of Gallecs during the conflict, however in the interest of analysing the areas of work done on Gallecs, it is re-categorised as History. Management refers to articles discussing the management of Gallecs and not exclusively to agriculture management or territorial management, but rather more specifically on issues related to the management of Gallecs.

¹¹ Centre d'Estudis Molletans is a service of the Mollet Municipality and is dedicated to the research and diffusion of works on Mollet as well as the rest of the Lower Vallès area, (Baix-Vallès; Mollet, Martorelles, Montmeló, Parets, Montornès, Santa Perpètua, San Fost and La Llagosta) aside from the publication of a variety of books on the regions, it also publishes "Notes", a Journal on studies from these areas.

The articles were categorised based on the topic they related most too. Categories were collapsed or split depending on how they encompassed the various articles. Some articles were split along categories, where it was necessary, and all this was later totaled to provide an idea of where research has centered concerning Gallecs.

Based on this, the top two categories were History at 27.5 articles and Plans with 27 articles, that is 37.59% of the total articles. This is precisely where research on Gallecs has been predominantly done. Gallecs is considered an example of living history of the Vallès Oriental. As Bertran described in the prolog of the book *Gallecs: Més the trenta anys de propostes i accions* (Gordi i Serrat, 2003) there has been an accumulation of proposals on what can/ should be done with Gallecs.

It's future being undefined until the PEIN meant it's future and designation was in constant discussion, hence the proposals. History being a predominant theme of the work also is understandable as we have mentioned earlier with its existence dating back till 904 and it's landscape undergoing less change than the surrounding towns it quickly becomes an example of living history.

Then we have the work of a more basic nature on Gallecs, the Fauna, Flora and Geology, at 9, 15 and 10 articles, a lot of this work provided the background along with the historical data to allow Gallecs to be considered part of the PEIN. The work was also done by the environmental community as a way to support Gallecs and provide the scientific data for it to be conserved.

Other categories with similar presence were Itineraries/Landscape at 14.5 and Territory/Urbanism at 12. A huge part of the movement to conserve Gallecs, depended on popular support. Gallecs' role as part of the recreation fabric of the towns in the area has contributed to that support. Hence the work on routes, mostly by municipalities, to encourage it's use. Its uniqueness has led to many works on how a territory can incorporate a space such as this, as well as the institutional changes necessary to achieve it.

At the low end of the works done we find Food at 3.5, Management at 4.5, Risk at 5 and Jurisprudence at 1. With Food and Management sections, part of the reason is because

the Consorci only started in 2006, hence it has relatively low numbers. In contrast agricultural articles were at 12 which are related to the involvement of Gallecs with the agricultural programme at UPC¹². While the risk studies were mainly conducted to estimate flood risk in Mollet and Gallecs. And the theme Jurisprudence refers specifically to an article concerning the legal questions surrounding Gallecs. But of course my contention is that work related to sociology is only at 4, most work here uses some form of actor analysis or institution analysis.

Related more to the sociology of the conflict of Gallecs are some of the studies that discussed the planning and institutional actions, that discuss sociologically the relation between the actors (Gordi i Serrat, Boter de Palau Gallifa, & González, 2003; Teixidor, 2000) The work by Gordi i Serrat et al., (2003) is worth highlighting as it provides a review of Gallecs through the various documentations created by the actors involved in Gallecs (unfortunately this also limits actors to those who have produced documentation). While an excellent review of documentation on Gallecs, it again lists more works written from an academic perspective and does not relate it to the social component of Gallecs. The closest to an environmental sociology bent was Altayó Isern's (2010) end of year project, though it discusses Gallecs largely from an institutional level, and works very much with the documentation presented by the institutions around the conflict of Gallecs with some interview data. There is also a book chapter which was part of a conference about Gallecs in Mollet (Nel.lo, 1996). The chapter by Gallego & Grau, (1995) offered an analysis of the actors in play though coming from a political perspective.

Issue defined by Literature

According to the literature, Gallecs is seen as a conflict. What type of conflict is diverse, and I will have to say a bit mitigated by the institutional lens of each author.

González del Pozo (2000) refers to it as an “urbanistic and political conflict”, Laso Oliveros, Ludvid, Massana (2005) refer to it as a conflictive urbanistic process. Gordi i Serrat on the other hand while referring to it as a conflict is careful to avoid defining where he sees the conflict, and instead catalogues the various proposals via actors involved.

¹² Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya.

Gallego and Grau refer to it simply as a problem that they will analyse from a political perspective.

This is in contrast to what I learned during fieldwork. In every exchange I have had with people in the surrounding area of Gallecs (as described in Chapter 2), or even casual conversations of persons who lived through the time and were aware of Gallecs, the idea that Gallecs exists because the people fought for it, is predominant. It makes sense that this is assumable of the population in Gallecs but of its surroundings as well? There was only one person of those interviewed who cited institutional regulation as defining what was happening in Gallecs, and that person was heavily involved in the management of institutions.

It stands to reason that there is more to the story of Gallecs, than either presented by the literature or from the common knowledge of the people.

Actors defined by literature

For Gallego & Grau (1998), there are 5 main actors in the network of the conflict that is the space of Gallecs; they are the political parties, the Institut Català del Sòl (Incasòl), the department of the environment of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the Environmental movement groups and the “pagesos”. According to them, the main reason Gallecs exists is because of the political parties who were sympathetic to the case. The farmers were described as simply caught in the middle of bigger battles¹³. An interesting point they made was that the “pagesos” were there for a “private good”, their homes that would help them maintain their way of life (Gallego & Grau, 1995). Altayó Isern (2010) views the farmers with respect for resisting and puts more emphasis on the institutions both social and public. I particularly found this more balanced in the placement of each actor, and more in congruence with what I was discovering in the field.

This means we have two discourses on the role of the “pagesos” at odds with each other. Gallego & Grau (1998) portrayed the farmers as actors of little agency dependent on

¹³ A saying in Malaysia captures the sentiment, Gajah sama gajah berperang, tikus mati di tengah tengah. Translation: Two elephants fight with each other, the mouse dies in the middle. Meaning, governments may fight with each other but it is the little person who pays the price.

decisions around them. Admittedly, this article was written in 1995 before the designation of the Consorci and the declaration of Gallecs as an agro-ecological park. Yet the idea of an agro-ecological park was discussed and heavily debated at that time. Valentí (2008), however, refers to the conflict over Gallecs as inter-administrative and social (the first document that actually names it as a social conflict). She is a journalist. The article appears in the local journal Notes. It is, however, Galdons' (2011) chapter on the lived experience of the social movement of Gallecs, which is essentially a group memoir that came closest to the understanding I had formed through the fieldwork: that both the farmers and the social movements had important roles in keeping Gallecs existing. But these were complex interactive roles.

Conclusions as provided by the literature

The conclusions vary, González del Pozo(2000) concludes “that there was no variable that clearly predominated and could determine the political sequence as well as the actions of the autonomic and local administrations”¹⁴. Oliveros, Ludvid, Massana (2005) see the accord between the Generalitat de Catalunya and the municipalities as the definite protection for Gallecs. Gordi i Serrat et al., (2003) doesn't analyse the data for a conclusion put rather provides his own suggestion of the management and design of Gallecs based on the proposals described. Altayó Isern (2010) strongly credits the residents of Gallecs for maintaining Gallecs. Gallego & Grau (1998) see the change in politics as the predominant factor, though they do give a nod to civil society in maintaining the issue in debate. That is when a conclusion is offered, there is a rather ample amount of articles that provide chronologies of varying foci.

Part of this discrepancy in conclusion is the time when each was written as Gallecs has been constantly evolving. Another issue is the limitation of data, this particularly for work that limited itself to written data and proposals, admittedly given the complexity and length of the case of Gallecs, it is understandable.

¹⁴ Translated Quote.

Limitation and Gaps in past work

I have yet to see work that connects Gallecs' history with the changes in its context, the change in democracy, the environmental movement in Spain as well as the changes in the surrounding geography and demographic changes. This is not to mean that they were not treated, these issues were touched, various works provide mention, but fail to discuss connections. Perhaps because these changes are so part of the social fabric of the researcher and the researched as to not need mentioning. Perhaps.... There is also no mention of the experience lived on the ground, frequently works on Gallecs get caught up in the proposal and institutions rather than a discussion of place and people in relation to their institutions.

Contribution of this Work Setup

The huge discrepancies in the literature review, and the contrast between how the people of the area saw Gallecs and in the literature were definite surprises. The lack of connection between socio-political fabric and how all of this intervened with Gallecs, was another. I could not find work that tried to explain the uniqueness of the situation, though every work highlighted Gallecs' uniqueness.

Here is where this work begins, to understand and explain. To help with that a Micro, Meso, Macro approach is used to structure the interaction at various levels. The Social context at the Meso (surrounding towns) and aspects of the Marco context (Labour in Catalunya & Spain) is provided in Chapter 2, while Chapter 5 and 6 deal with the micro (Gallecs) context. Chapters 7 and 8 will bring these various aspects together.

2 **Macro Influences: Demographics, Social Movements and the Times**

We are not makers of history, we are made by history.
Martin Luther King

Gallecs while an island of rural life is not physically an island. The population of Gallecs is in constant interaction with the population of the surrounding towns. Gallecs is also within greater Barcelona; in an area often called the industrial belt of Barcelona. The structures that give this configuration of towns the name industrial belt came into being during the 50s to 70s, along with the demographic changes that industrialisation brought to these towns.

In the previous chapter, I talked about Gallecs' history, provided a chronology of events based on the literature, as well as discussed the literature available on Gallecs. With this information we begin to see that the resistance of Gallecs is intertwined with socio-political as well as demographic changes over the course of 46 years.

In this chapter we will provide background of the demographic characteristic of the neighbouring towns, social movements pertinent to the discussion of Gallecs and an idea of the times and the social backdrop in which the first demonstration for Gallecs took place. Interlacing these issues to understand the resistance of Gallecs will be done in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The Neighbourhood

In Figure 2.1 we observe Gallecs and the boarders it shares with the neighbouring towns of Mollet del Vallès, Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, Palau-solità i Plegamans, Paret del Vallès, Montcada i Reixac, and Lliçà de Vall. These five municipalities along with Martorellas and Santa Maria de Martorellas (these are included because of the association of

these populations with Mollet and Gallecs), will be discussed in turn as to their demographics, changes in industry between the 50s to the present and their uniqueness. At the end of this section on the individual towns, we will discuss the overarching dynamics of these towns with Gallecs.

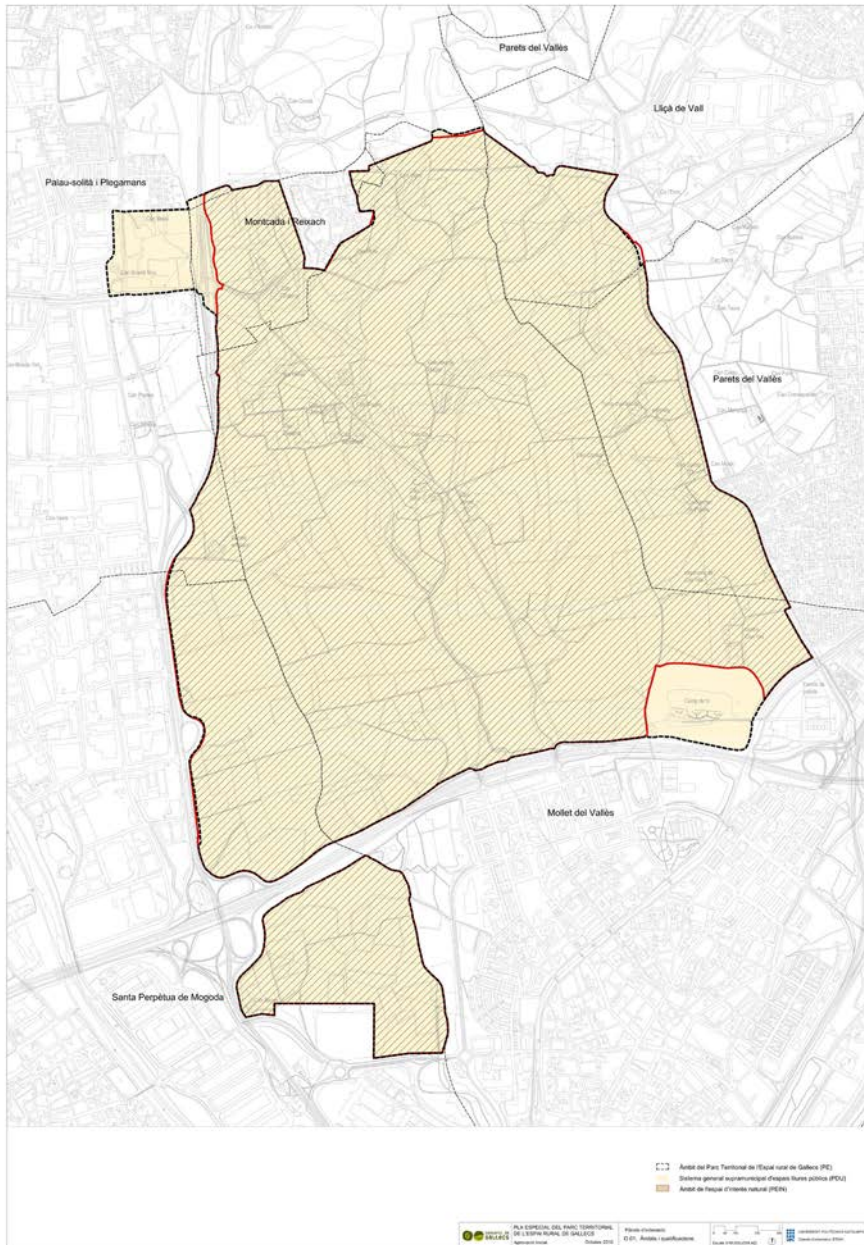


Figure 2.1: Perimeter of Gallecs and the towns that border it. (Source: Consorci de Gallecs, 2010).

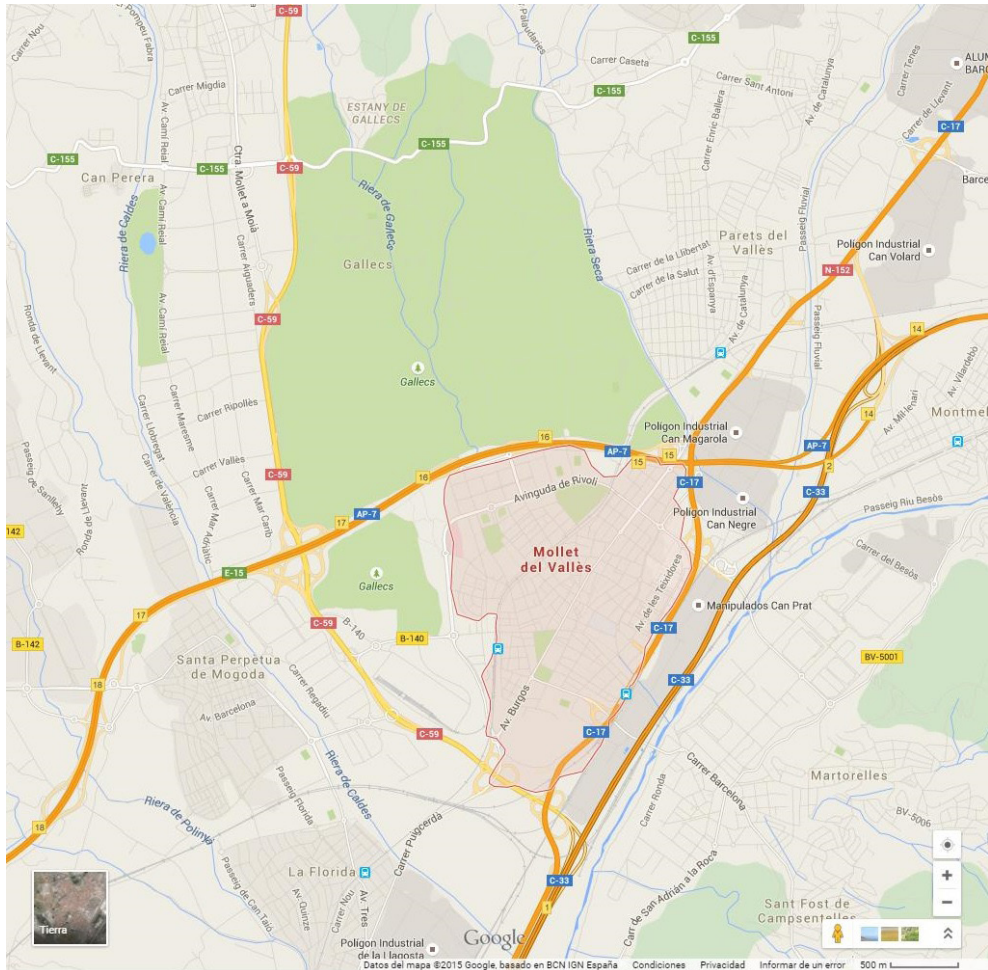
*Mollet del Vallès*¹⁵

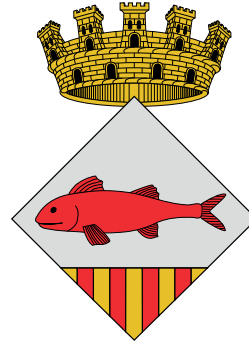
Figure 2.2 (500m: 1cm): From Gallecs we see Mollet across the highway. Notice the housing area immediately adjacent to the small patch of Gallecs, on the other side of the AP-7. This used to be part of Gallecs, rather than Mollet. In this map, Mollet seems to have a smaller hectareage than Gallecs (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

Amongst all the nearby towns mentioned above, Mollet del Vallès is by far the largest population wise, the latest census (Idescat, 2017a; Data: 2016) notes the Mollet population at 51,491 about 15,000 more than the next largest municipality (Montcada i Reixac at 34,802) of the 8 that will be discussed in this chapter. However it has about half the area of Montcada i Reixac at 10.77 km², making its density very high at 4,781 hab. per km².

¹⁵ Most of the section on each town is taken from their Municipality website unless otherwise referenced.

Background

The first documented references to Gallecs and Mollet date to 904 and 993 respectively. During the 10th century, both these towns were small villages surrounded by fields and forests. In 1381, Mollet, Gallecs and Parets were governed as one municipality and adjoined to Barcelona as a street. The population was very small from 340 to 385 (these numbers are from 1497 till 1708). It drastically increased in 1787, when it reached 768 inhabitants with percentages as follows: 55% in Mollet, 35% in Parets and 10% in Gallecs. In the year 1849 Parets separated from Mollet and Gallecs.



*Figure 2.3: The coat of arms of Mollet, the fish refers to the fact that Mollet was a wetland area
Source; Municipality of Mollet, 2015)*

The town of Mollet is situated in the floodplain of the River Besós. The soils beneath this town are composed of sand, silt, clay and conglomerate. Originally, before the industrial era, Mollet was an agricultural area much like Gallecs, and a much smaller town. Mollet's main agricultural products at the time were wheat, hemp, beans, corn and wine, in this order. The phylloxera¹⁶ crisis reached Mollet in 1886 and by 1898 had nearly destroyed all the vineyards.

Major industrial changes

Textile production dominated the industrialisation of Catalunya during the late 19th century. The entrance of the textile industry began the transformation of Mollet when in 1870 a cotton factory was installed. At this point the population was 1, 400. Recall that the phylloxera crisis reached Mollet in 1886 and by 1898 had wiped out nearly all the vineyards. The establishment of the Moretó sawmill in 1891 and then later the cereal mill in 1895 would have absorbed many who had lost their earnings in the phyl-

¹⁶ Phylloxera vastatrix, a pest of commercial grape vines and responsible for the Phylloxera plague in Europe in the late 19th Century.

loxera crisis. A tanning factory build in 1897 the “Tenería moderna Franco Española (Tannery)” commonly known as la Pelleria would have been welcomed for the same reasons. Moretó flours still functions today, while an abandoned Tannery was still visible in 2012, though it has since been torn down.

The road linking Barcelona to Mollet, Girona and Portbou was built in 1848; later, in 1854, the railroad was built parallel to it. These infrastructures aided in drawing the first factories mentioned above to Mollet. The proximity of the river Besós was another, factories at that time, particularly textile factories ran on steam power, hence the construction of most of these factories near the train station and river. By the end of the 19th Century, Mollet had a population of 2000, and was still basically agricultural, but these factories added to a now fledgling industry.

It was during the 20th century that Mollet began to develop its textile industry. In 1900 the textile factory of Can Fàbregas was established; while in 1919 Can Mulá started, this was owned by an industrialist who invested in agriculture as well as textiles. The industrial sector of Mollet revolved around these two factories and the Tannery until the sixties. From 1900 until 1940, the population of Mollet tripled. Yet, most of the people still lived in the countryside. Most industrial workers typically combined factory work with agricultural work, sometimes in exchange for harvest.

The industrial area of Mollet during the early 20th century can be seen in Figure 2.2, located near the railway station between the town of Mollet and Martorelles. However, the areas nearest to the station have been abandoned for years and are now being torn down for newer developments. According to the Mollet Municipal website part of the movement of the factories into Mollet was to move away from the social unrest of Barcelona, as well as the activities of the “Sindicat” (Labour Unions) and to find a new workforce. The civil war of 1936-39 certainly changed the interaction of labour and employers, however, according to Balfour (1989) the dispersion of factories to the periphery of Barcelona in the 1950 to 1970 was mostly in search of cheap land. Nevertheless, this dispersion did create difficulties in the organisation of unions, though it was the loss of the war and the preceding repression in the late 30s and 40s that inhibited union persistence. Admittedly the details of these years are far more complicated; Balfour (1989)

and Smith (2002a) offer to an Anglo Saxon public a useful entrance to the issues of labour and social protest in Barcelona during these years.

The wave of industrialisation in the 1950s was what sealed Mollet as an industrial town. With the opening up of the Franco regime in this era, and the textile crisis of the seventies, industrialisation in Mollet became dominated by the metallurgical and chemical factories. Of course construction grew too; it grew by 208 percent between 1962 and 1971 in Catalunya (Molinero & Ysàs, 2002). This growth in construction was associated with immigration from the rest of Spain to greater Barcelona. Accommodations were needed for the new immigrants, mostly agricultural workers, mostly from Andalucía. In Mollet, the population which had recently tripled, from the 50s to the 70s grew from 6,000 to 20,000 predominantly from this immigration. All these brought changes in demographics, the landscape but also in how the inhabitants socialised and related to each other. Part of this change involved Cultural Centres, in 1964, the first opened in Mollet; these were spaces where one could speak freely during the dictatorship and a focal point for protest and organisations to form in the seventies.¹⁷ One of the most well-known cultural centers in Mollet, la Marineta was strongly involved in the organisation of Gallecs demonstrations. Later in this chapter we will deal with the broader implications of these changes.

Current population structure

56, 96% of Mollet's population is considered Active¹⁸ in the job market, though about 30% of that Active population was out of work. The current spread of work categorised into sectors¹⁹, Agriculture (0.18%), Industry (23.90%), Construction (5.16%) and Services (70.77%) gives an idea of the division of work among the population of Mollet (Idenscat, 2017a). Given that education at university level in Mollet is 11.28%²⁰ of the total population, we can deduce that the services referred to in the data

¹⁷ Another association that was important in this cultural shift was the Associació de Veïns (Catalan) or Asociación de Vecinos (Spanish) which we will discuss further in Chapter 6.

¹⁸ Using the language of Idenscat, a person classified as Active is a person of working age who doesn't have any factor; physical or otherwise, limiting their possibility to work.

¹⁹ For all towns, these are 2017 data and are based on residency.

²⁰ Data for Education and Active population for all towns discussed, refers to population over 16 and is only available for the year 2011.

is mainly of a pink collar working class²¹. The majority of the population has a secondary level certificate at 62.31%, while 14.38% of the population has a primary level certificate and 12.00% doesn't have a title.

The land in Mollet closest to the AP-7 is one of the more recently developed areas (this was formerly Gallecs land) and now houses what the locals call “ciutat dormitori” (commuter town). This population has recently moved to these areas and still retains much of their social life in Barcelona. They are within the ages 30 to 40, typically single or in couples, with a sprinkling of new families. The older parts of Mollet are predominated by families that moved in the 70s and 80s; they represent a demographic that is older, mostly families with adolescents or older children living with them or in an apartment in nearby towns²².

Mollet also has significant population of inhabitants of Moroccan origin, of the 10.6% of foreign nationals²³ in Mollet an estimate of 23.7% are Moroccan²⁴. They are rather isolated (with the exception of their children in state schools) socially albeit not spatially. One rarely sees the women in the public spaces of Mollet, despite them representing 44% of the Moroccan population in Mollet. The families or groups of adult women with kids can be encounter at mostly a small park on Av. Badalona or on occasion at the train station. The men are seen at a Moroccan-run café by the train station from 9 am to 22 pm every day. Conversations with the waiters there admit that it functions more like a social center (for the men) while being open and functioning like an ordinary café for the rest of Mollet's population. One rarely sees other Molletians here, except for the takeaway of gigantic sandwiches. These are the more qualitative aspects of the population of Mollet, we will discuss the quantitative and distributional aspects of population

²¹ Pink Collar refers to low-paying jobs of the service sector, waiters, tele-operators etc.,

²² Ethnographic data from field work.

²³ Nationality Data for all towns are from 2016

²⁴ These percentages are calculated from Idescat (2017) data but have their limitations since the data does not provide data on population nationality that denotes Moroccan in origin but lumps everything together as Africa nationality. Hence these percentages were arrived at using their data on country of birth of the population, and assuming the percentage of Moroccans in that data set can be equal in percentage to the data set on population nationality. However, this also had its limitation as from the ethnographic work; some of the Moroccan community have UE or Spanish nationality because they were born there, but clearly identify themselves with the Moroccan community.

of all the towns in a section once I have completed the descriptions of each, as taken together the data provide more interesting inferences.

Parets del Vallès

The town of Parets del Vallès has an area of 9.12 km², making it very similar in size to Mollet however at a density of 2065.5 hab. per km² it is roughly half that of Mollet. While its population is roughly 2/5 of Mollets at 18,837 (Idescat, 2017b). As seen in Figure 2.4 the Tenes river is a tributary of the Besós, divides the town from north to south, there is also the stream Seca, of very little flow. The grounds on the right riverbank belong to Gallecs and are, therefore, under the jurisdiction of the Consorci.

The first documentary reference dates back to the year 878, however, the name Parets is mentioned in 904 (Parietes). It is assumed that in the twelfth century the town took its name from the Roman walls surrounding it. From 1385, Parets became part of the same municipality with Mollet and Gallecs. Parets, however, became independent in the mid-nineteenth century. Until the 19th century, the people relied almost exclusively on agriculture, namely vineyards, cereals, legumes, vegetables and hemp. It still has 281 ha (Idescat, 2017b; data 2009) of basically vegetable plots.



Figure 2.4 (1km: 1cm): Paret starts on the east of Gallecs with its west border connecting to Gallecs as well as Mollet. (Source: Google maps, 2015)

La Linera, a textile company built in 1880 in Paret, is one of its most well-known industries. It was managed as a textile colony, where the owner contributed to the welfare of their workers such as building houses for them and looking into their social welfare. The factory was turned into a co-op during the civil war and was later returned to its owners during the dictatorship. It is still considered a valuable part of Paret, both because of what it gave to the town institutionally and because of the dependence on work from the factory. The grounds of La Linera are now a park, El Parc de La Linera which was the main economic engine of the town, and a major institution on its own. The factory's closure in 1971 led to massive changes in the economic structure of Paret (Esteve, 2017).

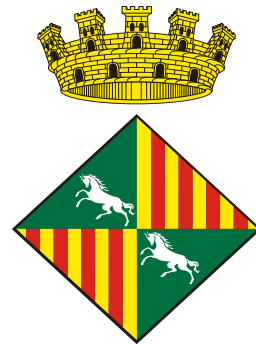


Figure 2.5: The coat of arms of Paret del Vallès, created in 2007 with remnants of the original one. (Municipality of Paret del Vallès, 2015)

Currently most of its modern industries are mainly stationed on the left bank of the river Tenes, distributed in five industrial parks. Small businesses predominate but it has a few large firms: Danone, Nutrexpa, Grupo Zeta, Freudenberg, Grifols Laboratories, Recipharm and Novartis. Parets, because of its strategic location, near major highways, C-33 and AP-7, tends to function as a distributional hub.

Similar to Mollet, Parets has an active working population of 59.16 % of its working age population, with 23.76% unemployed. Current spread of occupation into sectors has Agriculture at 0.02%, Industry at 25.96%, Construction 4.62% and Services at 69.20%. We can see that the spread of occupation is similar to Mollet, as is the education level at 16.11% with a university title, 62.86% with a secondary level certificate, 9.07% a primary level certificate and 11.96% without any certificate, we're looking at very similar demographics. Parets however has a lower level of foreigners at 6.46%. (Idescat, 2017b).

Palau-Solità i Plegamans

Palau Solità i Plegamans has an area of 14.93 km² with a population density of 970.8 hab. /km², its population is 14,494. This is similar in numbers to Parets, however Parets is only about two-thirds the size of Plegamans, hence its density is almost half that of Parets. That being said, Plegamans low human density is more than made up by animal density, of the towns discussed so far it has a higher density of all types of farm animal from bovine to equine. To illustrate this point, Plegamans houses 3652 pigs while Mollet has 740 and Parets, 1 (Idescat, 2017; Data 2009). The town itself is nestled between two small ranges of hills where three rivers - Caldes, Sentmenat and Torrent - flow through. These last two end up joining the Caldes to flow into the river Besòs. These rivers create a wetland area that provides rich fertile farmland and pasture, for the said animal density.

Plegamans was created from two towns, Santa Maria de Palau-Solità and Plegamans de Sant Genís, which were documented as Palau-Solita in 955 and Plegamans in 962. In 1698, the two towns had a common town hall. During the 17th and 18th century with

the economic growth in Catalunya, the main streets of the town, Top Street and Bottom Street were built. In 1850, the main road and whole neighborhoods of new homes were constructed while the inhabitants dedicated themselves to artisanal handiwork²⁵. In 1880, the train “el Calderí” arrived and was used to extract stone from Mount Farell, stones which were transformed into cobblestones for the city of Barcelona.

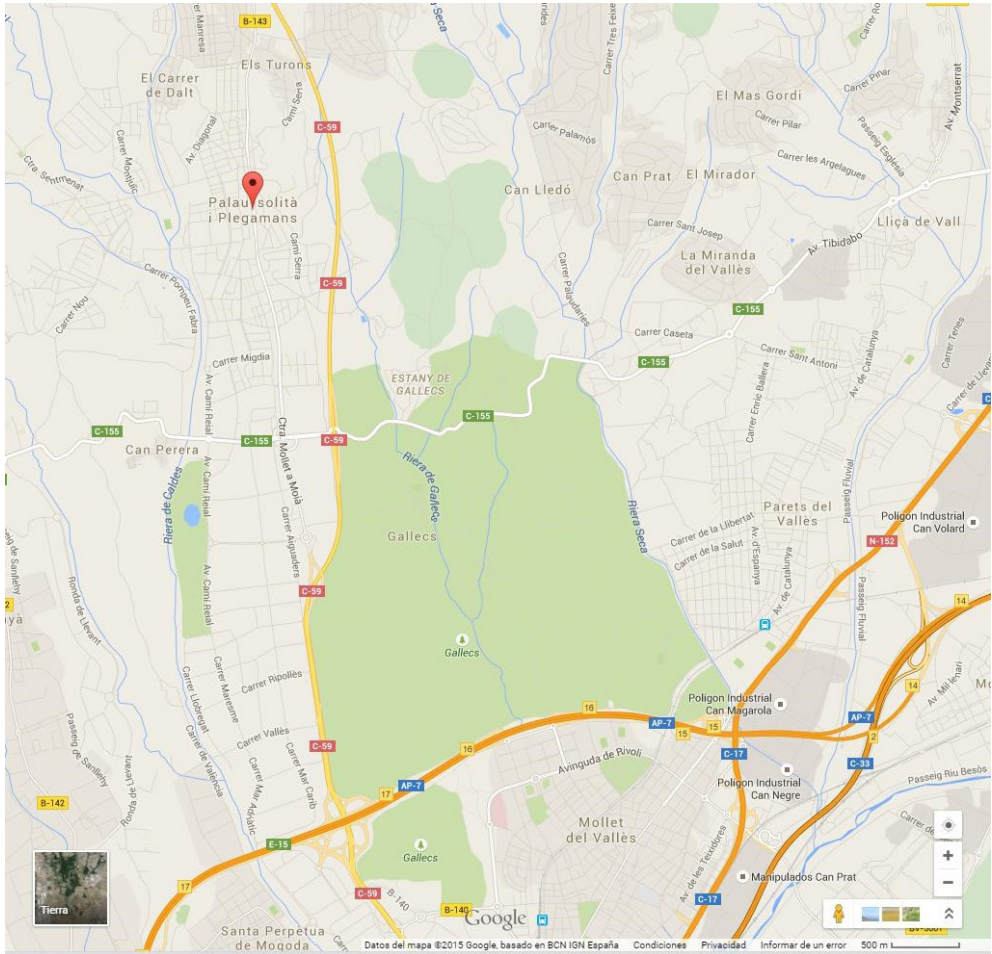


Figure 2.6 (500m: 1cm): Palau-Solità i Plegamans just north of Gallecs (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

As with the other towns discussed here, during the seventies and eighties industrial parks and housing developments were built, these radically changed the terrain. A welcome change for Plegamanions, unlike the death of their centenarian oak “Can Register”,

²⁵ In the 17th and 18th century, fabric work was predominantly done in two manners, the first was in small colony style factories with the help of steam power, the later was artisanal usually in small families either with a small hand – loam or joining woven pieces (Borderias, 2002)

a symbol of the town: It was there that “members of the old councils met, it was the tent for the Summer festivals, a place to dance Sardanas and the playground of the children.”

As with Mollet and Parets, the proportion of active working population is similar, at 58.06% of its working age population, with 27.21% of this active population unemployed. With the spread of occupations we again see similar per-

centages, Agriculture at 0.40%, Industry at 22.61%, Construction 6.04% and Services at 70.96%. As is the education level at 16.02% with a university title, 60.52% with a secondary level certificate, 14.21 % with a primary level certificate and 9.27% without any certification. Plegamans however has an even lower level of foreigners at 4.8% with a foreign nationality (Idescat, 2017c).

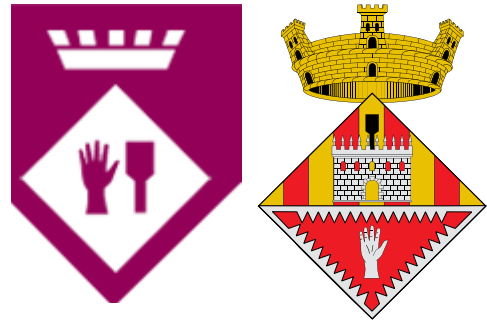


Figure 2.7: Two version of the coat of arms of Palau-Solità i Plegamans. The one on the left is a modern more stylized version while the one on the right is the original. Source; Municipality of Palau-Solità i Plegamans, 2015)

Santa Perpètua de Mogoda

Santa Perpètua de Mogoda has an area of 15.83 km² with a population density of 1641.4 hab./km², and a population of 25,556. Giving it a population density between that of Parets and Plegamans. Mogoda starts about 500m from Gallecs (Figure 2.8). Like other towns in the vicinity, Santa Perpètua grew with the textile industry, the first factory being set up in 1857. During the late 1960s, six industrial parks were created in nine years, thereby increasing the population of Santa Perpètua from 930 in 1964 to 3,003 in 1974. This trend continued until the end of the century and currently, there are nearly 1,400 companies, far from the 42 registered in 1964. Population growth clearly followed this development as in 1960 Santa Perpètua housed 4,125, then 12 589 in 1975, 18, 233 in 1998 and currently more than 25,000 people. Despite the town’s age, the inhabitants of Santa Perpètua are very young with 60% of its citizens below 40 years of age, a deviation in the typical age of the population ratio amongst the towns in the area (Idescat, 2017d).

The current municipality of Santa Perpètua de Mogoda is the result of the union of Santa Maria la Antigua and Mogoda in 1847, an administrative reorganisation driven by the central administration of the state at the time. Santa Perpètua can trace its origins to the Roman Empire, with some of the oldest artifacts coming from the Neolithic period (9000 years old). The first written reference dates from the year 990 for Santa Perpètua de Mogoda and 983 for Santiga (Santa Maria la Antiga) (Municipality of Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, 2015).

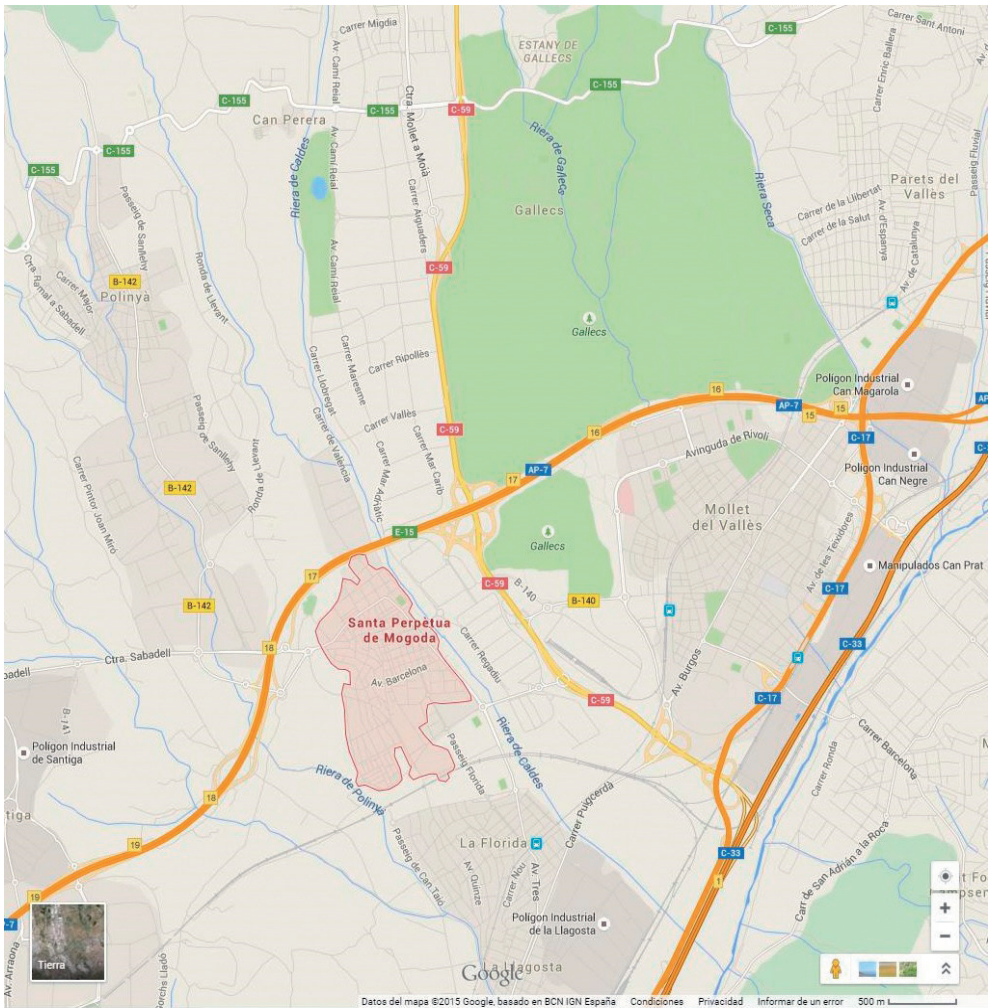


Figure 2.8 (500m: 1cm): Santa Perpètua de Mogoda highlighted in Red. (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

The proportion of active working population is 55.41% of its working age population, with 26.84% of this active population unemployed. The spread of occupations follow a similar pattern, Agriculture at 0.33%, Industry at 22.15%, Construction 5.81% and Services at 71.71%. Education level meanwhile is at 12.27% with a university title, 61.53% with a secondary level certificate, 13.09 % with a primary level certificate and 13.12% without any certification. Foreign nationals in Santa Perpètua de Mogoda are at 8.42% (Idescat, 2017d).



Figure 2.9: The coat of arms of Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, the palm and crown are attributes of the Saint Santa Perpètua de Màrtir, patron of the village. (Municipal of Santa Perpètua de Mogoda, 2015 Decreto 175/1983)

Martorelles

Martorelles and Santa Maria de Martorellas are the only towns included here that are not part of the Consorci. There are included because my ethnographic understanding of these towns and their associations began here.

Martorelles has a rather small area of 3.61km², with a population of 4,725. This makes its density of 1308.9 hab./km² fall between those of Mogoda and Plegamans. A recurrent story in these towns, Martorelles until 1927 was with Santa Maria de Martorelles one town. The first document that refers to this town was written in 992.

The towns of Mollet, Martorelles and San Fost²⁶ were divided by the road built by Romans; this is the current road to Barcelona. However, until the 19th century border disputes between the three were common, it was finally resolved by the constitutional councils and municipalities.

²⁶ Seen in Figure 2.11 as Sant Fausto de Campcentellas, its official name in Catalan is San Fost de Campsentellas. While sharing borders with many of the towns discussed here, it is not part of the consorci.

Originally the center of the town was located at the peak, around the church of Santa Maria. This is currently part of the town of Santa Maria de Martorelles. Above the village of Martorellas are the wine growing areas, mirrored across the mountain range in the town of Alella. Alella is well known for their wine, and holds a Denomination of Origen (DO)²⁷, the wines in Martorellas and Santa Maria de Martorellas are considered part of this DO. Martorelles also falls within the Serralada Litoral Park²⁸.

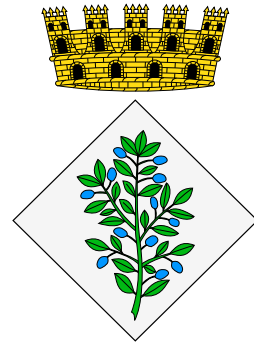


Figure 2.10: The coat of arms of Martorelles, a popular theory of where Martorelles obtained its name is from a bush named mitre, (Myrtle in English) that was common in the region (Wikipedia, 2015c).

The area near the river Besòs was the most fertile of the municipality, resulting in many people of Santa Maria owning or leasing land there, where orchards became their main livelihood. It was also common to cultivate cereal, fruit, potatoes and beans, with the daily journey to the plain done on foot. This area by the river is now an industrial park. Major companies have housed their factories here, including Derbi, Manaut, Fainsa, Hilaturas Marta, and Cobega.

Percentage of working age population and distribution among sectors and education are similar in Martorellas as the other towns, with 55% of the working age population active, of which 29.53% were unemployed. The distribution of sectors is Agriculture at 0.32%, Industry at 29.47%, Construction at 6.63% and Services at 63.58%. Education has University education at $8.41 \pm 3.6\%$ ²⁹, primary certificate at 14.42%, secondary certificate at 69.39% while those without any title at $10.16 \pm 3.6\%$. However its foreign population is only 4.23% (Idescat, 2017e).

²⁷ DO is a regulation of the geographical origin and at times grape variety of wine or cava from the region.

²⁸ The park is 7408,24 ha within the 15 municipalities across the Catalan Coastal Mountain Ridge.

²⁹ Data was missing from this data set so I made an approximation of the range that this percentage could possibly occupy.

During the time I lived there, the closing of Derbi caused a lot of unsettlement in the areas, as most families in Martorelles had someone working in the factory.

A documentary about it was promoted by the municipality of Martorelles and screened in Martorelles on February 2015. A month later it was on the local televisions in the region and has been recently released for screening by the Municipality of Martorelles (La Xarxa, 27 March 2015; Ajuntament de Martorelles, 11 Feb 2015).



Figure 2.11 (1km: 1cm): Martorelles rests on the edge of the Serralada Litoral Park. (Source: Google Maps, 2015)

Like the other towns, Martorelles did have a textile industry; the remains of that factory can be seen on an aptly called Calle de la Industria. A resident who used to work there in the 60s and 70s remarked how all the women were like family, her having moved from Andalusia, this meant all the more. Industry to these communities isn't about input and output, cost and benefit, it is an extension of their family and way of life, there is also a sense that work in these factories is until retirement, for a factory to close, and to be laid off, is seen as an event that shouldn't have happened.

Santa Maria de Martorelles

Santa Maria de Martorelles has a population of 861 inhabitants, area of 4.5 km² and a density of 190,9 hab/km², the least dense of all the towns discussed. It is also the highest of the towns discussed at an altitude of 181 m. Santa Maria is home to two wineries: Can Roca and Marqués d'Alella, both wineries have the D.O. of Alella that certifies the land where the grapes are grown. Alella, however, is the town on the other side of the mountain. Grape vines are a predominant feature of the landscape in Santa Maria. Aside from that, many inhabitants in Santa Maria farm vegetable and fruit plots, a common feature interspersed among the vineyards and woodlands. Despite the visibility of farmed land, officially there are no resident farmers in Santa Maria de Martorellas (Idescat, 2017f).

Of particular fame are the Santa Maria de Martorelles cherries, strongly sought after by those in the surrounding towns. Part of the municipality of Santa Maria, like Martorelles, falls within the Serralada Litoral Park. Independent from Martorelles since 1927, the centre of the village is the parish church of Santa Maria, built in 1105 and in existence since 1005. The church still conserves Romanesque elements of the original building. However, a reference to Santa Maria de Martorelles as Martorelles de Dalt (Martorelles Highland, i.e. Santa Maria de Martorelles) and Martorelles Baix (Martorelles Lowland, i.e. the region that is now Martorelles) was stated in 992.

Santa Maria de Martorelles has a similar percentage of work to the other towns, with no residents working in agriculture, 24.20% in industry, 4,70% in construction and 71.00% in services. From comparing occupation numbers of those residents versus those employed in Santa Maria, we find that Santa Maria is more a place to live than to work. While it has 43.67% of its residents working, there is only work for 15.21% of its population (Idescat, 2017f)³⁰.

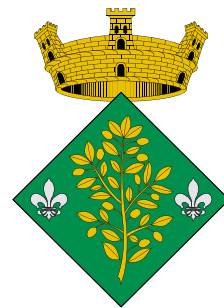


Figure 2.12: The coat of arms of Santa Maria de Martorelles, the Mitre as in the coat of arms of Martorelles represent the name of the town. While the fleur de lis on either end, represents the virgin Maria, patron of the town. (Heraldica Catalana, 2011).

³⁰ Statistics for education and unoccupied residents of working age were not available in the data set.

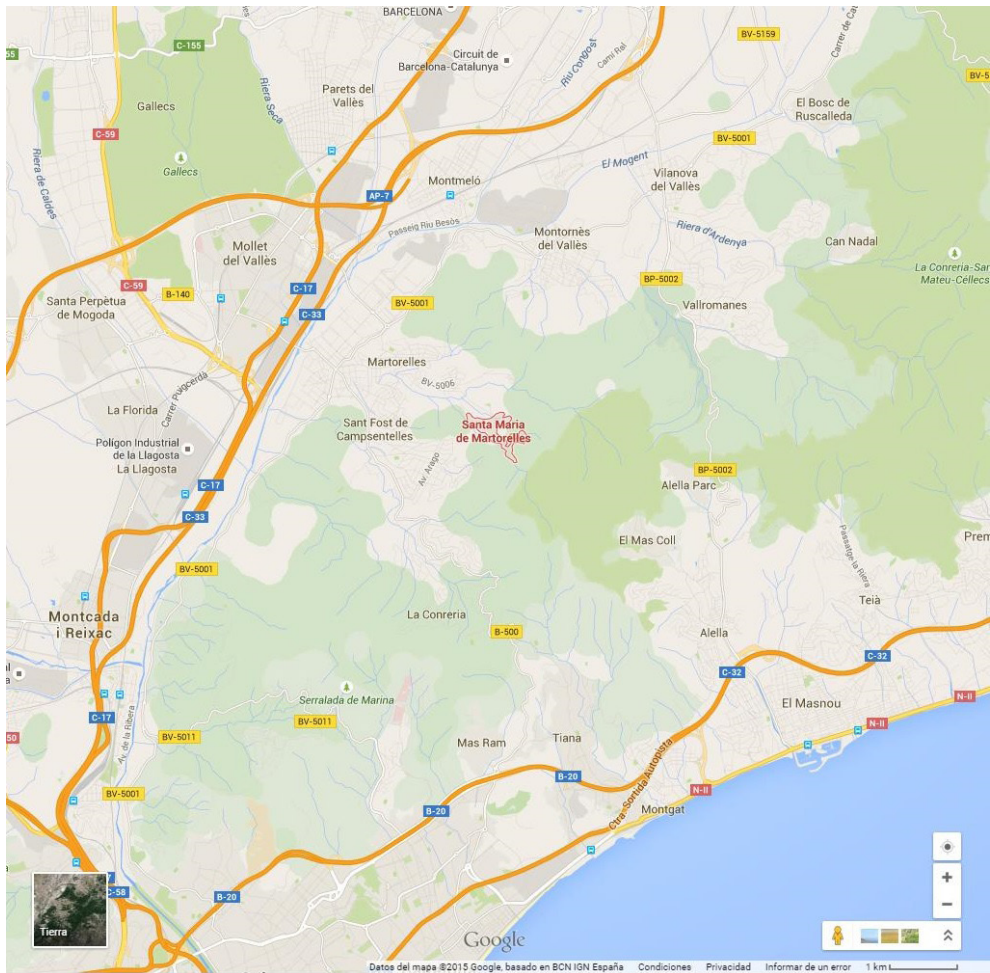


Figure 2.13 (1km: 1cm): Santa Maria de Martorelles. (Source: Google Maps, 2015)



Figure 2.14: Santa Maria de Martorelles, surrounded by forest and vineyards (Source: Pere pripz, 2008)

Lliçà de Vall

Lliçà has an area of 10.8 km², a population of 6370 and a density of 588.2 hab/km², this gives it a density between Santa Maria and Pleagamans. Lliçà like many in the region is a town thought to be of Roman origin, and like other towns in the region it began with an agrarian economy. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Modern Age, its agriculture experienced significant growth, one that also created surpluses that allowed the creation of industry and commerce.

The eighteenth century is considered the time of demographic expansion. In Catalunya, this growth was experienced more in the coastal regions than in the interior areas. As such, town like Parets, Mollet, and Montmeló, experienced this growth but not in Lliçà. In contrast, Lliçà's growth during that period was negative and mortality was still high. This limited population growth also kept the town small and dedicated to agriculture and livestock, in addition to a handful of craftsmen. Livestock was not a major industry. In 1876, the coat of arms was first seen in use (Figure 2.16).

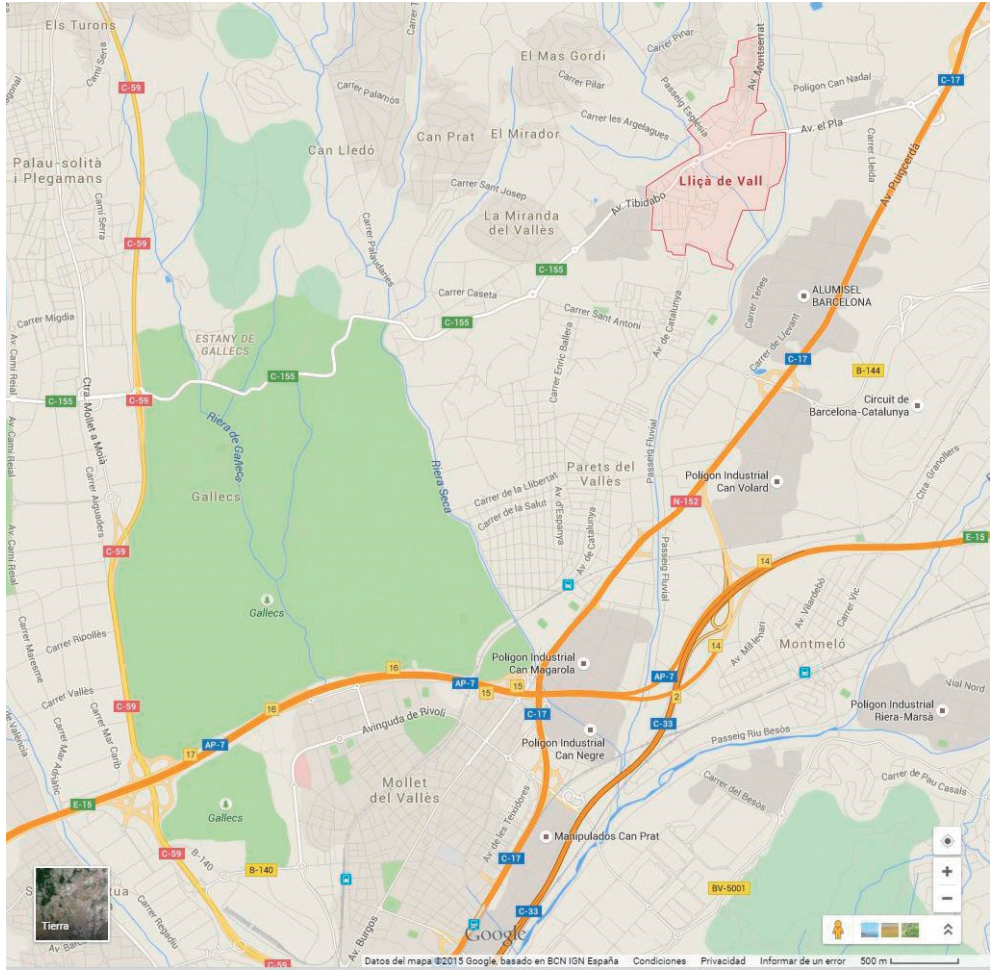


Figure 2.15 (500m: 1cm): Lliçà de Vall is marked in red outline towards the north of Gallecs (Source: Google Maps, 2015).

Major changes in Lliçà began in the twentieth century, including the first telephone line, street lighting and the postal service. Agriculture and livestock continued to be the base of the economy of Lliçà till the sixties until industry and services began to gain ground that caused an abandonment of the fields.

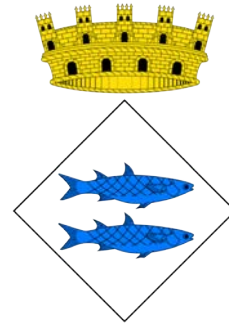


Figure 2.16: The coat of arms Lliçà de Vall. (Ajuntament Lliçà de Vall, 2015)

Lliçà has the lowest percentage of foreigners at 2.12%. While its working population is 56.09% of which 24.00% are out of work. Work is distributed at 0.25% in Agriculture, 25.25% in Industry, 5.77% in Construction with 68.73% in Services. Education levels are 11.90% without a title, 11.10% with a primary title, 64.93% with a secondary title, while only 12.04% have a university title.

Montcada i Reixac³¹

Montcada i Reixac has a population of 34,802 inhabitants, an area of 23.5km² and a density of 1.482,8 hab/km². Montcada i Reixac is one of the most distant towns in the list of towns associated with Gallecs. However it is part of the Consorci because a section of Montcada is included in the territory, albeit not the whole municipality (Figure 2.4). Montcada is a major industrial town and interchange between the Vallès Occidental and Oriental. It is an important communication centre with Barcelona, because two main rail lines converge within the town and two main roads, C-17 and C-33, divide it.

The first record of Montcada was in 986, as stated in the document of properties of the Monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, as Montecatano (Montcada). The first documentation of a parish in Montcada was in 1007 while the first record of the term Reixac is noted in 1042. During this time, Montcada was an agricultural community that grew predominantly strawberries, hemp and wine.

³¹ Historical information from Fundacion Cultural de Montcada, 2016 available on the Municipality of Montcada's website.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Montcada i Reixac became populated by the richer elite of Barcelona looking for summer houses near the city. The main streets of the town are lined with these houses. Industrialisation came to Montcada in 1917 with the building of the Asland Cement Factory. In 1920, the population was 2,180 and then increased to 7,240 in 1934. At this stage, there were, at least, three other factories functioning, then came the civil war and the post-war period. Between the 50s and 70s, industrialisation as well as immigration from the south of Spain increased the population of Montcada drastically. The population was 8,656 in 1950 and grew to 22,464 in 1970. This is when the industrial parks were developed, with Montcada i Reixac's industry specialising in metallurgy, chemicals and construction materials. To deal with the increasing population, apartment blocks were built and Montcada stopped being just an area of summer residence with permanent residences taking over and a shift in the class structure of the town.

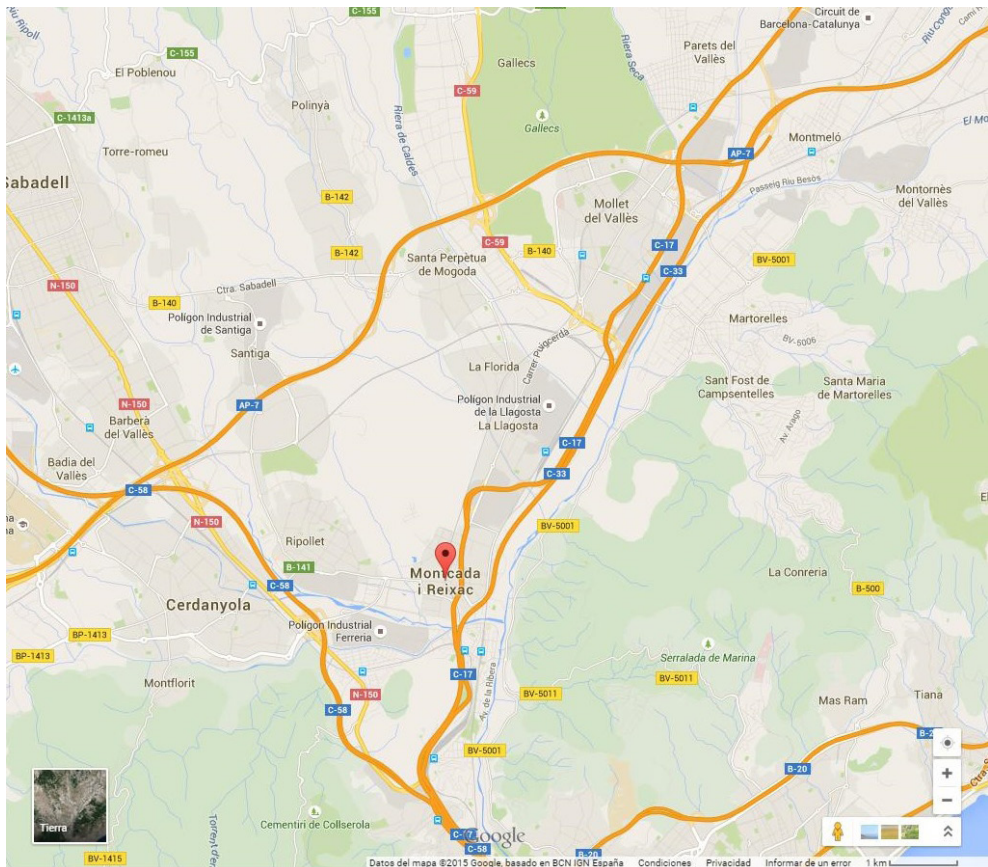


Figure 2.17 (1km: 1cm): Montcada i Reixac is marked by the red marker towards the south of Gallecs (Source: Google Maps, 2015).

Like Mollet, Montcada has a foreign national percentage of 10.00%. It has an active working population of 54.40% while 24.70% of this active population are unemployed. Meanwhile the distributions of work based on residence are 0.09% in Agriculture, 18.09% in Industry, 6.19% in Construction and 75.63% in Services. While Education is 12.36% without a certification, 12.69% with a primary title, 62.83% have a secondary title and 12.11% have a university title.

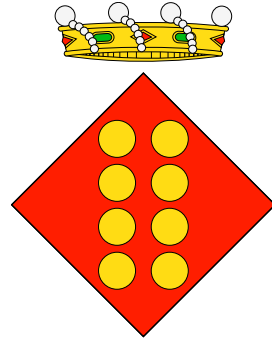


Figure 2.18: The coat of arms Montcada i Reixac. (Ajuntament Montcada i Reixac 2015)

The Nexus between the Municipalities

Participant Observation

The presentation of the towns has been organised according to the distance between the towns and Gallecs, but distance doesn't always relate to their association. Montcada i Reixac is one of the towns whose centre is furthest from Gallecs, but (Figure 2.1) it is part of the Consorci that decides Gallecs's future. Gallecs is highlighted as an area of interest for nature walks at the town council of Montcada i Reixac (2015) website.

However, Mollet is the town that has the strongest relationship with Gallecs, since it borders it and due to the size of the town itself. Additionally, the administrative history of Gallecs is usually found in the Mollet archives. While Parets (Figure 2.4) and Plegamans (Figure 2.6) also share borders with Gallecs, these being smaller towns involved in the Consorci, their inhabitants consider Gallecs as part of their living space. These towns are on flatland with largely residential areas and some fields and gardens. Administratively, they hold less responsibility. Santa Perpètua de Mogoda (Figure 2.8) is also nearby; though, it does not share a border with Gallecs. Martorelles (Figure 2.11) and Santa Maria de Martorelles (Figure 2.13 and Figure 2.14) are connected through Mollet. While Martorelles and Santa Maria de Martorelles harbour industrial areas, they

have escaped heavy urbanisation, and still have many small houses and gardens with patches of vegetation. Parts of both Martorelles and Santa Maria de Martorelles are also a nature reserve; the area is one of rolling hills, not as easily developable as the flat land of both Gallecs and Mollet. The inhabitants here are largely of a retired generation and the development is small detached family homes. Montcada i Reixac (Figure 1.25) is a large town that has grown up as a point of interchange; it has two railway lines running through it and harbours many warehouses and industry.

These places and their relationship with Gallecs have changed over time. Participant observation showed that among those who live in these areas, there is a lot of intermingling, particularly among the youth. Community based on identification with the town you grew up in is high (this is not so common in Mollet or Montcada i Reixac), despite a general flux between these populations.

There are three outlying populations identified within the matrix of this region focusing on Mollet, Gallecs, Martorelles, Santa Maria de Martorelles, These outlying populations are the Moroccan population in Mollet, the white-collar workers of the commuter town and the population living and working in Gallecs. The population within Gallecs can again be categorise further; however, these details will be sorted out in Chapter 5. With the Moroccan population, there is a clear cultural rather than spatial separation. In many ways, culture is also the reason of the separation of white-collar workers though this would be an economic culture of class rather than ethnicity or nationality. Language is not observed to be as much of a separator for Moroccans in their 30 and below as they are trilingual and have lived in Mollet since their teens or earlier and are fluent in both Catalan, Spanish and their mother tongue. Language may be a problem for the older generations, though. Occasionally one observes a dependency of mother's particularly on their offspring to communicate in Spanish or Catalan.

Gallecs, which is separated spatially and culturally, shows a clear agrarian culture that separates this population from the rest of Mollet. However, socially the people of Gallecs are more involved and typically have family members living in the surrounding towns. Each of these groups lives very separate lives, dissimilar from the majority of the population in the region.

Demographic evolution

As we can see from Figure 2.19 and 2.20, there is a noticeable spike in population in the 1960, Montcada i Reixac and Mollet saw a spike in the 1920s first. This can be coordinated nicely with the spike in immigration for work in Barcelona in the 1920s (Smith, 2002b), as well as the establishment of the Asland cement factory in Montcada and Can Fàbregas and Can Mulá in Mollet.

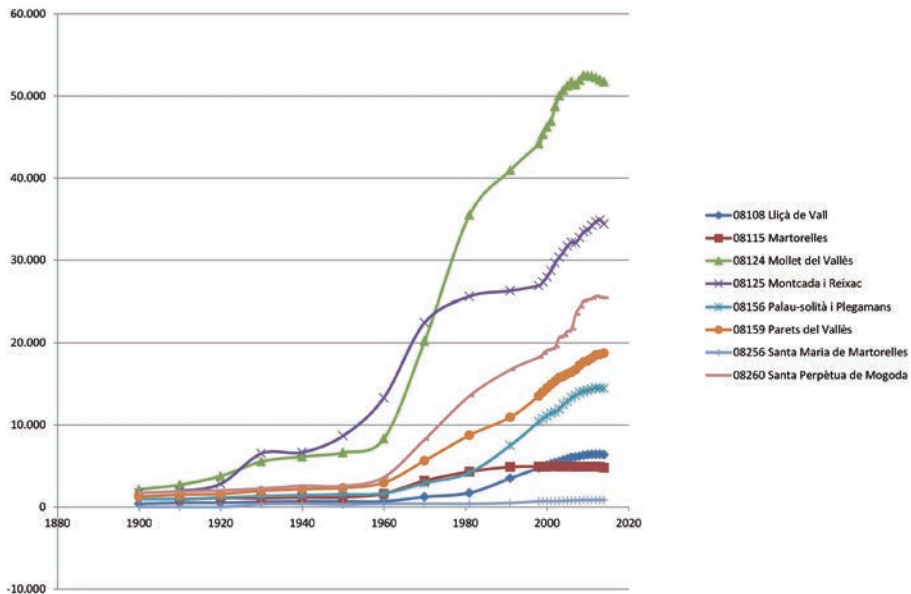


Figure 2.19: Population Growth (1900-2014) of all 8 towns. (Data Source Idescat, 2015 and INE 2015, Graph Authors' Work)

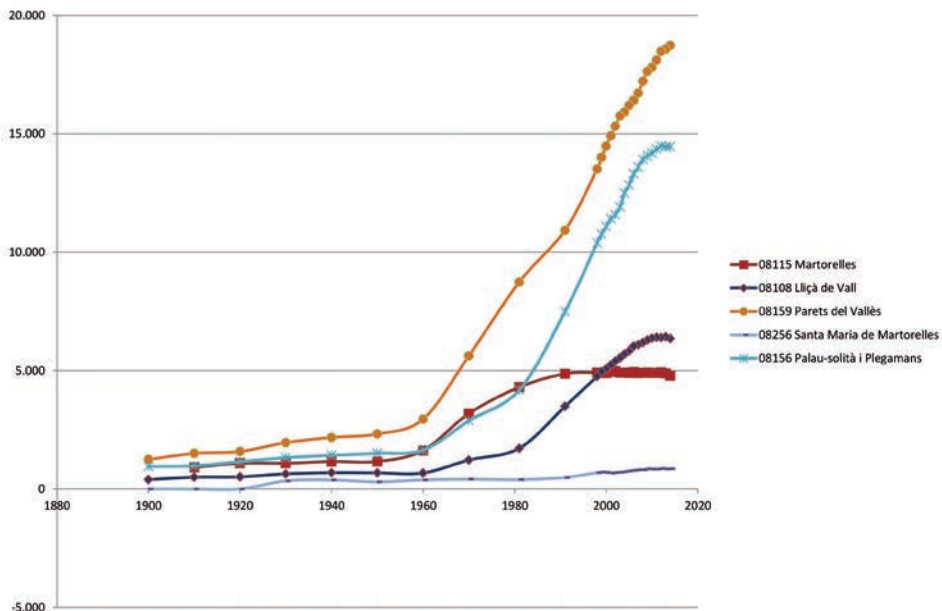


Figure 2.20: Close up of the towns on the lower end of Figure 2.19 (Data Source Idescat, 2015 and INE 2015, Graph Authors' Work)

Industry of Barcelona and its greater metropolitan area in the 1950s to 70s

We have discussed the demographic change due to industrialisation in each town, but those changes were part of broader changes in Catalonia which is worth contextualising. Catalonia has long been considered the industrial capital of Spain. Industry began in the 18th century with textiles (Carr, 1980), as it grew, it brought immigrants from rural Spain.

...in the village they had always said that Barcelona was very working class, that to be a worker in Barcelona was something else.....
(Excerpt of a quote by a Worker in Domestic Service, born in Granada Province in 1926, emigrated to Barcelona in 1950 in Borderías, (2002; p.142)

Borderías in her work on women in the Barcelona labour market describes these women as having, “elaborated a mythical image of Barcelona” (2002; p. 143). Yet, this search for something better maintained the influx of labour that the industry of Barcelona needed. Barcelona had been expanding since the 1900, however the expansion in the “mid-fifties to 1970 was more rapid than anything that had taken place in the first half of the century, equivalent to the creation each year of a city of 100,000 inhabitants” (Balfour, 1989; p.43). It was during this time that the outer ring of Barcelona (where the towns described above) was developed (Figure 2.21). That rapid increase in population lacked many social services. However despite the conditions of work and housing evolving over the years, the poor quality of housing, and lack of health care and the shortage of public schools was dire in some areas.

Many new working- class estates lacked paved streets, proper lighting, nurseries, parks, and schools. The houses themselves were generally badly constructed. The surroundings were often bare and polluted. The playing grounds of the local children were muddy wastelands filled with broken glass and rusting machinery
(Balfour, 1989; p.59).

As with the earlier labour uprising in Barcelona at the turn of the 20th century (Smith 2002b; Gabriel; 2002), conditions of work and living were one of the main motives for protest. However the protests of the 60s and 70s had little to no knowledge of union organisation (due to the heavy repression under Franco) and therefore no culture of protest. They had however lived under the mild linearisation of the Franco regime and received information of conditions of work outside Spain. Towards the end of the 60s and early seventies the regime could not guarantee work and this new generation knew from second hand experience that more could be expected from their government (Balfour, 1989).

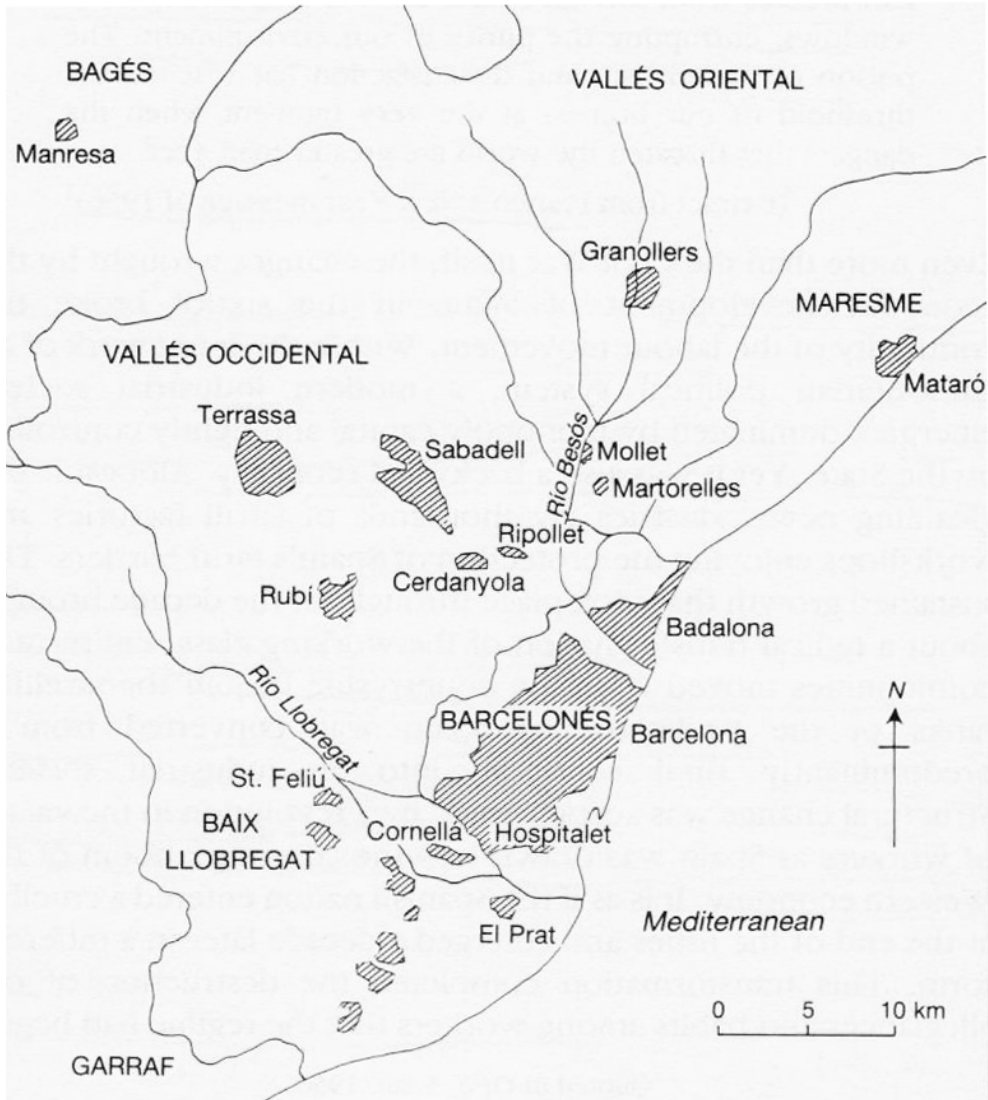


Figure 2.21: 1970 map of Barcelona “encircled by two rings of industrial development, the closer one describing a semi-circle linking Prat, Cerdanyola, Sant Adrià, and the other joining Martorell, Terrassa, Sabadell, Mollet and Martorelles” (Map and quote reproduced from Balfour, 1989; p.42)

Within this chapter I have provided background of the towns associated with Gallecs, as well as with this case study. Additionally I’ve contextualised the demographic and industrialisation changes in Barcelona and greater Barcelona. We have touched on its association with the Franco era but have not developed it yet as this is better discussed within the context of Gallecs.

3

Framing the Research Space

There is nothing so practical as a good theory.

-Ludwig Boltzman

The case study ontologically and epistemologically

Science has for much of its history defended the idea that it is objective and separated from the situations that it studies. Since Kuhn's (2012) critique of the paradigms of science, questioning paradigm subjectivity (institutionalised subjectivity) of science has become more common; however the degree to which acknowledging this subjectivity in the day to day practice of research is another matter. Reflexivity is a method currently gaining steam that helps both acknowledge and use that subjectivity. *In many ways, the conduct of science presumes different levels of objectivity and subjectivity.* The discipline of sociology due to the engagement of its study encounters more spaces where subjectivities and objectivities aren't so easily defined.

Within environmental sciences and particularly the realms of ecological economics, and environmental social science, Funtowicz and Ravetz's (1994) call for post normal science has been a strong signpost in the direction of questioning the *situatedness of research* and the need for more transparency in method while being more inclusive of other perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). This work, therefore, questions the situatedness of research while attempting to understand the subjectivities of the population/s of Gallecs to gain an understanding of its success. This is seen through the eyes of the researcher in an ongoing questioning of her relationship with the research and the space of Gallecs.

Guba and Lincoln (1998) offer a structured demarcation of the various paradigms in science, and how these paradigms, while frequently not articulated, do affect practical

issues of the positioning and outcome of research. The work discusses four paradigms from positivism, post-positivism, critical theory to constructivism with varying levels of objectivity, subjectivity and intersubjectivity in its stance and practice. Following this description, my case study on Gallecs is situated within the critical realist theory and constructivism paradigms of qualitative research.

It means that the basic conduct of the research focuses on an ontology of relativism that adheres to local and specific constructed realities, while keeping an epistemology that is transactional/subjectivist, referring to the construction of the research between the researcher and the case study. Hence, the ontology and epistemology of the case study are mutually iterative, thereby defining a methodological spectrum that is hermeneutical/dialectical. Towards this end Figure 3.1 describes the theoretical framing of the research space. Whereby there are three major subjectivities that intermingle to create a “triadic” reality.

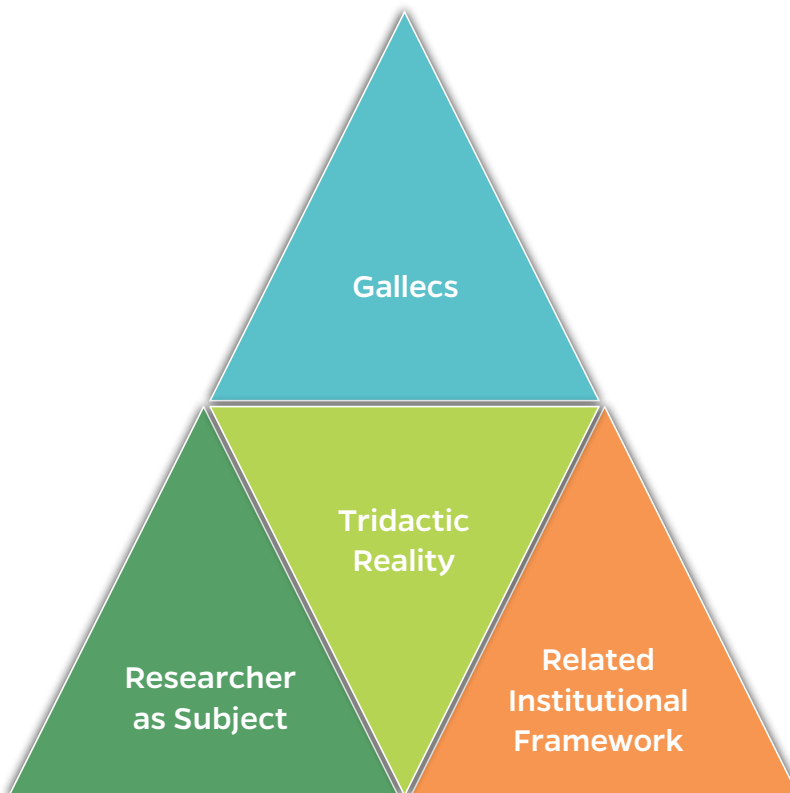


Figure 3.1 Bounding Subjective Reality: framework delineating the spaces of subjective reality in the case study (Author's Own)

- **Gallecs** is here referred to as the area and the people living and associated with it.
- **Related Institutional Framework**, refers to the legal, institutional historical and social events that have had a direct impact as initially voiced by the people of Gallecs, either directly or indirectly.
- **Researcher as Filter**, emphasises that the case study is subjectively mediated through the perspective of the researcher who, while trying to be as transparent as possible, invariably provides a filter through which the case study is viewed and narrated, a subjectivity which has the advantage and disadvantage of illuminating certain perspectives and understandings while obscuring others.
- **Triadic Reality³² of Gallecs**, is based on the understanding that when subjective realities meet, they create an in-between reality that is partially based on the subjective realities of each, however together creates something different.

How you collect data affects which phenomena you will see, how, where, and when you will view them, and what sense you will make of them
(Chamaz 2006; p.15)

Working from Figure 3.1 as a delimitation of the study we progress to Figure 3.2 which depicts the flows of engagement within the case study.

³² The concept is taken from Rodriguez (2009) who refers to it in the context of education, his idea however is taken from Fernández (1994) which discussed it from a social and collective psychology.

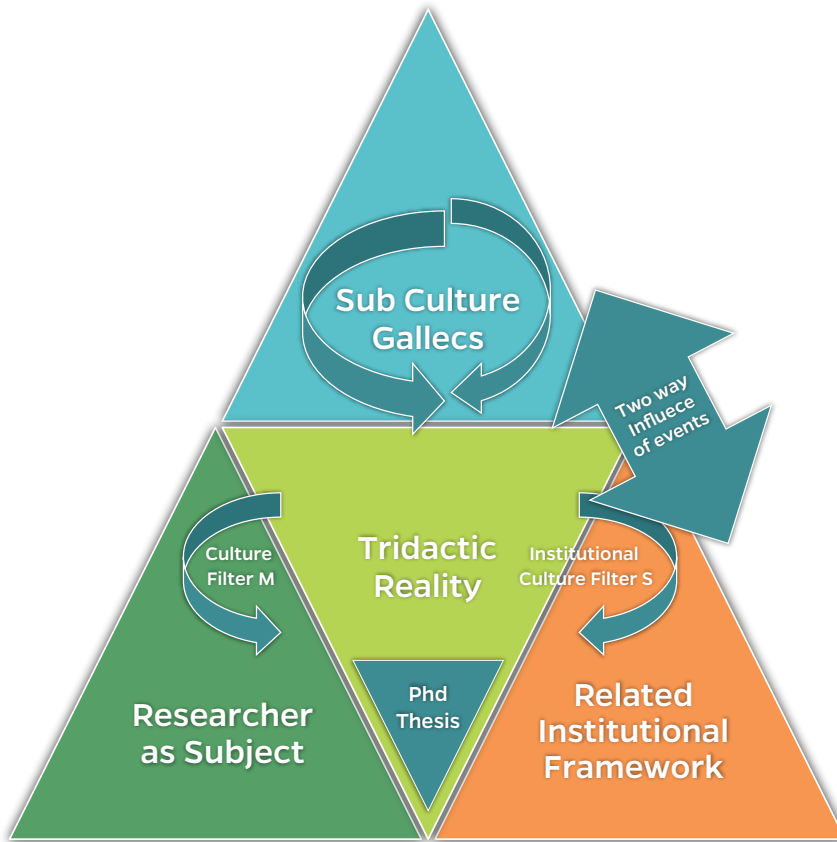


Figure 3.2 Bounding Subjective Reality with its Flows, Figure 3.1 with the engagement of flows of perception.

While each triangle has solid boundaries in reality there will always be flows of influence, hence Figure 3.2. Note the two way arrow between the sub-culture of Gallecs and the Related Institutional Framework; it is my understanding that the creation of Gallecs is constituted on a two way interaction with the institutional framework. How those flows were/are conducted, antagonistically, positively, etc... is part of the understanding that we will be generating within this study. Ideally, I should place a two way flow between the Gallecs sub- culture and the researcher as subject, but as that is separated from the case study discussion and handled in a separate chapter, I will maintain that separation in the graph.

Now I direct your attention to the semi-circle arrows, the two semi-circle arrows that flow into each other on the triangle of the subculture of Gallecs and then meet on top of the triangle of the triadic reality of Gallecs, refers to flows of information filtered through the subculture of Gallecs that circulates within and contributes to inform the triadic reality. While both the flows from the institutions and researcher filtered into that same reality, a portion of that is the phd thesis.

What is the relevance of this Study?

The classic question in NGO work is how do we get people to care about the environment? Turning that question on its head provides my rationale for conducting the case study. Gallecs is an area in clear proximity to urban areas, yet with a clear agenda to conserve and preserve a site in keeping with the conservation of nature, agro-ecological values and a pre-urban way of living, in a manner that is in stark contrast with the urbanistic values of the town a highway across from it. How does this exist in no less than an area that was set aside for urbanisation? Why? What is so different here that made this possible, while all around the world, we see more and more non-urban spaces being consumed for urbanisation.

Understanding why this particular study succeeded can give us clues and possible headways in the current ecological crisis. While there have been other studies on Gallecs, they are very limited where it concerned sociological research as I have detailed in chapter 1. With the field work and the review of literature the perspectives given about Gallecs vary.

In conversations with residents in Mollet, the protests from the area in the 70s and beyond are named as influential while particular actors in the organisation of the protests are voiced as influential. However, which of these actors are specifically referred to as influential, depends largely on the residents' own particular associations, institutionally or personally.

There is literature on the area, however, that refers to the role of the political parties and environmental groups as being far more influential (Gallego & Grau, 1995). As with all case studies, particularly one that deals with a 46-year history, it is a complex situation.

These differences of perspective and why they are there to begin with, give us a starting point. The researcher, being new to Catalunya can be said to be untainted by historical discourses and thus able to provide a fresh perspective on the case study.

What is clear, though, is that spaces such as these, by living a different history from their surroundings become disembodied in some way from the more mainstream ideas of space, an effect that physically all people notice as they walk into the space of Gallecs.

Social Imaginary

Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.

(Louis Althusser, 1971; p.162 in Strauss, 2006)

The effect of this break in physical space is Gallecs; we can connect that physical break with a break in a different imaginary to that which is common. The survival of that imaginary, and its final creation in space, also constitutes a break in societal/institutional power that governs more contemporary imaginaries of ways of living.

I refer to imaginaries following Taylor's (2004) conception; while there are many versions of imaginaries, my choice is informed by Strauss' (2006) review of the concept. Social imaginaries as Taylor (2004 p.2) defines it is "a way of making sense of the practices of a society", a cognitive schema (Strauss, 2006) he offers social imaginary as

the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expecta-

tions.... I adopt the term imaginary (i) because my focus is on the way ordinary people “imagine” their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms, but is carried in images, stories and legends. It is also the case that (ii) theory is often the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society. Which leads to a third difference: (iii) the social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy p.23.

In many ways the most appropriate conception to talk about the shared mental life that the various communities of Gallecs inhabited to create the space of Gallecs. Hence, I use it as the basis to understand the connections made in the research.

In this aspect, Strauss (2006) demonstrates the potential for further development with concepts of imaginaries by working from a person-centered perspective; one that includes agency and moral responsibility. Her suggestion of ways forward is in odd parallel with the conduct of the research project, and consequently, I use these concepts to better define the theoretical framework. Operationalising this is where Emics and Etics are to be discussed (explained later in this chapter).

Questioning how this place came about through the analysis of each person’s meaning-making and emphasis along with the grouping within the communities of Gallecs allows for the complexity of the creation of this place to come to light through the multiple views and agency of the people involved. In keeping with a thick³³ analysis and description of the situation seeped in local meanings (O’Neill, 2005), this provides depth where we can engage with the discourse within the population, hence the particular methodological choices in the analysis of the case study.

³³ Thick description as used by O’Neill, referring to analysis that provides depth as opposed to breath.

Community

In the main, individuals in industrial society live more diverse, differentiated lives than those in non- industrial and preindustrial societies, and their identities cannot easily be defined in terms of a family group, village or tribe. Dispersed and diverse communities are defined through symbols.....One could even argue that the more internally diverse the community, the more elaborate and regular the attempts to define it. It is not that communities have to share an understanding of these symbols, but simply that they share an allegiance (Bryan, 2000; p.12).

This quote by Bryan is taken from his book about the relationship of the orange parades to the ethnicity politics and ritual in Northern Ireland. This quote connects the symbol as the groups' means to identify their allegiance, but even more is the connection of that allegiance to their sense of identity. Their meaning of themselves. Within this it is also worthwhile considering Cohen's (1985) conception of community, in his classic about the symbolic construction of community, he stresses boundaries as being the place of action in ideas of communities. As it is in the boundary where the definitional line of what is external and internal to a community is drawn, it is defined by identifying its placement. Anderson's (2006; p.7) thesis on nation as an imagined political community can aid here..... "Finally, it is imagined as a community, because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is the fraternity that makes it possible..."

Within these quotes we begin to see patterns, allegiance, fraternity, comradeship and where these definitions are bound so as to provide meaning.

Cultural cognition as a tool

Culture is neither itself a visible prison nor monolith. Nor of course, is it tangible. A culture is expressed or constituted only by the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by, not given to, a fieldworker..... Culture is not visible, but is made visible only through its representation (Van Maanen, 1988; p.3).that we cannot represent others in any terms but our own. Culture, from this perspective, is less a discovery than a construction within which the method and methodology are inseparable (Van Maanen, 1988; p.12).

.....man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973; p.5).

Both Van Maanen and Geertz worked with ethnographies, but precisely because of the nature of that methodology, these words ring true. To represent others can only be done through translation into our own culture. And in that translation to interpret meaning, but as with all translation, some meanings are lost, while others are highlighted or even discovered because of the contrast of cultures.

Within this contrast of cultures, it is relevant to separate perception from perspective. While perception is an act, it depends on a point of perspective, the *conduct* of the act of perceiving is really the space that we can control and adjust to being more open to multiple perspectives.

However, the perspective of the research, while it can be changed through the act of perception, is not a space that can be acted on immediately. A similar analogy is the difference of RAM (Random Access Memory) and ROM (Read Only Memory). A ROM memory (i.e. perspective) can be changed, but slowly and it is not as accessible. RAM (i.e. perceiving), on the other hand, is more easily modified and more accessible³⁴.

³⁴ Russell's (1912) discussion of appearance and reality also comes to mind.

Using these understandings of ethnography, this verbal image and the work on cultural cognition (Barnes, 1996; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001), we begin to see how the construction of cultural schemes can be deconstructed and then primed for use as a filter for what is perceived; the model provided by Berry (1990) in Figure 3.3 below offers an operationalisation of the difference in cultural cognition.

Emics and Etics

Said, (1978) wrote the famous sentence that “*The Orient was almost a European invention,*” p.1, in a few words he has captured that a particular perspective, or viewpoint colours what is seen. This is an inevitable situation in ethnographic, sociological research and it is not the fault of the researcher in providing a particular perspective since we are all born into a society and grow up with a particular perspective, *the issue is not to allow that perspective to encase the current reality.* Part of Said’s work in fact discusses how orientalism was an idea of reality encased by a European perspective of the era with limited reflection or reflexivity.

Going back to the theoretical framework and our discussion of a triadic reality, namely using my particular perspective as a viewpoint held in contrast to the cultural paradigm in which the study is situated, I then allow a very different reality to emerge. Focusing on reflexivity throughout this process allows for these more distinct viewpoints to be placed in conflict and various perspectives to emerge.

generating description of social activity is being able to participate in it, (...) involves mutual knowledge shared by observer and participants whose action constitutes and reconstitutes the social world
(Giddens, 1982; p.15 in Flyvberg, 2006)

The manner in which the researcher’s perspective was used within the research refers closely to the operationalisation of emics and etics offered by Berry (1990).

Etic and Etic requires some introduction; it is a concept developed in linguistics and anthropology, by discussions between Pike (a linguist) and Harris (an anthropologist). We can loosely associate emics and etics with an insider's or outsider's view respectively, which is generally how it is used. This refers to a person studying their own culture from an insider's view (emic) or from an outsider's view (etic). Of course, it is not as clear-cut as it may seem. One may come from a different culture, and as a result, have an etic stance. Nevertheless, the manner in which the research is conducted may obtain an emic understanding from the research participant herself on her worldview, but it will be mitigated in part by the participants' willingness to share their reality.

Having these terms provides a certain measure to assess the perspective we use in the research conducted. Berry's (1990) schema (Figure 3.3) provides an approximation of how to use an emic and etic understanding in research that deals with a cultural perspective. This was reproduced in this study.

In this case, reflexivity was used to analyse and question the researchers own emic perspective and as a navigation to deduce an etic view of the culture and relationships in Gallecs. The interviews, ethnographic work, and documentation written by the research participants allow for emic input on Gallecs, though it was filtered from an etic perspective.

the subjectivity and reflectivity of both the subject being addressed and the researcher doing the addressing. The theories it produces are about the meaning of experience – they are “emic” as much as “etic” and it is very difficult to preserve the subjectivity by appealing to objectivism of the natural science methodology.
(Rennie 1998; p.109 in Gounding, 2002)

Reflecting on Reflexivity

Methods we choose influence what we see, what we bring to the study also influences what we can see. Qualitative research of all sorts relies on those who conduct it. Neither observer nor observed come to a scene untouched by the world. Researchers and research participants make assumptions about what is real, possess stocks of knowledge, occupy social statuses and pursue purposes that influence their respective views and actions in the presence of each other.

Nevertheless, researchers, not participants, are obligated to be reflexive about what we bring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it. (Chamaz, 2006; p.15)

The very nature of social research, the need to engage to obtain understanding, precludes any real objectivity, so we will always be getting our “hands dirty” in social research. But by accepting that, and then working out how to be clearer about how the research changes us as we change it, we can hope to obtain a deeper level of both analysis and understanding. An interesting study in this development is Lam et. al (2006) study of how social workers actually learn through reflective and reflexive practice during their placement experiences. I discuss three specific aspects of how reflexive process was relevant in this study in chapter 9. In this section, we deal with the theory of it and how it can be used as an axis of analysis.

What does stand in using reflexivity is to no longer place ourselves as scientific observers who can dismiss scrutiny of our values by claiming scientific neutrality and authority. The use, therefore, of reflexivity as an aid in providing transparency to the situation of the author is necessary as we are to discuss a research work built on the co-construction of research as being a triadic concept of reality (refer to Figure 3.1). The use of various methodologies and their relationship to the theoretical framework above, then places the researcher in that of the perspective provider.

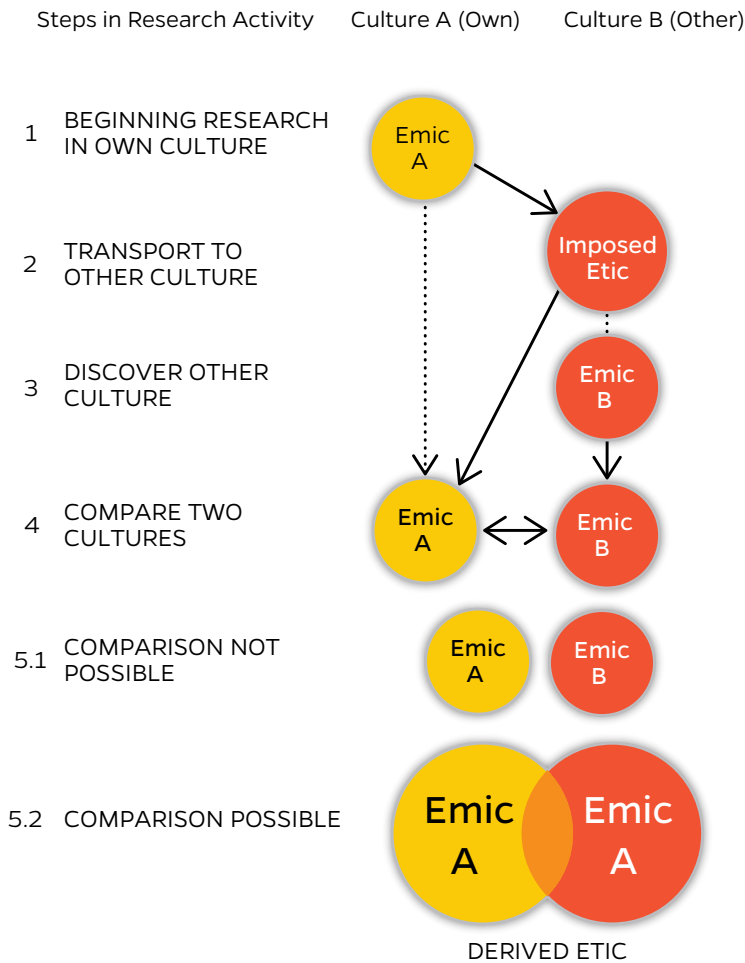


Figure 3.3 Operationalisation of Emics and Etics in a Cross-Cultural Environment (Source: Berry, 1990).

Bolton (2014; p.7) here defines reflexivity as “finding strategies to question our own attitudes, theories-in-use, values, assumptions, prejudices and habitual actions; to understand our complex roles in relation to others.” Probably the simplest definition would be Robson (2002; p.22) in McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, (2007)” an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process. Lash (2003; p.50) in a paper on reflexivity as it is seen in macro scales, discusses reflexive modernity in society; this deserves to be reproduced in full.....

“... non-linear notion of reflexivity. In the first modernity, the modernity of structure, society is conceived as a linear system. Talcott Parson’s social system is such a linear system. Linear systems have a single point of equilibrium, and only external forces can disturb this equilibrium and lead to system change. The reflexivity of the second modernity presumes the existence of non-linear systems. Here system dis-equilibrium and change are produced internally to the system through feedback loops. These are open systems. Reflexivity now is at the same time system destabilisation. Complex systems do not simply reproduce. They change.”

With reflexivity one talks of a state of being, of questioning internal dialog and assumptions and how that influences decisions within the conduct of research. And it is because of this significance to action that it is used as a form of practice in the fields of social work³⁵, nursing³⁶, education³⁷ as well as professional development³⁸. These are the fields I found that actively discuss how to engage with reflexivity on the job. Oddly enough, while environmental social science does discuss reflexivity on a marco scale, (following Beck’s ideas of reflexive modernity) it does seem to be limited in discussing it at the researcher’s relationship with the practice of research.

³⁵ Chin, Hung & Tse (2007) provides an excellent description of how the theories around reflexivity and reflection relate to social work along with a case study of its use.

³⁶ Dowling (2006) summarises the theoretical field between nursing and reflexivity with a particular emphasis on the “waves” of reflexivity.

³⁷ Siraj-Blatchford & Siraj-Blatchford (1997) despite focus on social justice research does analyse and identify the role of reflexivity in the levels of educational research as well as relating it to macro level discussions.

³⁸ Bolton (2014) A classic in Professional Development, one of the more applied research references, now in its fourth edition discusses reflective practice as a tool, however the end result of an ongoing reflective practice is the development of reflexivity in the workplace, hence while it approaches the topic from a “how to” mode it is a resource for the practice and it’s mechanisms.

Meaning and Significance and its relation to an archetype of resistance

Gallecs is frequently called on as an example of successful resistance. However, in the interviews, resistance was not a priority in the answers given. If anything, resistance was a definition given from the outside, from academia, from me, spaces that were outside Gallecs and trying to pigeonhole it. While Gallecs resisted urbanisation, it did so not because it took a path of resistance to urbanisation but because it took a path of creating meaning, significance and value, it resisted precisely because it choose to create rather than (merely) resist. Resistance is an etic definition of what Gallecs is, not an emic definition. Resistance in the story of Gallecs, is the byproduct of its creative evolution. Hence to understand the evolution of Gallecs, resistance wasn't the most useful. However to explain the importance of Gallecs and its novelty to a broader public it certainly is. Hence while I refer to an archetype of resistance, I do not use resistance as an analytical concept within the analysis of the materials of the case.

Rather Frankl's (1988) framing of how meaning can be created by the stand an individual or community takes to its predicament. That decision has the capacity to organise the individual and communities experience of the events. This concept is used in building the blocks of understanding in the study. Another limitation of resistance is its conceptual axis. This is based on a reading of Caygill's, (2013) exhaustive analysis of the concept of resistance via the discourses framing it, a typological characterisation of historical resistances and its valencies to concepts allied with it. To frame Gallecs using the concept of resistance would mean framing the study as a clash of forces. As resistance needs something to resist to, moreover framing the Case Study of Gallecs as resistance would mean to look at it from a single axis, when it has many. Rather, its capacity to mean different things at different times and to different groups has had a hand in generating support for its continued existence.

Hence to understand the existence of Gallecs I had to throw resistance out of the analysis but to explain Gallecs existence, resistance is used in a descriptive capacity to an etic audience.

The Jigsaw that is the Theoretical Framework

Regardless of point of view, and quiet often because of point of view, we construct and frame a question for inquiry. (Janesick, 1998)

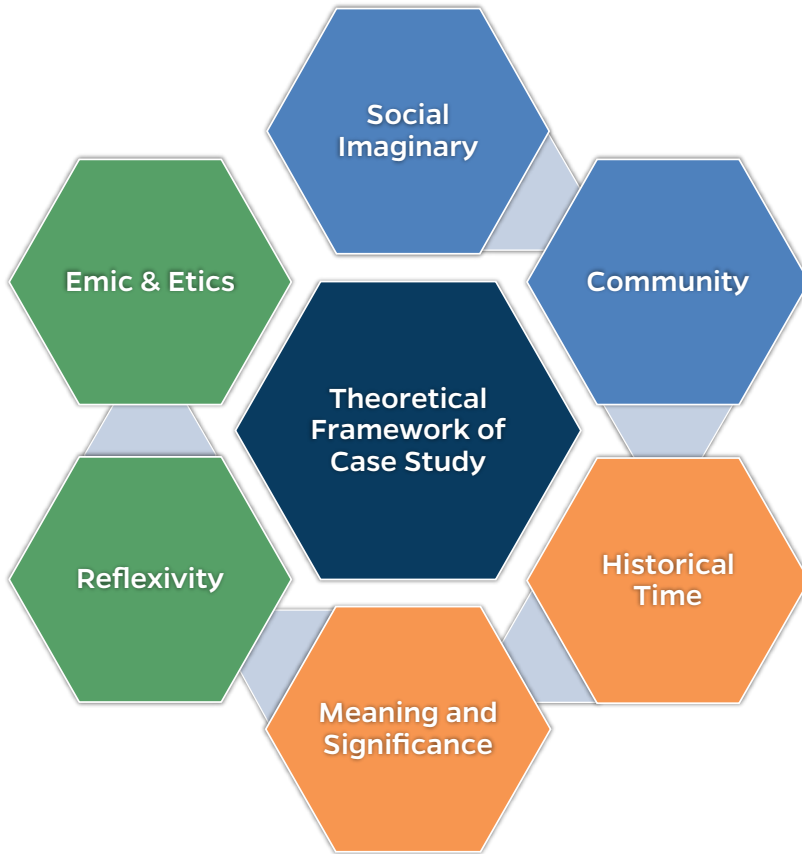


Figure 3.4 Theoretical Framework of Case Study. Note that the colours correspond to the bounding of subjective reality described in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. Following on this, these are the various theoretical components engaged with during the research process.

Figure 3.4 brings together the theoretical concepts that frame the study. Social Imaginary and Community are the baseline concept to understand how the communities within Gallecs interact and influence their space. The institutions involved and their actions during the conflict of Gallecs are associated to the meaning and significance of those acts to the community of Gallecs. While reflexivity and cultural cognition was used to situate the researcher subjectivities and contrast understandings during the study.

To conclude, within this chapter, I have ontologically and epistemologically set up the research, as well as its rational. I have then provided the models to frame the research space (Figure 3.1 & 3.2) with the theoretical aspects that accompany it (Figure 3.4).

4

Methods of Doing

However, method is more than data alone. The gathering, analysis and interpretation of data is always conducted within some broader understanding of what constitutes legitimate inquiry and warrantable knowledge.

Henwood & Pidgeon, 1994

Methodological Graphic of the Case study



Figure 4.1: Methodological Framework of Case Study. Note that the colors correspond to the bounding of subjective reality described in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 and the Theoretical Framework in Figure 3.4. Hence the methodologies most keeping with boundaries of the theoretical framework in 3.4 are presented in the corresponding color. Note of course that these are not clear and straight delimitations of the methodological scope but rather help delineate the contribution each methodology used brought to the theoretical and subjective space of the research process.

Entering with ethnography

The initial gleanings about Gallecs were started with ethnography work of both Gallecs and the surroundings. This was done during the two years 11 months between November 2010 to September 2013 that I lived first in Martorelles (Figure 2.11) and later in Santa Maria de Martorelles (Figure 2.13). Social events in Gallecs and Mollet, bus rides and walks in and around these towns were moments to observe, start conversation and to understand the towns surrounding me and their relationship with Gallecs.

Here I quote, Atkinson and Hammersley's (1998) definition of "ethnography as forms of social research with a substantial number of the four following features:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them.
- A tendency to work primarily with "unstructured" data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytical categories.
- Investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail.
- Analysis of data that involved explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most".

The objective of this phase was two- fold, to understand the impression of Gallecs, from the "outside", in this case that of the surrounding towns. As well as to understand the towns themselves and how they related to Gallecs. On a subtext, this was also the time to decide how to enter Gallecs.

To this end, attention was paid on the populations in these towns, and how, they interacted and divided population and community wise. This information was provided by participant observation during those two years and later supplemented by Idescat data. Issues considered relevant at the community level, were noted, these would be the conversation

topics that tended to repeat in many social situations. Attention was also given to observations, acclamation, and subjects that I reacted to as strange for later reflexive attention.

The Grounding of Grounded Theory

Entrance to Gallecs was particularly difficult and perpetuated by a number of false starts. In the end the entrance that worked was through an introduction from my social circle in Santa Maria de Martorelles through a contact they had in Gallecs.

In Gallecs, interview data on the groups was gathered and analysed primarily through the methodology of constructed grounded theory (CGT) as proposed by Chamaz (2006). CGT was chosen due to its focus on processes and the development of a theoretical understanding through theoretical sampling of the case as an ongoing analysis (Chamaz, 2006). This allowed the data collected from the study of Gallecs to be used in the construction of concepts that lay the foundation for theory/theories about the reason why Gallecs has been able to maintain its current agro-ecological space despite the heavy pressure of urbanisation in its surroundings.

While there are currently many versions of Grounded Theory (GT), all rest on the fundamental understanding to which Glaser & Strauss (1967) adhered to, in designing grounded theory, of which a key principal is to engage with the phenomena in question and develop a theory to explain it from the ground up. It was the “adjoining of an epistemological critique with practical guidelines for action” (Chamaz, 2006 p.5). While even Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) application and understanding of the methodology has evolved (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), it still leans in a rather positivist direction, which was not where this study is placed. Nor did I find it flexible enough for this particular case study, hence my choice of Chamaz (2006).

CGT provides an “inductive approach to collecting and analyzing qualitative data that seriously attempts to be faithful to the understandings, interpretations, intentions, and perspectives of the people studied on their own terms as expressed through their actions as well as their words”, the analyst’s commitment is to their perspective (Clarke,

2005 p.3). The advantage of using Chamaz's, (2006) reiteration of CGT methodology is that it leans more heavily into the theoretical perspective of "symbolic interactionism", and epistemologically holds that "theoretical rendering is an interpretive portrayal of the studied world not an exact portrayal of it, i.e. the research of participants implicit meanings, experiential views and researcher finished grounded theories are constructions of reality" (Chamaz, 2006 p.10). As I came to this same epistemological critique³⁹, the choice of grounded theory as a means of conducting research congruent with my own understanding of social processes and its relationship with sociological research was a major point in its choice as a methodology.

Adhering to explanations of social processes, from a person-centred perspective is in congruence with the theoretical framework and Strauss's (2006) conception of understanding the shared mental life of a community that we discussed earlier. Resting on the understanding that the *physical space of Gallecs is the effect of the processes of decisions and events that its inhabitants and involved actors (within and outside of Gallecs) had engaged in through time*, the underlying epistemology of CGT also rests on the view that process in interaction with structure, is fundamental to human existence. "Indeed, human beings created structures through engaging in processes,the subjective and social meaning relied on our use of language and emerged through action" (Chamaz, 2006 p.22 in reference to Strauss' initial ideas and its relation to CGT).

While I agree with this understanding of actors and adhere to it in the analysis, I will have to add that actors also function with asymmetries of knowledge and act based on those asymmetries, their perception of relevant action is derived from it.

And it is, in many ways, these asymmetries that lead to limitations. As I worked with the interviews and methodology and began triangulating the interviews and field work with secondary data, it became clear that there were aspects of the study that could not be accounted for solely from the field work and interviews.

But neither was the secondary data always helpful. At times the secondary data contradicted what I was seeing and analysing from the field, hence I went broader, with

³⁹ See Chapter 3 and 9.

archival work and in understanding the social-political environments that Gallecs had gone through. With this combination the data began to make sense and patterns and congruences joined with the initial gleanings from the field work to create a theory as to why Gallecs had resisted.

Methodologically, though, what this meant was that I created a hybrid, the study has aspects of a grounded theory study and of a case study. As described below a Building Block type study where one of the units of analysis-the groups in Gallecs, was handled primarily through Grounded Theory.

However, the influence that isn't that easy to define is how the ontology behind grounded theory of being true to the participants' meaning making, and building theory from the ground up can be seen in many aspects of this case study and has clearly influence and coloured it to be what it is.

Before I discuss the case study process, I will be going into more detail about the interview process below.

Data: Conducting the Interviews

Almost all my interviews were approached first through friendships and associations within the larger social network of the area. Many outlier interviews and questions about what was the association between the people and space were initially pointed out through informal talks which were later followed up through more formal avenues. At times, various informal talks would later lead to a more formal interview. Oftentimes a person would refuse a formal interview but felt comfortable talking to me in a social situation.

In those cases where information was informally obtained, I would try to bring it up again in a formal interview with the same person or with another person, if they were mentioned. However this was not always the case, hence part of the reason why the formal category of outlier interviews came to be perceived as necessary, to fill in blanks

of what I was provided formally vs. informally. And why more documentary data was sought.

Case studies involve the study of particular phenomena usually in a particular space. Here, we are questioning the creation of an area through the communities and sub-communities within the space and in the surroundings. These are various sub-phenomena that intersect to create the space of Gallecs and are what Yin (2014) refers to as an embedded unit of analysis within a case study.

One of which was a socio-spatial map of the people and associations, this emerged through the formal and informal interviews and analysis along with personal observations of interactions and associations.

These sub-communities in association with Gallecs were interviewed in semi-structured interviews. These were then analysed using grounded theory to the point of theoretical saturation within each sub-group. These initial codes and preliminary theories were then triangulated with the primary and secondary document research as well as the category of interviewees labeled as outlier interviews.

The sub-communities and the use of interviews on the basis of theoretical sampling within sub-communities came from concepts in statistical analysis of stratified sampling. This is an adjustment of the methodology in CGT of theoretical sampling until saturation. This adjustment was made because of understandings gleaned through the preliminary interviews and the observations that there were sub-communities in Gallecs, and therefore, thinking of the inhabitants of Gallecs as a single community for the interviews would not be true to the nuances needed to understand Gallecs. Gallecs is a product of interactions among the various sub-communities, yet the discourse within each sub-community can be somewhat separated.

Here it is important to point out that grounded theory methodologies are made “to inductively distil issues of importance for specific groups of people, creating meaning about those issues through analysis and the modelling of theory” (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006a, p.8). Hence, while the CGT fits in terms of the fact that I was looking

to study the resistance⁴⁰ of Gallecs through the process of meaning-making of the people in it, CGT is designed to develop theory from social processes does assume a level of homogeneity in the process and lived by each individual in the group. In Gallecs this was not the case, there were commonalities in the lived process of the groups but more within the subgroups, hence the modification of the methodology described here.

Co-opting the concept of stratified random sampling in the construction of the interviews proved a way of obtaining a deeper analysis of Gallecs that was respectful of its complexity. “Outlier interviews” is a term that also comes from statistical analysis, and refers to data that is incongruent with all other data. The common practice is to erase this data and assume it was a mistake, hence the definition as outliers. Nevertheless, outliers can provide valuable information or adhere to a completely different understanding of the situation. Thus, the interviews that I conducted to fulfill this perspective, or were found to fulfill this perspective, are named “outlier interviews”.

While basic statistics is used to analyse discrete points of data in a large population with an assumption of normal distribution, social groups do not function as discrete entities. Combining the understanding of what we know of social groups, that in groups of constant association the tendency is to aggregate towards a common discourse (Fine, 1995). This becomes a greater consideration when we consider that many of the interviewees live and have associations within their communities all their lives, this tendency is entirely possible and was seen in some interviews. We are after all talking about a case study of 46 years in the making.

Our “outliers interviews” then become interesting points of departure that, while they could have led to nothing, offered alternative visions and perceptions instead. These data and discourses can later be triangulated with other interviews or data in order to test its validity. But within the research, our outliers, rather than deviating from a normal distribution and therefore, better erased, really become points for wondering what was really happening? And How much of “Group think” is at play in some of the other interviews. The semi-structured interviews⁴¹ revolved around the participants’ relationship

⁴⁰ The logic being that in order for Gallecs to resist, it had to create a different definition (imaginary) of itself than the one that was being imposed on it.

⁴¹ Refer to Appendix 1 for Questions and Evolution of the Questions.

to the other people and space of Gallecs, with emphasis on the interviews defining how these relationships are associated with the construction of Gallecs. While the truthfulness of auto definition can be called into question (Lyons, 1983), given that the data is triangulated with other sources of information and analysed within groups, this should not be a huge problem to the final results. To select the interviews, I used referrals or rather an interview sampling method called snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Noy, 2008).

These interviews were conducted mostly in Spanish⁴² in a conversational manner, with notes during the interviews, the recording of which was later transcribed by a native speaker, who provided a translation for the Catalan words. This way any misunderstanding that I could have had with the language in the interview was minimised. The interviews were coded line by line, and then later thematically. Memos were written on the codes, the relationship between them and in connecting these codes to guide the selection and triangulation with secondary data.

Structure of the case study

Moving on from the structure of the interviews, we deal with the structure of the case study, as mentioned earlier it is of a “Building Block” type study, one that “looks at a phenomenon to identify common patterns or serve a particular kind of heuristic purpose” (George & Bennet, 2005 in Thomas, 2011; p.515). Gallecs then becomes a case study to understand and develop an archetype of resistance. However, to properly analyse the phenomenon of Gallecs as a space of resistance, there were various units of analysis to work through.

There were the events (Figure 1.7); here being the events defined by the literature, there are the people (Chapter 5), their conception of events and then how these event/events can be signified within the social imaginary of the various communities. In addition, the case study, has a time scale, it is part retrospective and at times diachronic (Thomas, 2011) as it is an ongoing case but with different eras/periods each with their own social

⁴² Participants occasionally used words or phrases in Catalan

conception, some of which changed even during the time of the research. If that wasn't enough to give a proper understanding, there are the descriptive aspects of the case to be dealt with, along with the analytical generalisation developed. Yet it is also a unique case of successful resistance, successful for 46 years now. It has clear limits in time (46 years), space (733.52 ha) and population (49 houses 150 people), (Consorti de Gallecs, 2015). Notwithstanding, asking 'What are the patterns that create success in resistance?' is a complicated question, with a heavy dependence of context analysis.

There are objections regarding the generality of context-dependent data and the relevance of case studies in providing such expert knowledge. To counteract this, we refer to Flyvberg's, (2006) work denouncing the five basic misconceptions in case study research, where he dissects the common misconceptions of case studies around the questions of theory, reliability and validity while offering detailed examples and arguments to show how case studies actually favour learning and investigation, thereby in actuality aiding the development of expert knowledge.

Here, I will add that the bad reputation that case study research has obtained does come from the unfortunate supremacy we have given to a hypo- deductive model of research and the power we place on "scientific" knowledge. In many senses, we face these same arguments on the relevance we give to quantitative vs. qualitative research. I do not believe it is appropriate to reopen that discussion here, especially since it has been covered extensively by others (Flyvberg, 2001; 2006; Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2011). However, it is understandable that since case study work relies heavily on contextual knowledge, as well as the experience and analytical capacity of the researcher, the results are not always possible to tick into easy boxes (as per more quantitative type research).

Yet a major benefit of case study use is its engagement with context to develop answers to how and why questions (Yin, 2014); human affairs, after all, are context based. In our own recent work on enhancing the capacities of communities to cope and recover from natural hazards with the group CapHaz- Net (2012), we found that we were constantly told that the mitigation of the effects of natural disasters is dependent on its context. This, therefore, points to context-based research as being valuable, in congruence with one of the misunderstandings highlighted in Flyvberg (2006). The question/issue is, of

course, how to delineate and design the research and data so we have workable results and thereby creating knowledge.

To structure that analysis we refer again to Figure 3.2, where we will add on one more bit to the structure of the triangle of the related institutional framework section. Within this section we can refer to Meso and Macro level events. Meso referring to events acting within the towns described in chapter 2, while Macro level events refer to those happening at national level and above. These levels will rely a lot more on secondary data and analysis to see how they fit into the broader understandings of Gallecs. Micro levels will clearly refer to events acting within Gallecs itself.

Analysis

The interviews were the beginning of the analysis as codes repeated within the interviews were developed into themes and concepts. Information from other data sources and secondary data was sought to either confirm the developing idea or contrast it. This is the concept of theoretical sampling built within grounded theory.

It also became clear that understanding the resistance of Gallecs could not be done within the confines of Gallecs and the surroundings. Hence there was a need to look at broader secondary analysis on phenomenon that was discovered as relevant to the story of Gallecs. Analysis therefore was pulled up to see how they connect to the broader levels. It was then pulled down to see if it logically still made sense. Results of other studies on Gallecs were also compared to this study, results of that have already been discussed in chapter 1.

Data: Internet Sources, Archives and Secondary Sources

With a 46 year history, there is a lot of documentation on Gallecs. The Platform for the Defense of Gallecs (PDG), has a website and Facebook presence, communications on these sites were reviewed and the information used as necessary. I was also invited to a mailing group run by the Associació de Veïns for a broader public to get involved with Gallecs. The AV also has a website where there is a lot of information on past social events as well as threats and actions to protect Gallecs over the years.

In addition I spent about 3 months at the archive collecting archival material about Gallecs, which included the various proposals for Gallecs, communications from the Mollet Municipality, letters of protests about the situation in Gallecs, documentation within the municipality and newspaper clippings concerning Gallecs. Added to this I reviewed other studies/books on Gallecs, and articles from the local journal NOTES on Gallecs.

I also review various studies on secondary themes that came out from the interview data and the documentary data on Gallecs. These were on the Associació de Veïns and Labour Movement during the Franco dictatorship and its relevance to the protest of the 70s and the Catalan independence movement at the time along with movements associated with the political process of the municipalities around Gallecs, in addition to Idescat data on changes in the region. All this helped build context and understand the linkages between the resistance of Gallecs and its interaction with broader social changes.

5

The Communities that Create Gallecs

No settled family or community has ever called its home place an “environment.” None has ever called its feeling for its home place “biocentric” or “anthropocentric.” None has ever thought of its connection to its home place as “ecological,” deep or shallow. The concepts and insights of the ecologists are of great usefulness in our predicament, and we can hardly escape the need to speak of “ecology” and “ecosystems.” But the terms themselves are culturally sterile. They come from the juiceless, abstract intellectuality of the universities which was invented to disconnect, displace, and disembody the mind. The real names of the environment are the names of rivers and river valleys; creeks, ridges, and mountains; towns and cities; lakes, woodlands, lanes roads, creatures, and people.

Wendell Berry, 1992

(Author, Poet and Activist whose work focuses on rural life)

Inter Gallecs: Microcommunities

It is common to think of a nation or a culture as the same group but in truth that reality only ever occurs as a simplification. How a group can be divided is usually dependent on the question of “What identifies the group as a group?”

Gallecs despite being a relatively small population of 150 (Consorti de Gallecs, 2015) within an area of 733,52 ha is not all that different. Communities create divisions and groups and then navigate their daily life around and within and between these divisions, largely without contestation. These divisions were the last thing I expected, I had assumed (admittedly unconsciously) that the people of Gallecs were a group and fought for it with the same vision. The awareness of the existence of divisions into groups became clear slowly during the interviews. The average age of people in Gallecs is in their 50s, this is higher than the average of Mollet which is around 40 to 44 (Idenscat, 2015).

My initial plan for obtaining formal interviews was to ask for them casually during the ethnographic part of the research. However it soon became clear this wasn't going to be possible. In bringing up Gallecs the more common comment was “Oh! Gallecs es muy difícil!”⁴³ a unanimous comment, among people who had actually worked or been

⁴³ Translation: “Oh! Gallecs is very difficult!!”

involved with Gallecs on a day to day manner intermittently or at some point in their lives, with the exception of those who were involved only in the demonstration period of the 70s. In itself, a result that provokes many questions aside from debilitating further endeavours in this manner.

Since obtaining interviews casually and indirectly didn't seem to work, I changed my approach. During an event held in Gallecs I asked for someone who would be willing to talk to me about the conservation of Gallecs, this I'm afraid also fell through with me being given a name and talking to her at the event, however in the end could never be reached at the number given. I finally managed my first interview through a contact provided by my networks in the area, this initial contact, was interviewed informally and provided the opening for other interviews with members of what I later realised was her 'group'. Hence, new interviews were achieved through a combination of snowballing (Noy, 2008; Beirnacki & Waldorf, 1981), with constant reference to my initial interviewee. I later understood that these recommendations were also the easiest ways to identify the groups. As interviewees of one group (i.e Farmers) quickly could not name other people that they felt would be relevant to talk too outside their particular group. This, in addition to the mismatch between names I had been given as relevant by the groups vs the inhabitants of the surrounding towns was what initially made me sense something wasn't right without really being clear on what was wrong.

Along with the interviews, the observation of events and conversations with key persons both within and outside Gallecs, it became clear that there were certain groups that interacted more with each other than the rest. If the person wasn't in their group, they were never recommended. If I'd talked to all the recommended persons in the group, there was no one they could recommend. I would not consider this done consciously, rather for the participant of the interview, these *were the relevant people to talk too. Anyone else was irrelevant to understand Gallecs according to them.* This was a clear tightrope I would have to walk, maintaining a balance between respecting their sense of what was relevant to Gallecs for each person with enough trust that allowed them to keep opening up to me, but with enough distance that speaking with 'irrelevant persons' would not cause a sense of misrepresentation.

This type of perception is not exclusive to the population of Gallecs. As an academic, a clear parallel would be asking to understand the creation of a nation to an economist and a historian, the references that each one would give to understand that nation would be different and neither the economist nor the historian would typically cite the references of the other as relevant. For each, their disciplinary origin was more relevant.⁴⁴

However the people of Gallecs clearly meet and see each other, and despite the fact that they share 733.52 ha, (a relatively small area particularly once you deduct the wheat fields) they have managed to segregate themselves, not unlike niches in a rainforest. Through personal observation of the official events in Gallecs⁴⁵, as well as the interview questions, it was clear, there were events organised by one group or another, usually in the same public space. The absence of persons of the other group or rather how and in what why they presented themselves in relation to the events along with how interviews were given to me and the referrals in various informal conversations about Gallecs have all built this perception of the relationships between the groups in Gallecs.

Here I will explain my analysis of each group, their limitations, rational and the “function” of each group towards the creation of Gallecs. I focus more specifically on groups with a physical presence in Gallecs and/or found necessary to interview through questions that came up. However, I also compare this work with Gallego and Grau (1996) and Altayó (2010) which were the only two documents that referred in some form to the separation of groups in Gallecs in their analysis of the conflict and offer my interpretation in conjunction with these studies.

⁴⁴ Mind you the current trend for transdisciplinary methods clearly is breaking down those barriers, promoting understandings that merge the two.

⁴⁵ Gallecs over the years has organised numerous public fiestas, both to raise funds as well as awareness both of possible threats to Gallecs, as well as promoting the agricultural products of Gallecs.

The Players: The Public Face of Gallecs

This group is almost all associated formally through the Associació Agroecològica de Gallecs (AAG). For most, the relationship didn't begin there, as mentioned some families have been living here since before the expropriation. In fact according to F⁴⁶, the association was part of her master's project to develop the area and people in Gallecs sustainably. Initial members were convinced to join voluntarily which in a transcript of a public forum by the people of Gallecs is confirmed by another member (Notes, 2008). Given the informal and formal nod towards F, both during events and in conversation with people it does seem probable. Interviews with members from this group formally painting her in this role was never done, however she was one of the first people I was usually referred to. The association is said to have been formed voluntarily in 2000, she then worked to formalise it through the creation of the association so that it could be a livable project.

(Associació de Pagesos de) Gallecs se formó con el objetivo de aglutinar todos los agricultores para empezar a trabajar en un modelo de gestión diferente al que había habido hasta ahora. En ese momento tenía pendiente el trabajo de final de carrera de la universidad y lo compaginaba con el trabajo en la asociación. Hice el primer plan de gestión agrícola sostenible. Q1

Author's translation: The Associació de Pagesos de Gallecs was formed with the aim of bringing together all farmers to start working on a different management model to that which existed thus far. At that time my final year project was pending, so I combined it with work in the association. I made the first sustainable agricultural management plan (for Gallecs).

⁴⁶ When I refer directly to an interview, I will do so with a code, codes are random and do not always refer to the same interview; this is so the view of the person interviewed cannot easily be identified.

This required a lot of convincing through conversing and persuasion, to get the farmers involved in the association and farm organically⁴⁷. The initial convincing was not easy, the farmers in Gallecs being accustomed to using fertilisers and heavy machinery. Being born and raised in Gallecs helped, as trust was already inbuilt. Her dad in a separate interview, like any proud father concurs. Given her involvement both observed and formally in the responsibilities as well as references given when asking who I should discuss Gallecs with, she is one of those named most often. However, within this group, the public responsibilities appear to be more dispersed and divided.

The idea of the Consorci is to convert more and more farmers to organic farmers by “talk persuasion”. However, those that are involved in the AAG at the moment, also sell their products through the small shop in the center of Gallecs, next to it is “el obrador” (the workshop). Excess produce is brought to the obrador to convert into second order food products to be later sold at the store next door. The farmers involved are also frequently brought along for promotions of the Gallecs label. The AAG is involved in the slow food association. This is the part of Gallecs that receives the most publicity both abroad and within Spain in terms of agricultural products.

This group is bound by their work and identity as farmers, as well as the need to grow and sell their produce. The daily life and routines for this group are bound by the land. The AAG while helping in the practical aspects of moving the produce as well as providing a network to move surplus and purchase joint infrastructure has also helped foster community.

Hmm, lo que también nos ha relacionado fuerte con el proyecto este, como tenemos también la agro tienda, aquí era muy típico vernos los domingos en la iglesia y tal, pero a partir de que vino la expropiación se dejó de hacer la misa. La relación se...

⁴⁷ Of the 733,52 ha that is Gallecs, 535 ha or 75% of this is farmed (Consorci de Gallecs, 2015), of this 210 ha are organic as of 2013 (Interview Data) which is about 40% of the land used for agricultural.

Pero a partir del 2000 con la agrotienda y como hemos hecho la sociedad agraria y estamos todos, pues nos reunimos, todos acudimos allí a la tienda... o sea, ha sido una forma de recuperar lo que era Gallecs antes Q2

Author's translation: Hmm, what has also connected us strongly is with this project (referring to AAG), as we also have the agro shop, here it was very typical to see us on Sundays in the church and such, but from the time of the expropriation, mass was stopped. The relationship is ...

But since 2000 with the agrishop as we created an agrarian (association) and we are all there, so we meet, we all go there to the store ... that is, it has been a way to recover what Gallecs was before.....

Here the speaker relates the community that Gallecs had and how the organisation of the AAG has helped create community, something that for him was lost with the expropriation. Yet officially the association is there to deal with the formalities and change to organic farming, organic farming in itself does divide the farmers as well. As not all the families farm organically.

This group that is involved with the AAG I refer to as “the public face of Gallecs”. It needs to be stressed that it isn't, however, a group of all the farmers in Gallecs, rather it is only those farmers that farm organically and are involved in the association. Within this group, ‘the public face of Gallecs’, division is partly based on seniority and responsibilities they self-assume, those who pertain to this group are part of the AAG. They are not part of the Consorci, however the Consorci does deal with the formalisation of projects as well as promoting organic farming. The work of the AAG and the ‘Obrador’ is to develop the product. The Consorci work with the farmers of Gallecs and create opportunities to sell the product outside Gallecs. This means the association develops the produce with the farmers while the Consorci develops the product. Hence, the creation and marketing of the Gallecs name of organic products, and the publicity created through fairs both in Gallecs and internationally means that the farmers obtain more publicity within these circles.

This might be a good time to explain a little about the land arrangement in Gallecs as it pertains to an understanding of the farmed land. Legally, no one has title to the land. All land is under the Catalan institution Incasol, this happened in 1980.⁴⁸ Nine years after the land was expropriated. Gallecs was initially planned for use in an “actuación urbanística”, the creation of a new urban residential area by the Franco government. As described in chapter 1, Franco’s death, which brought to an end the dictatorship, meant that the initial plans for Gallecs could not be fulfilled. However, the land had already been expropriated, its use therefore, was not clear. This limbo both administratively and financially, meant that Gallecs, was no man’s land, indeed the lack of legal protection meant that the abandoned masies⁴⁹ in Gallecs were easily occupied and robberies were common for those who stayed. For a time, it was a space without law, an interviewee describe this period of Gallecs as the Wild, West of Gallecs, I maintain this name for this epoch in the study. Many, if they had not completely done so before left because of the insecurity.⁵⁰

In this limbo, the farmers, those who had owned or worked⁵¹ the land before could still use it, as could others who applied for permission to farm the land, however that permission could be revoked at any time with 6 months’ notice (Notes, 2008; various interviews). This license was given in 1984 and the farmers began to plant crops that could be reaped within 6 months. This led to a change of landscape as wheat was the only grain that could be planted and reaped within that timeline and therefore guarantee income.

Entonces, como tema de cultivos pues claro la inseguridad de los cultivos hacia que solo se hubiese cultivado el cereal, era lo más seguro. Lo siembras en diciembre y en junio lo recoges. Q3

⁴⁸ Refer Figure 2.7 at the end of Chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Masies are the typical large usually landed country houses, typical to the regions of Catalunya and Aragon used by families dedicated to farming the land. They sometimes are also equipped to handle poultry or cattle farming.

⁵⁰ A story, I hear during field work, was of the grandmother of a friend who left Gallecs because she was exhausted of constantly being robbed.

⁵¹ Masover is a tenant farmer who has the right to farm the land and pay a percentage of the crop to the landowner.

Author's translation: Then, as with the issue of the crops, clearly the insecurity of the crop made it so that you could only cultivate cereal, it was the safest. It was planted in December and in June it's reaped.

With time, the farmers obtained more security for their crops, such as the European Union subsidy to protect their income should anything go wrong. There also is a culture of educating each other of the possibilities available to them, this I saw firsthand, where in a pre-interview with an interviewee, we were interrupted by another resident in Gallecs who was thinking about possibilities of using her land. However despite current advances, it is clear that during the initial years of Gallecs, those who stayed did so precariously.

For the public face of Gallecs, the farmers, Gallecs exists because of them, because of their sacrifices, because they fought the only way they knew how, by keeping the land farmed. The quote below defines how this group sees themselves in the creation of Gallecs, their importance in keeping the land as it is.

Aquí empieza una lucha muy fuerte para mantener estas hectáreas verdes y agrícolas. A favor de los payeses y campesinos que se quedaron, nunca, nunca dejaron de cultivar ni un trozo de tierra. A pesar que había la amenaza de que te echaran, no solamente cultiva sus tierras sino también las de la gente que lo ha abandonaron. Por lo tanto nunca dejó el paisaje de ser como está.

Creo que Gallecs es como es gracias a la gente que se quedó y que ha ido manteniendo el paisaje, no a la administración. Q4

Author's translation: Here began a tough fight to keep these hectares green and agricultural. In favor of the farmers and peasants who stayed, they never, never stopped growing on any single piece of land. Although there was the threat that you could be kicked out, not only did they cultivate their lands but also those of the people who had left. So they never let the landscape change, it is as it is.

*I think Gallecs is as it is thanks to the people who stayed and have maintained the landscape, not the administration.*⁵²

The last quote tells a lot about how this group sees itself, but also its relationship to their identity and ownership of the land. Gallecs is as it is thanks to the people who stayed and created the landscape. As farmers, there is a clear emphasis of their work being the reason that Gallecs is what it is. It is also a claim of their identity to Gallecs; we will discuss this further along with the claim to ownership later on. However first, we must introduce the other players.

The Players: The Villagers

The Villagers typically occupy an area near the central space of Gallecs (Figure 5.1), where there are masies grouped together with typically just enough land for a vegetable garden. This group I call villagers because they live in Gallecs, in more or less community and do not farm in any real extension. Aside from their spokesperson, the people of this group have very little involvement as public figures or in promoting Gallecs as a name. However, they are all extremely active in the organisation of demonstrations when the need arises. Through observing events organised by this group, there is a clear sense of all hands on deck in the organisation of events. This group through the Associació de Veïns de Gallecs, organises and publicises demonstrations. I met only one couple in the villager group in their 30s and I am told there is another couple of this age in Gallecs. Since this was a person from the village group, I will have to assume they meant from their group, as it is not a question I can ask directly. The age of inhabitants in Gallecs is much higher than the surroundings, as the population typically consists of persons who lived there before the expropriation and stayed or returned, as well as those who took on a house in the 80s. Though not always, there have been more recent migrants and lately, there is a move to actively occupy some of the still vacant masias. An Ateneu (social centre) for instance is in formation at Can Cruz, an initially abandoned masia (Contrapunt, 2015, 11th December).

⁵² This is what is said by M, yet other quotes in this chapter do refer to the change in type of produce due to the insecurity, hence changing the landscape, however what is happening here is a difference of scale. To M, the landscape has not changed as she refers to an agricultural landscape, this as a whole has not changed. However in terms of size of parcels, mix of vegetable and cereal, this has changed.

As to how they themselves see the formalisation of the Associació de Veïns de Gallecs, I'll let them speak for themselves.

No, esto fue después de la expropiación. Esto sería alrededor del 79, 80 por ahí. Había una tradición de las fiestas de Gallecs. Entonces un año, aquí con la democracia hace cuatro días que existe. ¿Entonces que ocurría? (no había ni asociaciones ni nada) con la transición dijeron si hacéis una asociación de vecinos tendréis subvenciones, seréis más respetados... Entonces hicimos una asociación de vecinos, empezó muy bien pero como en todas las asociaciones de vecinos, se apoderaron estos que llamo yo Stalinistas, que van de izquierdas. Manipularon los estatutos y la gente de Gallecs se salieron porque vieron que aquello era una dictadura. El tío lo que hacía era que puso socios de Mollet, que los vecinos de Mollet también podían ser socios. Llego un momento que todos los socios eran de Mollet y en la asamblea decidían ellos. Entonces vinimos a Barcelona y dijimos que esta asociación no cumplía los estatutos y que la reclamábamos nosotros. El local ya no lo hacían servir y tal. Entonces esto fue imposible. Des de Barcelona nos recomendaron hacer otra asociación en paralelo, por un tiempo hubo dos asociaciones. Unos hacían la fiesta allí y otros aquí, unos una semana antes y los otros detrás. Hasta que la otra asociación murió porque se quedó sin gente, entonces la nuestra fue al revés empezamos a convencer a todo el mundo y ahora la nuestra es la efectiva. Tenemos 120 socios y ahora la asociación es la nuestra.

No, lo que pasa es que voto solo tienen los residentes. Hemos hecho los estatutos de manera que voz tiene todo el mundo pero a la hora de votar sólo pueden votar los que están empadronados aquí, que somos muy pocos. Pero es que si no, pasa lo que le pasaba al Carrasco, no sé si lo conoces de "Independents per Mollet", que eran los socios de la asociación de aquí. Corres el riesgo de que ellos aprueben cosas que los vecinos no compartan. Q5

Author's translation: (Referring to the expropriation) No, this was after expropriation. This would be around 79, 80 around there. There was a tradition of the Gallecs festival. Then one year, with the democracy four days in existence, then what happened (there were no associations or anything) with the transition they said if you create a neighbourhood association you will have grants, will be more respected ... so we did a neighbourhood association, it began fine but as in all neighbourhood associations, it empowered those who I call Stalinists, who stand for the left. They manipulated the statutes and the people of Gallecs left because they saw that it was a dictatorship. The guy what he did was to place members from Mollet, that the people from Mollet could also be members. At one point all members were from Mollet and in the assembly they decided. Then they came to Barcelona and said that this association did not meet the statutes that they were demanding of us. The space that we had was not useful so then it was impossible. From Barcelona they recommended us to create another association in parallel, for a time there were two associations. Some made the party there and others here, some about a week before and the other a week after. Until the other association died because it ran out of people, for us it was the reverse as we started to convince everyone and now ours is the effective one. We have 120⁵³ members and the association is now ours.

No, what happens is that you only have residents vote. We have made the statutes so that everyone has a voice but when it comes to voting, only those who registered here may vote, we are very few. But if not, what happens is what happened to Carrasco, I do not know if you know of "Independents per Mollet" who were members of the association here. You run the risk that they approve things that neighbours do not share.

Separation: the influence of Way of Life and Function?

The main dividing factor between the groups are their way of life, the public face are farmers and the villagers not. This is also seen in what defined for each how Gallecs is represented and hence makes it what it is. Both groups associated Gallecs being conserved to their function in preserving it.

We can understand this by asking the question who would these groups be without Gallecs. The farmer would always be farmers first, they do mention this. But Gallecs,

⁵³ Note that the population of Gallecs is estimated at 150

gives them more, they become more than farmers, they become protectors, they see themselves as linked to Gallecs, as we have seen in a previous quote Q4, repeated here.

A pesar que había la amenaza de que te echaran, no solamente cultiva sus tierras sino también las de la gente que lo ha abandonado. Por lo tanto nunca dejo el paisaje de ser como está.

Creo que Gallecs es como es gracias a la gente que se quedó y la gente que ha ido manteniendo el paisaje, no a la administración. Q4

Author's translation: Although there was the threat of being thrown out, (they) did not only cultivate their land but also the people who had abandoned it. Therefore they never allowed the landscape to stop being as it is.

I think Gallecs is as it is thanks to the people who stayed and who have been maintaining the landscape, not the administration.

The villagers meanwhile were more involved in the Associació de Veïns and organisation of demonstrations and mobilising of the public.

Hubieron muchas manis, grandes manis, la más grande fue una ciclistada que hubo hasta 9000 bicicletas y entonces fue cuando algunos ayuntamientos se apuntaron a que hacía falta que Gallecs se dejara sin construir. Nosotros ya reclamábamos que Gallecs entrara en el PEIN des de 1998, el ayuntamiento de Mollet se apuntó seis años más tarde al 2004 y hace dos años se incorporó Gallecs al PEIN.

Intentó hacerlo todo aquí. Pero por suerte conseguimos entre nosotros y otros políticos que no lo hiciera. Q6

Author's translation: There were many manis, big manis, the biggest one was with cyclists, there were up to 9000 bicycles and then it was when some city councils joined and said that Gallecs needed to be left without being built up. We already claimed that Gallecs entered PEIN in 1998. Mollet Town Hall signed on six years later in 2004 and two years ago Gallecs joined the PEIN.

They tried to do everything here. But luckily, between us and other politicians they did not.

Here we notice each group affirming their role in saving Gallecs, emphasising their “function” within the long history of Gallecs retaining its space.

Though they share the same area, both groups have very different forms of living in Gallecs, mostly tied to their livelihood. The “Public face of Gallecs” are farmers that depend on the land for at least part of their livelihood, their routines within Gallecs are dependent on the land and the crops. All however associate being farmers as a way of being, rather than just a means.

With the “Villages”, this dependency does not occur, usually their livelihood comes from outside Gallecs. This does create different needs and routines and hence different actions, which is shown in the different emphasis of the groups as regards to what is important about Gallecs. It also leads to different definitions of who is important to maintain Gallecs. However it doesn't always explain the separation observed.

For instance at the screening of “La Plaga”⁵⁴ in Mollet, each group stuck to themselves and barely mingled outside it, to the point of sitting in different sections of the audience as per the group association, while publicly there was a united front, socially it is another thing. As I have tried to understand how Gallecs functions and is divided, it is important to understanding the division of (unsaid) responsibilities that happens in Gallecs. I will argue in the following chapters how these groups are part of the rationale behind the capacity of Gallecs to have survived this long.

Firstly it is in how the land is used, as farming in large extensions is part of what separates the villagers from the farmers, the public face of Gallecs.

⁵⁴ This was a film shot in Gallecs using people from Gallecs playing themselves; the creator was Neus Ballaus, from Mollet. The film has since won numerous awards (El Kinograf, 2015), at the time of screening in Mollet it had just returned from the Berlin Festival where it was nominated for the Lux Prize 2013, some of my interviewees were protagonist of the film and had just returned from the screening in Berlin.

....., *en cambio las casas están ocupadas de gente que ha llegado aquí, entraron, las ocuparon y ya son como de aquí porque llevan treinta años ya, pero estos no trabajan el campo, no viven del campo. Q7*

Author's translation:but the houses are occupied by people who have arrived here, they entered, they occupied them and they are already like they are from here because they have been here thirty years already, but these do not work the land, do not live from the land

A quote from one of my interviewees in the public face group, a factor that for him means difference. A difference that allows the creation of an “US” and “Them” within Gallecs. But far from a separation that difference is how these groups achieved their impact in maintaining Gallecs. With the public face, their work, maintains the landscape and so Gallecs is as it is, because of them. A narrative that allows this group to be the cause of Gallecs existence as is. This vs. the idea from the villages that it is though their work in organisation, vigilance and pushing for legal protection that has kept Gallecs as what it is. Each group's vision of what is important to keep Gallecs as is, is different and dependent on how they view both Gallecs and their impact in it. Who they are,-- their identity is dependent on these ideas.

The stakes: Who created Gallecs?

Through the ethnography work and interviews, it became clear that between the groups an unsaid question was which group was responsible in creating Gallecs. We see this in the quotes below:

Nosotros ya reclamábamos que Gallecs entrara en el PEIN des de 1998, el ayuntamiento de Mollet se apuntó seis años más tarde al 2004 y hace dos años se incorporó Gallecs al PEIN Q8 (Village group)

Author's translation: We already demanded that Gallecs entered the PEIN since 1998, the Mollet town council signed on (to the idea) six years later in 2004 and two years ago Gallecs joined the PEIN.

Here, the spokesperson for the Village group stresses that this group had a clearer vision of what was to be done with Gallecs to protect it, before the Municipality.

Incasol es una empresa pública que depende de la Generalitat que se dedica a urbanizar zonas rurales. Entonces la Generalitat con Incasol tenía este espacio de 1500 ha y el proyecto no siguió adelante, pero sí que lo que hizo la Generalitat fue actuaciones puntuales en este lugar. Así de las 1500 ha, 750 se urbanizaron a lo largo de los años, la parte central que es ahora el parque rural, no estaba protegido, era urbanizable y se hacía muy poca cosa. Simplemente se tenía aquí por si había la necesidad. El ayuntamiento de Mollet siempre ha querido preservar este espacio, y se oponían a cualquier urbanización por eso durante muchos años, este espacio estaba ahí, era un banco de tierra, pero estaba ahí por si lo necesitaban. Esto hizo que en el espacio no había ninguna regularización. Q9 (Outlier who works for Incasol)

Author's translation: Incasol is a public company that depends on the Generalitat that (Incasol) is dedicated to urbanising rural areas. Hence the Generalitat with Incasol had this space of 1500 ha and the project did not go ahead, but what the Generalitat did was occasional intervencions in this place. Of the 1,500 hectares, 750 have been urbanised over the years, the central part of which is now the rural park, which was not protected, it was constructible however very little was done. It was simply here in case there was a need. The municipality of Mollet has always wanted to preserve this space, and opposed any urbanisation because of that for many years, yet this space was there, it was a land bank, it was there if it was needed. This made it a space where there was no regularisation.

Here, one of our Outliers, who while involved with the project of Gallecs is an employee of Incasol and whose responsibility is to Incasol, refers to the responsibility of the decision as one made by the institutions, at no point during the interview did he offer that the people of Gallecs were responsible for Gallecs being conserved.

Creo que Gallecs es como es gracias a la gente que se quedó y que ha ido manteniendo el paisaje, no a la administración. Quiere decir que la sensibilización de conservar Gallecs ha sido gracias a la gente de aquí, de Catalunya i de Gallecs de buena fe. El resultado ha sido que de las 1500 ha, 750 ha se salvaron y los alrededores están urbanizados. Q10 (The Public Face of Gallecs Group)

Author's translation: I think Gallecs is as it is thanks to the people who stayed and who have been maintaining the landscape, not the administration. It means to say that the awareness of preserving Gallecs has been thanks to the people here, Catalunya and Gallecs in good faith. The result has been that of 1500 ha, 750 ha were saved and the surroundings are urbanised.

Here the interviewee ties the appearance of the landscape with the identity of the public face of Gallecs, farmers, while in the next sentence clearly states that for her the administration was not responsible for Gallecs being here. She however also involves the people in the surroundings as part of the reason Gallecs was saved.

The emphasis here is on who is responsible for keeping Gallecs as it is. We have discussed the “function” of each group in Gallecs, functions that came about organically due to their form of living and the situation of Gallecs. But these functions are also their identity, who they are, and is intimately linked to Gallecs.

Here also I am reminded of a study done of the actors in Gallecs by Gallego & Grau, according to them the farmers seem to be caught in the middle, and do not seem to play an active part, they name the environmental institutions and political parties in power as the major actors in preservation of Gallecs.

While I am not in agreement with Gallego and Grau, this does not mean they are wrong, rather it seems that they were not aware of the relationships among the actors. Of some of the politicians involved in Gallecs, one in particular started gaining recognition with the demonstrations for Gallecs. The environmental institutions involved were always in association with the PDG, and there is overlap in their membership.

The involvement and agency of the group in Gallecs have much to bear on the ensuing events that lead to its conservation, however they were not wholly responsible and there were other factors that aided their agenda while having agendas of their own. As we discuss the events and ideas in the preceding chapters we will attend to these interrelationships. However for now, I'd like to present the other players in Gallecs.

The Klein Gardens (Weekend farmers)

The physical location of the gardens in Gallecs, are along the river which passes near the center of Gallecs. These gardens were initially all along the river Besòs and Seca, they were transplanted by the Mollet municipality. These plots of vegetable gardens can now be requested from the Mollet municipality and are given to retirees or persons on the dole. The groups' division within Gallecs, is nothing said in words to a doctorate student asking questions. It was a topic that outliers brought up and a separation that I observed. While these groups can be in contact visually there seems to be no social contact with the "public face of Gallecs" or "the "Villages". These other two groups while they have contact with each other it is more formally rather than socially. However with the "Weekend Farmers" even formally is rare.

The Outliers

This is a population that has/is involved in Gallecs but has no direct linkage to either of the groups' mentions above. They do however can/may have stronger linkages to me. Essentially, there would be more trust towards me that to the people of Gallecs, usually because I would have gotten to know them through my social networks or daily life in the area. This group then is the most varied of the interviews and was conducted anytime I met someone who had an engagement with Gallecs at some point and who was willing to discuss it with me. Sometimes they were willing to have it recorded, at other times not. However this group provided a rather different perspective than those previously mentioned and helped build a clearer picture of the various interactions.

Intra Gallecs: Mesocommunities

The Population of Mollet

As the conflict to save Gallecs is a famous case in Catalunya of resistance, many persons in the towns described in chapter 1 would have their story to share or their impressions. This information was collated basically in the ethnography work phase and typically feed to more general ideas of Gallecs. If there was more relevant information I usually asked for an interview, typically as one of the outlier interviews. A fair amount of information about people related or living in Gallecs could be found out from the ethnographic part of the study without formal interviews. As Mollet is a center among the towns, with denser population than the surrounding, and a more permeable social life, it was in these conversations that I really began my understanding of Gallecs, and later on, would mine for information on the inconsistencies. Information from the population of Mollet during fieldwork then fed heavily into the picture of Gallecs.

The Surrounding Towns

In chapter 2, I have given the geographical and demographic description of the towns surrounding Gallecs in which I've observed association. However the effect of the surrounding towns on Gallecs is more diffused in general yet at times more direct. Direct for instance in the decisions taken in the Consorci, as Gallecs legally is a conglomerate of various municipalities (Refer to Table 1 and Chapter 1). Diffused however in the land changes, population and noise, as well as in the use of the space by the people of the nearby municipalities, along with the support frequently given in demonstrations. The interaction between these towns such as the recreation use of Gallecs, which has about 741,000 visits annually⁵⁵, of which 66% are from the persons residing in Mollet, weekend visits overall are at 236 per hour (Minuartia & Ceres, 2010). This means that the towns are invested in Gallecs, this is shown in the support given in demonstrations. Gallecs can command a far larger population than its 150 residents to fight for its conservation.

⁵⁵ Data is from 2009

Social Movements- Associació de Veïns

Manuel Castells following Alan Touraine's classification of social movements, states that they can be defined by their combination on three characteristics, identity, adversary and goals. However the dictatorship in Spain ensured that in the 1970s, the closest thing to a social movement was the work of the Associació de Veïns . Bier (1979) divided the AVs in Spain at the time based on how they were created as "Popular"⁵⁶ or "Official", those that were "Popular" being created by the residents while those that are "Official" were created by the municipal government and/or their sympathisers.

The AVs according to Bier were the avenue through which the vast immigrant population from the south and central areas of Spain to its industrial centres used to ask for their various infrastructural needs. Needs related to the vast increase in numbers in the barrios "obreros" that the dictatorship had not been able to meet.

However, in working together to obtain the needs for their neighbourhoods the AVs set the stage for nascent organisation and were the founding associations for the social mobilisation in the final years of the Franco regime and after his death. This is why they were one of the major organising association (and still are) when it concerns the organisation of demonstrations particularly in defence of Gallecs.

In Catalunya specifically the AVs were also infused with a growing consciousness for independence. Cultural resistance towards Francoism had been ongoing in Catalunya since 1959; however these acts of resistance grew towards the end of the regime. Guibernau (2004) in a chapter of her book offers a detail analysis of these acts and their place in the resistance and transition from Francoism. However of particular interest in this thesis is the association between the autonomy of Catalunya and relationship with the environmental movement at this time.

Lemkow (1984) notes that the environmentalist movement in Spain though of an ample ideological spectrum was particularly influenced by the anarchist movement, values which still underpin the activist environmental movement today, and can also be seen

⁵⁶ Terms from Bier, 1979

in Gallecs. Internationally, this was a time of social movement, in some ways parallel to current times. Guibernau, (2004) refers to the 1968 student uprising in France and the Prague Spring as favouring the “proliferation of radical organisation within universities. While Bier (1980) mentioned the AVs as having their roots in various political and social movements of the 60s and early 70s. Lemkow (1984) as well addresses international influences of the Spanish environmental movement, however he state that it evolved much later, understandable given the political climate.

It is within this political- social climate that the AVs evolved and functioned in. Within the context of Catalunya, questions of autonomy and a rather anarchist sense of autonomy went hand in hand with larger environmental concerns. Concerns which we still see in Gallecs, in its ongoing discussion on how Gallecs should be organised, and in the various imaginaries used to mobilise the protection of Gallecs.

As such we see the function of the environmental movement in Gallecs evolving over time as the environmental movement itself evolved.

Civil Associations Involved

Associació per la Defensa i l'Estudi de la Natura (ADENC)

ADENC as per its website started in 1982, it is an NGO dedicated to the defence and study of nature. It is based in Sabadell and focuses principally on the physical space of Vallès Oriental and Occidental of Catalunya. It is now part of the federation of Ecologists of Catalunya. From its activities we can see that its principal work is in Civic environmental education, to that end it organises talks, excursions, children's programmes and publications such as magazines, pamphlets and books towards that same public. It also has working groups where its membership can get involved in creating and organising activities, and it's membership can be involved in its governing board. Its objectives and statues it states the organisation of activities of environmental action, whether it is a day of work to recover a river or more frequently to defend a natural space in Catalunya.

This includes mobilising their membership as well as providing expertise and support to these causes (ADENC, 2017).

DRAG (Defensa de Rèptils i Amfibis de Gallecs)

DRAG is as its name states clearly an NGO dedicated to defend the reptiles and amphibians of Gallecs. Its office is located in Can Jornet (also the offices of the Consorci in Gallecs) and it collaborates on environmental education concerning reptiles and amphibians in Gallecs. It does collaborate with the Boy Scouts which have an association in Parets (Interview). It is also involved with the Catalan Herpetology Society and has recently contributed to Notes⁵⁷, on the Herpetological biodiversity in Gallecs (Aranda i Salvachua, 2009). In its capacity as specialising in the reptile and amphibian diversity in Gallecs, it is frequently called on to provide support either in terms of expertise or education.

Cànem

Cànem started in 1992, as part of the anti-nuclear committee (CANC); it was one of the founding members of Ecologistas en Acció though currently is not on the list of Federated associations of Ecologistas en Acció (Ecologistas en Acció, 2016). 1992 was also the same year that Gallecs was approved to come under the PEIN programme. Cànem is based in Mollet, and associated with Ecologista in Accion. Lately it has been a bit quiet with the last official reference of its existence in 2011 (CRES, 2011⁵⁸). There is a tremendous overlap in the board of Cànem and the AV of Gallecs and DRAG. Documentary evidence of Cànem's existence are predominantly in newspaper articles, either written by a Cànem representative, of seminars or talks organised by the organisation, or a demand made by them to public institutions. They tend to centre on environmental issues within the surroundings of Mollet and they also offer support to many social based struggles,

⁵⁷ A Journal about Mollet and the territory.

⁵⁸ Other sources state it existed till 2005 (Galdon, 2011) yet there are articles in 2006 (Television 3) and 2011 (above) that refer to them, admittedly few.

however they do have a strong focus on Gallecs. Their name can also be seen in other joint declarations, particularly of civil protest. They do not have a unique web presence.

Their lack of concrete proposals for Gallecs was the rationale behind a rather scathing diatribe in Gordi i Serrat (2003) book which summarises 30 years of proposals for Gallecs. Understandable since Gordi i Serrat's objective with the book was to present the various proposals of organisation for Gallecs. This was never Cànem's objective, in part because of its ties with the AV, there was an implicit understanding that Gallecs was organised as it is, this was not a perspective shared by entities creating proposals for the organisation of Gallecs. Hence for Cànem the only thing left to do was 'Salvem Gallecs', its often quoted call to arms. We will further this discussion in the section on Strategy in Chapter 8.

La Comissió de Defensa de Gallecs

This was the comissió that started it all, the one that organised the famous bicycle demonstration that stayed in everyone's memory. The commission lasted from 1977-1983 (Galdon, 2011) and consisted not only of the residents new and old but also anyone from the towns in the vicinity who choose to contribute in defending Gallecs. Do remember that despite the commission not currently existing in an official capacity, the people involved still live in Gallecs, they also were involved in Cànem so in reality the Commission never really died.

Plataforma per la Defensa de Gallecs (PDG)

Think of it as Commission 2.0, it has the same objective as the commission above but it's net savy, with a facebook presence (530 followers) (PDG, 2018), a user friendly website, and the use of online petitions and the distribution of material through its online networks. It started in 2008 and via its website states:-

La PDG va néixer fruit de la desinformació deliberada que hi ha sobre Gallecs i la seva falsa protecció. És per això que vam decidir actuar al respecte i continuar la lluita que des de fa més de 30 anys existeix per la defensa de Gallecs (PDG; 2017).

Author's translation: The PDG was born as the fruit of the deliberate disinformation that has been given about Gallecs' false protection. It is because of that, we decided to act upon it and continue the battle which has lasted for more than 30 years in the defence of Gallecs.

In this iteration the PDG has extended the fight, aside from the new medium and a sense that Gallecs will never thoroughly be safe, they have solicited the support of 67 other environmental and social institutions (PDG, 2017). There is also a move in the organisation to extend the organisations' body and therefore broaden the base of those involved in the fight for Gallecs.

6 Epochs and Events

between the activity of narrating a story and the temporal character of human experience there exists a correlation that is not merely accidental but that presents a transcultural form of necessity. To put it another way, time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence.

Paul Ricoeur in Time and Narrative Vol. 1 p. 52

In the previous chapter we introduced the communities within Gallecs, as well as communities outside of Gallecs that had an involvement in its making. In this chapter, I focus on the events at two levels, the legal documented events, which have been documented in various studies before (this is the literature review in Chapter 1). Essentially a meta-analysis of the literature review which referred to the meso level of the case study as has been set within this thesis. These events have been reproduced graphically into a timeline in Figure 1.7 based on the sources of information referred to in chapter 1.

Here, I will overlay these documented legal, political events with the events considered important within the social imaginary of the communities named in chapter 5. These events were selected if there were brought up independently by various interviewees or if repeatedly reproduced in the local papers of the time, triangulated with emotional references and emphasis within the interviews or newspaper articles, especially if directly stated to be a reason for the existence of Gallecs. These statement/s or emphasis were considered in-case hypothesis publicly provided by the communities involved either historically via documentary evidence, secondary through other studies or primarily through the interviews and ethnographic work. Analysis of these statements along with my own analysis of the key themes at work in the study will be discussed in the following chapter, before building them into a theory of the possibility of their associations in chapter 8.

I have discussed the divisions by the groups themselves and the divisions I have given for analysing and weighting the ideas, impressions and statements given by these groups.

However the groups' aren't the only factor in the progression of Gallecs, during the course of the conflict, time itself took on a new rhythm.

Time as it is felt by the people of Gallecs has different stages/ epochs, this I refer to as microtime to distinguish it from time counted in institutional events within the municipalities involved (mesotime). Microtime is where different epochs relate to different emotions, a different sense of where Gallecs was, and where the future might take them. However events in Barcelona at the time, socially and politically and how Gallecs microtime entered into the macrotime of Barcelona all created a way for it to evolve into what it is today.

Following Barbara Adam (1998) one can say that Gallecs lived in a separate timescape⁵⁹ to that of its surroundings. In Gallecs, time can be divided into three epochs, each with its own tempos.

These are; -The Expropriation, The Wild West and the Agro-Ecological park. The divisions into epochs are marked by different events and accompanied by different emotions socially experienced by the groups in Gallecs. While not all epochs have clear dates to when they started, rather, they are marked by different events, and experiences by the population which can be connected to a different lived relationship to the space of Gallecs. The naming of these epochs were first mentioned by one of my interviewees, on a chance encounter after our first interview. Here I give the defining qualities of each epoch. We will handle this on two levels, the effect on the land, and the effect on the people.

⁵⁹ "...timescapes emphasise their rhythmicity's, their timings and tempos, their changes and contingencies. A timescape perspective stresses the temporal features of living. Through timescapes, contextual temporal practices become tangible. Timescapes are **thus the embodiment of practiced approaches to time.**" pp.11 (Adams, 1998) bold is authors own.

Micro Time

The Epoch of Expropriation

The Epoch of Expropriation was marked by a change in the ownership of the land from private property to property of the Spanish government (under the Franco dictatorship) through expropriation. It was also marked by a movement of inhabitants away from Gallecs, an abandoning of the fields as well as machinery to till the land, and a massive reduction in livestock (Guillamon, & Moreno, 1995). The death of General Franco brought with it greater autonomy to Catalunya, thereby passing the ownership of the land to Incasol, a Catalan government land bank (Figure 1.7).

Y nosotros los que decidimos de continuar, al principio hubo una invasión de gente que quería quitarnos los cultivos, que decían que esto no es de nadie... y lo pasamos muy mal. Q11

Author's translation: And we who decided to continue, at first there was an invasion of people who wanted to take away the crops, saying that this is no one's land ... we went through a really bad time.

The Epoch of expropriation runs from 1970 when the decree to create the ACTUAR Santa Maria de Gallecs was declared to 1980 when the land title was transferred to INCASOL under the Generalitat of Catalunya. There are two subsections within this epoch of 10 years. The initial five years, before Franco died, can be considered as one of surrender of their land by the inhabitants, there were protests and resistance, but limited and without the mobilisation of residents from the surrounding towns. With the death of Franco and the country wide changes, the nation's hope for a better tomorrow created in Gallecs too a hope for something more. In 1977 the Commission for the Defense of Gallecs was created, in 1978, they brought together a demonstration of 8,000 on bikes, a demonstration still vivid in the public imaginary of Gallecs and its surrounding towns. If the initial 5 years of the epoch of expropriation were defined as "surrender", the last five years can be defined as "fight".

The period after the death of Franco was a time of demonstrations and not just for Gallecs. The release of the repression felt under the dictatorship and the experience of organising within the neighborhood associations meant that the population used this time to protest and express their needs to the emerging government.

The Wild West

However once the land was passed to INCASOL and Catalunya began its democratic process, it can be said that part of the fight had been won but the long term state of Gallecs was still being negotiated among the municipalities. There were no real plans for Gallecs, no real forms of protection were available for this land or its inhabitants.

Added to that, the decision on the part of the municipality of Mollet to develop part of Gallecs, was seen as against the ideals that the social movement had fought for. This created a rift and separation of the initial cooperation as well as disillusionment on the part of the social movements (Galdon, 2011). All this added to a sense of not having a say of what would happen to the land. These times where the land was in limbo was also the beginning of the uncertainty that would be the Wild West of Gallecs. In this era, uncertainty dominated as well as a fair amount of violence, as robberies were common in the area. Many houses were occupied, initially some as a way of protest for the repossession of the land, others not so. This lack of order and uncertainty also provoked the second migration of people out of Gallecs. Gallecs had become no man's land, as no one had a title to the properties, it was government land, but the government had no use for it yet, those who stayed, stayed with risks. The expropriation rezoned the land, to a land reserve to be developed but without plans, hence until plans could be defined on what happened to this land, nothing was done. Nor could each individual do anything with the land either, no one had titles, all they could do was live.

This is a very curious uncertainty, not just for Gallecs, but as an example for spaces of land once institutionalised under a certain form of governance. In this case initially a rural town, having that definition change but with no continued action, left the land and the people on it, in limbo. Yet the protests carried on, admittedly not at the scale

of the first epoch, rather it was more strategic and energy was placed into creating long term protection for Gallecs.

However it could not move forwards, nor decide the next step until the land was re-zoned and placed under the protection of the PEIN. This was a decision initiated during the demonstration process, where a long-term form of protection for Gallecs as is was, was debated. The possibilities also grew with the change in 'politics at the time; those who were involved in the social movements ended up being involved in politics'⁶⁰ with the participation of people initially involved in the protest for Gallecs. However all this coincided with no defined use for the land, meaning that by creating resistance and without an alternative not just on the ground but politically, possibilities for the maintenance of Gallecs could not occur.

Farmers and villagers could not plan their future long term. The 6-month security of wheat demonstrates this, as does the lack of ownership of a tractor to plow the land. The average hectareage for tillage in Gallecs was 18 ha per tractor compared to 10,5 ha for the Vallès area while the average for Catalunya is 12,5 ha, that is almost double the hectareage tilled per tractor in Gallecs as for the rest of the Vallès and a third more for comparison within Catalunya. However, the higher number of tractors per exploitation, 0.5 in Gallecs to 0.4 in the rest of the Vallès, generally indicates exploitation of a larger size compared to the rest of the Vallès area (Guillamon and Moreno, 1995). Ownership of a tractor in this case, can be seen as a measure of stability, similar to owning or renting a house. This epoch of uncertainty was the longest, from 1980 till about 2004, when agreement was reached between the Generalitat de Catalunya and the Municipality of Mollet to permanently protect the land (Figure 1.7).

The Agro-ecological Park

Finally, we have the current situation, the epoch of the agro-ecological park, there is a sense of security now for the people living and working there, both the farmers, as well as the villagers confirm this sense of security as an interviewee said

⁶⁰ Mentioned in interviews and confirmed by newspaper articles of the time.

Lo que pasa que con los años hemos ido cogiendo una seguridad de “ya no nos echan...” y hemos cogido seguridad. No nos creemos ni que estemos expropiados ya. Q12

Author’s translation: What has happened with the years is that we have started to feel secure that “they won’t throw us out...” and we have started to feel secure. We don’t think we are expropriated anymore.

Currently the land of Gallecs is designated as non-urbanisable, it has the protection of the PEIN and the offices of the Consorci to manage its day to day. Comparatively it is in a very stable position. However despite this, there is still no documentary security, no one has land titles. The difference is not individually but as a land Gallecs has legally been rezoned and given protection as an agro-ecological park. Far more than that, Gallecs now has a path, for the farmer, particularly the organic farmer; there is a lot, income, knowledge and networks with other organic farmers in the slow food movement. There is a market for their produce, a market that typically comes to their doorstep in the form of agro tourism.

While Gallecs consist of fields of produce, it is still not defined as an area to live. Hence plans in that direction are still on the way. But Gallecs is safe, the people have their houses, they can stay.

Meso Time

Political parties, strongholds in the region

Gallego & Grau (1995) present the political parties that governed the largest municipalities at the time, Mollet, Parets and Santa Perpètua. They basically fluctuated between PSUC and PSC, these were the ‘Catalan left wing’ hence one of its strongholds was in this region. During the first democratic election in Catalunya (1977) these parties together obtained “37% of the votes on the electoral census, being the two most supported parties in Catalonia” (Colomé, 1996). PSUC at the time had more communist leanings though it has since changed into Iniciativa per Catalunya (IC) and became a broader

coalition for the left with some links to social movements. PSC on the other hand is a socialist party federated within the Spanish socialist party of PSOE. This federation means that it had a certain level of autonomy in Catalunya (Colomé, 1996).

PSUC won the first democratic elections of the Municipality of Mollet in 1979 and then again in 1983. That changed in 1987 and 1991 to PSC. Part of this was due to the internal problems that PSUC had at the time which ruptured its party, thereby reducing its votes by 350,000 from its almost constant 500,000 (Colomé, 1996), and with it, its power in Catalunya.

National politics aside, before the first democratic elections, both parties supported the environmental proposal for Gallecs (Gallego & Grau 1995). In many ways, the people involved in these environmental groups and the political parties overlapped, in part because of the era, in part ideologically. However, in terms of Municipal plans, the initial support fell apart when Mollet decided to urbanise part of Gallecs for apartment buildings, this is the area in Mollet I referred to earlier as “ciutat dormitori”.

I do however, need to highlight the era as towards the end of the Franco dictatorship, the society in Spain was ripe for something new. An active player at this time were the *Associacions de Veïns (AV)* a type of association that came to be which worked to negotiate the addition of social and infrastructure services that the new urbanised Spanish neighborhoods needed.

Bier (1980) provides a detailed idea of the role of the AV at the time. They were neighbourhood associations, run and led by neighbourhood residents in general⁶¹ that could function as the go-between with the government and the neighbourhood. It was these associations that demanded or negotiated the services they needed in the area. These associations also offered a sense of community and were a way to improve the situation under the Franco dictatorship, as the creation of national associations was illegal. However, during this time AVs came to communicate with each other and band together to

⁶¹ There are distinctions in the way an AV was organised, for details I would suggest (Bier, 1980).

help an AV in one barri⁶² or another demonstrate and demand services. The AV of Gallecs and its network was at the heart of many of the early demonstrations to save Gallecs, and still retains this function.

MacroTime

Winds of Change

In the earlier chapter on communities, I did discuss more extensively the AVs, hence I won't repeat it here but I'd like the reader to keep it in mind. I have also mentioned the labour movement of the 50s and 70s in association with the towns mentioned in chapter 2, as these towns that surround Gallecs grew up with industrial development. Here, I'd like to discuss a bit about the various "winds of change" moving into Catalunya in the 70s.

Mollet and the industrial towns described were not strongholds of the labour protest movement at the time, that role was in places like Terrassa, Sabadell and Baix Llobregat, if anything there is an instance of the Mollet metallurgy workers choosing not to get involved in the protest of the early 70s during the Franco dictatorship (Balfour, 1989), when the areas mentioned above were actively protesting. Being on the periphery of Barcelona also meant that Mollet/Gallecs had less avenues and capacity to connect to the protests that started in Barcelona. The demonstration for Gallecs in 1977 therefore does not have many precedents in the region.

However the changes going through Catalunya at the time, the new generation that had lived through the mild liberalisation of the 60s and 70s, had some access to conditions overseas and had gone a little past just surviving economically, they expected more (Balfour, 1989). The AVs and clandestine Unions were the beginnings of this push for a better life. The death of Franco, the move towards democracy, and demonstrations for Catalan autonomy.....all created layers upon layers of not just organisational capacity but also that another future was a possibility.

⁶² Barrio in Spanish and Barri in Catalan means Neighbourhood

Worldwide there was the influence of the Prague Spring, the demonstrations in Paris in May 1968, the antinuclear movement and the beginning of the institutionalisation of green politics worldwide, creating an undercurrent that allowed the idea of change to be more imaginable.

Mora i Ticó (1999) in his analysis of the growth and change of the Catalan environmental movement cites a reivindicative axis in this environmental movement of the 70s, which I would say is linked to the demands of the labour movement and the AVs (Balfour, 1989; Bier, 1980). In many ways associated with social justice or the right to an environment conducive to living. And while the environmental movement in Spain was a movement that started much later precisely because of the political repression, it also is rather uniquely associated with anarchist leanings (Lemkow, 1984).

We should point out that while in Spain social issues such as residues, urban planning, the anti-nuclear movement began to be linked to the environmental movement, conservation of natural areas was not so in the 50s and 60s, conservation was seen as something that only the elites could indulge in. The changing public perception of Spain toward the natural landscape has a lot to thank in Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente who through his own love of nature and a weekly television programme that ran for 10 years helped change the environmental consciousness of the population (Hamilton, 2017).

Gallecs, is not a natural area and so doesn't fall into this category precisely, it also is a landscape that is very familiar to the immigrants in Barcelona that came from a predominantly rural environment (Moliner y Ysas, 2002). However all of these issues built up in the context of the movement to save Gallecs.

As Bob Dylan so aptly says in his song this was a time when

*“The order is rapidly fadin’
And the first one now will later be last
For the times they are a-changin’”*

7

Codes to Conceptual Threads

What use is knowledge if there is no understanding?

Stobaeus

This chapter refers to the main concepts that kept reoccurring in the analysis of the case study of Gallecs, the codes that laid the foundation of the ideas presented in chapter 8.

Utopia

You must have felt the same as I did when you first walked into Gallecs.

You walk in and you think 'this is paradise!'

(Outlier in a pre-interview, from field notes)

Utopia, the word and concept introduced into the English language in 1516 by Thomas More through his work of the same name actually means 'no place' in its original Greek, one of the many play of words peppering his critic/satire on English society (Bruce, 1999). Yet the pull of the ideal, good place, an utopia is one we come to as an ideal of society over and over again. Gallecs is simply another iteration of this search, one expressed by those coming to Gallecs.

...tota aquesta gent, era un moment en el que se salia de la dictadura y la gente quería buscar alternativas, entonces Gallecs era el sitio ideal porque estaban las casas vacías pero todavía estaban bastante bien porque acababan de irse los expropiados. Entonces toda esta gente que llegó joven con su energía y juntada un poco con la gente de aquí pues unos cuantos de Mollet, otros de Parets y toda esta gente que llegó que eran de Barcelona básicamente.

Entonces había como comunas, en todas las casas había una pila de peña. Aquí había Can Torrens, Can Molar, Can Mallola Palau, Can Jornet de Parets, todas estaban ocupadas por esta gente. Q13

Author's translation: ... all these people, it was a time when we were leaving the dictatorship and people wanted to look for alternatives, so Gallecs was the ideal place because the houses were empty but they were still quite good because the owners that had been expropriated had just left. Hence, all these people who came here young with their energy and gathered a little with the people herea few from Mollet, others from Parets and all these people who came who were from Barcelona basically.

Then there were communes, in every house there was a pile of people. Here there were Can Torrens, Can Molar, Can Mallola Palau, Can Jornet de Parets, all were occupied by these people.

Esta gran fuerza transformadora explica que mujeres y hombres, provenientes de diferentes sectores, generaciones, oriundos catalanes eso sí, la mayoría, pero incluso con intereses opuestos, como puede ser una antigua propietaria y un ocupa, anden construyendo una identidad colectiva, y un proyecto de vida que tenga como objetivo rescatar el valor de lo público a la hegemonía de lo privado. Para lograr este fin la Comisión pone orden a lo que ellos/ellas creían se había convertido Gallecs, las tierras de nadie, un orden que retaba a la lógica del poder con una alternativa fundamentada en la colectivización de las tierras y en el fomento de las relaciones comunitarias. (Galdon, 2011)

Author's translation: This great transformative force explains that women and men, from different sectors, generations, of Catalan origin mostly, but even with opposing interests, such as a former owner and an occupier, were building a collective identity, and a project of life that aims to rescue the value of the public to the hegemony of the private. To this end, the Commission puts order into what they believed Gallecs had become, no man's land, an order that challenged the logic of power with an alternative based on the collectivisation of land and the promotion of community relations. (Galdon, 2011)

In the section of an interview Q13 above we see how Gallecs fit into the need of part of the society at the end of the dictatorship, it provided an alternative, at a time when it was clearly needed, that vision, utopic tough it may be, that people could rally about. The communes in these masias don't exist anymore, instead you have families or smaller groups, or the masias are abandoned. Galdon meanwhile describes how the organisation of Gallecs was as an alternative and a protest at the same time; she also describes how this need came from the need to transform, to change. Gallecs was a space that filled that need, the creation of a more utopic alternative. I should stress that seeing Gallecs, as a utopic alternative was more apparent in the incoming population than in the population that had already been in Gallecs, rather they understood that in order to save Gallecs, the space would have to play a different role.

La Comissió vio en las ocupaciones, además de una posibilidad de dar nueva vida a Gallecs, la oportunidad de que en Gallecs vivieran personas contrarias a la edificación, personas que teniendo su vida plenamente en Gallecs, no dudaría en entregarse a la lucha por un Gallecs verde y agrícola. Es en este sentido que los nuevos vinieron a insertarse, a integrarse, en la vida de Gallecs, en unión con los antiguos propietarios y con todos los habitantes de zona (Comissió per la Defensa de Gallecs, 1980).

Author's translation: The Commission saw in the occupations, in addition to the possibility of giving new life to Gallecs, the opportunity for people to live in Gallecs who were against the construction, persons who having their lives fully in Gallecs, would not hesitate to enter in the struggle for a green and agricultural Gallecs. It is in this sense that the new people came to insert themselves in the life of Gallecs, in union with the older proprietors and with the inhabitants of the zone.



Figure 7.1: A representation of the change happening in Gallecs in 1981 (Cesc, 1981)

Social Imaginaries

Imaginaries are not to be confused with Utopia though they are related. Social imaginaries do have an image of the future that generally is utopic however the focus is on the relationship and place of the person and community in getting there. Taylor (2004 p.23) does relate this social imaginary to the “deeper normative notions and images that underlie the expectations” of these relations. If we consider utopia to be the vision, a social imaginary would be the process.

With this understanding, the bicycle event is key. The bicycle event was originally the end of a week-long *semana ecologista* “*Salvem el Vallès*” (Save the Vallès), an act organised to connect the need to save Gallecs as part of protecting the quality of the Vallès (Rabal, 1978). Before the bicycle protest the paper had

written a one page write up focusing on the history, land speculation and the fact that Gallecs was the only green lung left in the Vallès. In the same paper the write-up after the event begins

Con el éxito obtenido en la manifestación – concentración del pasado domingo 9 de abril, se puso fin de “Setmana Ecologista”,.....y que ha supuesto el reconocimiento mayoritario de la Comisión para la Defensa de Gallecs. Realmente, se puede calificar de muy positiva, la experiencia ecologista’ vivida en Mollet estos días, y es necesario recordar, la expectación con que se han seguido los diversos actos, y especialmente, el de la manifestación – concentración, Efectivamente alrededor de 7.000 personas se manifestaron por las calles de Mollet para protestar por el Proyecto de construcción de la ciudad de Santa Maria de Gallecs y exigir, que las tierras expropiadas sean devueltas al pueblo para utilizarlos, como equipamientos colectivos y zona agrícola.

Author’s translation: With the success obtained in the demonstration - rally last Sunday, April 9, the “Setmana Ecologista” was terminated, -and it has been a major recognition of the Commission for the Defense of Gallecs. Actually, it is possible to qualify, the ecologist experience lived in Mollet in these days as very positive and it is necessary to remember, the expectation with which the various acts have been followed, especially, the manifestation - concentration, Indeed, around 7,000 people demonstrated through the streets of Mollet to protest the construction project of the city of Santa Maria de Gallecs and demand that the expropriated lands be returned to the people for use as collective installations and agricultural area.

Every person who lived through that demonstration for Gallecs, each brought up the bicycle event as one of the first things related to the fight for Gallecs. This was something all remember, even if some details changed.

“Hubieron muchas manis, grandes manis, la más grande fue una ciclistada que hubo hasta 9000 bicicletas y entonces fue cuando algunos ayuntamiento se apuntaron a que hacía falta que Gallecs se dejara sin construir”. (Q6, Village Group)

“Hay un movimiento ecologista, un movimiento de defensa de Gallecs, se hace mucha presión para que Gallecs de mantenga verde y agrícola. Se convoca una manifestación de bicicletas el 9 de abril el 1979 y éramos 7000 bicicletas.7000 bicicletas, tractores, gente andando. Quiere decir que la sensibilización de conservar Gallecs ha sido gracias a la gente de aquí, de Catalunya i de Gallecs de buena fe.” Q14 (Public Face Group).

Author’s translation: There were many demonstrations, big demonstration, the biggest one was one of bicycles that had up to 9000 bicycles and then it was when some town council joined in that Gallecs needed to be left without being built.

There was an environmental movement, a movement to defend Gallecs; there was a lot of pressure for Gallecs to be kept green and agricultural. A demonstration of bicycles was mobilised on April 9, 1979 and there were 7000 bicycles.7000 bicycles, tractors, people walking. It means that the awareness of preserving Gallecs has been (created) thanks to the people here, in Catalunya and in Gallecs in good faith.

*“Tractors down the rambla of Mollet, who would have thought”
(I, pre- interview, field notes)*

That event changed the perception of their possibilities; it changed the social imaginary of the people of Gallecs, of their importance, the importance of Gallecs, their possibilities for success. It changed it for people in the surroundings too, I once had a tribunal examiner come up to me and tell me he remembers the bicycle event, he was a teen living with his family in Mollet. That image of 7000 (or 9000?) bicycles changes a lot. In the quotes above we see how the fight for Gallecs, helped people see and take pride in their green area. Q6 hints that it was after the bicycle event that the municipalities got on board. While there was some truth in that, the concerns of the municipality of Mollet had never been strictly about building another commuter town in Gallecs, though it did have a very high population density to consider.

In 1975, Mollet and other municipalities with terrain in Gallecs along with the Caja de Pensiones and Banca Catalana among others were part of the mixed company of Santa

Maria de Gallec S. A. This company's goal was to build and manage Gallecs, to that end it engaged 3 urbanistic proposal, the most famous of which was by the Architecture workshop of Bofill. The same proposal that was highlighted in La Vanguardia (Gonzalez Cabezas, 1978) on the day of the bicycle event. While these proposals required the development of Gallecs, they did propose to give more consideration to forest, agricultural areas, and communal farms (Gordi I Serrat, 2003). According to González del Pozo(2000) who categorised the action of the public institutions(along with the legal and administrative instruments used) into 5 chronological phases, the "Mollet municipality like the rest of the municipalities in the zone , was looking for an equilibrium point between the defense of nature in Gallecs and structural development commensurate with its population. This phase and the beginning of his analysis start in 1979. We can see that Mollet was never looking to recreate the high density of development in the initial ACTUAR proposal but neither was it considering leaving Gallecs untouched. The bike demonstration changed the imaginaries of the municipalities involved as well as to the importance they should start giving the need of a green lung in their territory.

Narrative Plurality

During all this time, the resistance for Gallecs rests in part on it being a space that allows other issues and needs to be projected upon. From an article on Gallecs in December 1980. The following summary was given after providing the opinion of 4 residents who each has lived there for varying times, the shortest 3 months, the longest 20 years, at the time of the article.

La Comisión de defensa de Gallecs, donde participan los residentes, esta abierta a todos aquellos a quienes interesa el problema, entiende que su lucha no se limita a definir objetivos más o menos tópicos como "equilibrio, biológico, naturaleza" términos usados, en su opinión, con sospechosa asiduidad por los servidores del sistema,... sino que además, trata de poner en marcha una alternativa real a partir de una solución económica y social basada en una agricultura equilibrada, desmarcada de los procesos de producción degeneradores del sistema capitalista.

es como un laboratorio de experiencias, las diez o doce casas. En las que viven comunitariamente un total de más de cien personas, son abiertas y es frecuente el trasvase de personas una a otra. (Diario de Barcelona, 1980).

Author's translation: The Gallecs Defense Commission, where the residents participate, is open to all those who are interested in the problem, understand that their struggle is not limited to defining more or less topical objectives such as “balance, biological, nature” terms used in their opinion, with suspicious assiduity by the servers of the system, but also to set in motion a real alternative based on an economic and social solution based on a balanced agriculture, unmarked from the degenerating production processes of the capitalist system.

It is like a laboratory of experiences, the ten or twelve houses. In which there are a total of more than one hundred people living in community, they are open and the transfer of people from one to the other is frequent.

Para ellos, Gallecs no es un caso aislado y su dinámica esta hermanada con las luchas de los sectores sociales alternativas, anti nucleares, antiuranio y ecologistas en general que proponen un freno activo e inmediato a los sociedad capitalista industrial y a la vez unos modelos de sociedad equilibrada y harmónica con la naturaleza. (Diario de Barcelona, 1980).

Author's translation: For them, Gallecs is not an isolated case and its dynamics is coupled with the struggles of the alternative social sectors, anti-nuclear, anti-uranium and ecologists in general that propose an active and immediate break with the industrial capitalist society and at the same time create models of society that are balanced and harmonious with nature.

That may have been in 1980 but to create Gallecs, the community that originally was resident in Gallecs understood that to maintain some part of their way of life and the space of Gallecs, it would require the acceptance and linkage of Gallecs to broader themes and different understandings. There is a clear understanding that while Gallecs is their home, it is shared. Gallecs is a clear public space with public uses and the residents take on a role of stewards.

“Son gente que como nosotros... Es que también hay la forma de cómo se han querido integrar a nosotros. De hecho aquí el que viene de fuera se ha querido integrar con nosotros, ahora el que se ha pensado que nosotros tenemos que integrarnos a su forma de vivir, no. Porque aquí hay el pensamiento del ecológico luego el de los verdes naturistas... cada cual tiene su pensamiento. Aquí hay mucho pique en este sentido: el camino tiene que estar estropeado porqué es natural. A ver el camino tiene que estar en condiciones para poder andar. No hay la relación de un agricultor con el que te llevas bien sin piques.” Q15

Author’s translation: They are people that are like us ... It is that there is also the way of how they have wanted to integrate with us. In fact here the one who comes from outside has wanted to integrate with us, now the one that has thought that we have to integrate to his way of living, no. Because here is the thought of the ecological and then the naturalist green ... everyone has his thoughts. Here there is a lot of mischief in this sense: the road has to be ruined because it is natural. The road has to be walkable. There is no relation of a farmer with whom you get along without tiffs.

Deep distrust of politicians

El paso de una dictadura a una democracia parlamentaria era, en aquellos años, una frágil realidad de la cual participaban partidos políticos, sindicatos y movimientos sociales. La instauración de las instituciones públicas arrebatadas durante el franquismo estimulaba a las personas a ser partícipes de un proyecto de transformación política y social imparable. La izquierda emergía en tanto que fuerza contrapuesta a la derecha, pero configurando, ahora sí, un mismo universo, el ideológico, con sus valores asociados. En éste momento se trazan las primeras líneas para un nuevo escenario, porque la transición implicaba la renovación del marco político existente, la ampliación de valores y su reglamentación. No podemos olvidar que en este nuevo marco operaba una potente acción transformadora, tanto política como social. (Galdon, 2011)

Author's translation: The transition from a dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy was, in those years, a fragile reality involving political parties, trade unions and social movements. The establishment of the public institutions ravished during the Franco regime encouraged people to participate in a project of unstoppable political and social transformation. The left emerged as a force opposed to the right, but now configuring the same universe, the ideological, with its associated values. At this point the first lines are drawn for a new scenario, because the transition implied the renewal of the existing political framework, the expansion of values and its regulation. We cannot forget that in this new framework operated a powerful transforming action, both political and social.

Galdon writes of the fragility of new beginnings politically and social, and the act of construing a new society. It is in this era that the protection of Gallecs began. However, it was soon, in January 1980 that the beginning of rupture between politics and civil society would begin.

Pero en Gallecs se presentaron algunos militantes de partidos y otras "arribistas" para bicotear la iniciativa alegando que se intentaba organizar una "burocracia ecologista"..... En Gallecs hubo, pues, mala fe y poco ecologismo y solidaridad. Para recuperar el espíritu unitario consideramos urgente que se vuelva a iniciar un proceso asambleario de los grupos que se definen como ecologistas y autónomos de partidos políticos. (Collectiu Userda, 1980 excerpted from a larger extract in Lemkow, 1984)

Author's translation: But in Gallecs there were some party activists and other "climbers" to thwart the initiative alleging that they were trying to organise an "ecological bureaucracy" In Gallecs then there was, bad faith and little ecologism and solidarity. In order to recover the unitary spirit, we consider it urgent that an assembly process of the groups that define themselves as ecologists and autonomous of political parties be reinstated.

The final stake was with the POUM⁶³ (Municipal Plan of Urbanistic Order) where Mollet opted to urbanise a section of Gallecs and maintain the centre. This was seen as

⁶³ Plans d'ordenació urbanística municipal

the definite break, as Mollet at the time was held by the left (J. R, 1980; Galdon, 2011). After this Cànem came on the picture, while strategic in highlighting any act by the municipality to carve out Gallecs, and bringing that to the notice of the public. They were also very scathing in their manner of doing so as highlighted by (Gordi i Serrat, 2003). This form of dealing with the institutions is ongoing.

“fer saber que Gallecs no està protegit”, per molt que des de la Generalitat neguin les amenaces i “vulguin deixar el territori trinxat” (PDG representative quoted from Escura, 2015)

Author’s translation: “to know that Gallecs is not protected”, but that for all that the Generalitat negates the threats and would “leave the territory hashed”

Identity and Belonging

“La gente que se expropió siguió viviendo en sus casas, siguió cultivando sus casas, pero no eran sus casas ya porque estaban expropiadas. Eran ocupas de sus casas. Para entender, es una situación bastante extraña pero era así. Hay gente que se fue otra gente vino a ocupar sus casas, hay un tipo de gente en Gallecs muy diferente, pero ninguno tiene regularizada su situación.” (Q16, Outlier)

Author’s translation: The people who were expropriated continued to live in their homes, continued to farm from their homes, but they were not their homes because they were expropriated. They were squatters in their homes. To understand, it is a rather strange situation but it was so. There were people who left, and other people came to occupy their houses, there is a very different type of people in Gallecs, but none has regularised their situation.

ok, now we have to ask the people if they want to leave it. And we said, ask them if they want to leave, and if they say no then you can do nothing. And the people from the investment would say why did you offer us something over which you have no control? Do you have control or don’t you? And it’s like, oh, no, in Gallecs it’s different... and the people from investment were like what are you talking about, you say that this is free, we can get it, and then

when we sayn that we want it, you say that maybe. (Q17, Outlier interview done in English referring to obtaining the use of a house in Gallecs for a project)

These two sections of interviews deal with the idea of squatters in Gallecs. No one has legal rights to the land, but some have been living there for 46 years without those rights. The section of the last quote where he says “in Gallecs it’s different”, it is because there are different rules. If you live in a house, take care of it and work the land, it is your house; legality is just a piece of paper in Gallecs.

Part of this has a lot to do with identity, Gallecs started as an agricultural area, and its inhabitants were defined by it. However to save Gallecs, Gallecs had to become more, it had to mean more, it had to mean more to more people, therefore it had to be used by more people hence the acceptance of other narratives in Gallecs that we discussed earlier. But also an extension of how and in what way the residents in Gallecs interact with their surroundings.

The group, I’ve called the public face of Gallecs, is firstly farmers, and this is always stressed but they understand the need to promote Gallecs, not for themselves individually but to keep Gallecs in existence. The relevance of Gallecs to the surrounding community whether it’s calçotadas organised every year, or as a space for other environmental organisations to meet and strategise is always there.

To save Gallecs, it had to become a common good, and the residents while maintaining their earlier identity with Gallecs, adapted an identity of stewards in protecting this common good that Gallecs became.

8

The Recipe of Resistance

Resistance often lacks an overt political project and frequently reflects social practices that are informal, disorganised, apolitical, and atheoretical in nature. In some instances it can reduce itself to an unreflective and defeatist refusal to acquiesce to different forms of domination; on some occasions, it can be seen as a cynical, arrogant, or even naive rejection of oppressive forms of moral and political regulation

Henry A. Giroux

This case study started as a question of how. How is it possible for a space to resist urbanisation. In this case, a space that became associated with an environmental agenda. But understanding the question of how, frequently needs understanding of questions of why. If nothing else but to ensure that we arrived at the right how. Hence, as part of my analysis, I've created an analytical generalisation of reasons that have functioned in union. An archetype if you will of possible keys to resistance. The axis's of this analysis are in five areas; time, size, networks, strategy and vigilance.

Time

The Limbo

The lands had been expropriated, a plan was in place. Then Franco died. The world changed. The residents of Gallecs at that point had either

- a) Taken the money and started moving
- b) Refused and resisted with no clear idea what their fate would be.

Without plans, Gallecs was an area that could be developed but wasn't, it was in limbo. Before Franco even passed away, the project was brought to a halt in 1973 by the petroleum crisis. This was a mere year and a month after the approval of the expropriation on 25 November 1971. This was reignited by the creation of the company Santa Maria de

Gallecs in July 1975. Franco died in November of the same year. That is four years so far of limbo, not knowing what to do or where to go; some of those that moved still kept a foot in Gallecs. Let's hear it in their own words.

“Entonces que pasa, aquí me dedico al trabajo y vienen los años 70 y nos viene una expropiación forzosa y entra una psicosis a todo el mundo, dicen que nos tenemos que ir y que nos va echar la guardia civil de casa, porque estábamos en plena dictadura franquista cuando pasó. Entonces nosotros al expropiarnos esto, compramos otra propiedad en Girona..... Allí adquirimos una finca a la que nunca hemos ido a vivir.”

O sea el inicio es que parecía que nos teníamos que ir, hasta incluso llevamos la maquinaria allí, nos llevamos dos tractores a Girona y nos quedamos con un caballo aquí para hacer unas suplencias. Y luego al cabo de un año volvimos con las máquinas, adquirimos otras maquinarias para allí y empezamos, porque claro mucha gente abandonó.” Q18

Author's translation: “Hence what happened, here I dedicate myself to work and then come the 70s and there is a forced expropriation and everyone enters a psychosis, says we have to leave, the civil guard will throw us out of the house because this was during the Franco dictatorship when it happened. Then we bought another property in Girona There we bought a farm we have never gone to live. “..... So, in the beginning, is that it seemed that we had to go and we even took the machinery there, we took two tractors there in Girona and stayed here with a horse as a substitute. And then after a year returned with machines, we acquired other machines here and started because of course many people had abandoned (their lands).”

That opportune time?

Demonstrations were not something that could be done while Franco was still alive though it is true that in the “mid-1960s, ... the decline of the regime was being felt and the opposition was becoming stronger” (Guibernau, 2004 pp.61). Bier, (1980), in her work on the AVs, shows that there was active organisation and demonstrations for the very practical purpose of obtaining social services that were not provided by the regime

in the new urbanisations. The AVs at the time capitalised on their networks with the other AVs for information and in the organisation of protests (Bier, 1980).

However, protests weren't the initial idea of the people of Gallecs. It was only on the 1st of January 1977 that the Commission for the Defense of Gallecs (CDG) was built. The members were made up of about "20 people residing in Gallecs and the surroundings, who decided to join forces and create an organised group (Galdon, 2011; Author's Translation)". That same year on 11 September 1977, a "million people gathered to demand a Statue of Autonomy for Catalonia" (Guibernau, 2004 pp.63). Franco had died 2 years earlier, and there was a process of democratic reform accepted for Spain, yet the status of Catalonia at this stage was still undecided (Guibernau, 2004). In was in April 1978 that Gallecs had its first major demonstration that brought together 8,000 people (Plataforma de Defensa de Gallecs, 2015), this was organised by the Committee for the Defense of Gallecs.

"Esto fue en 1970, en el 73 la economía española tira para atrás y tenemos la suerte que el 75 muere el dictador y por tanto hay un cambio democrático. Esto pasa a ser terreno público, 1500 ha, y entonces cuando se organiza la Generalitat de Catalunya estas hectáreas pasan a ser de la Generalitat. Aquí empieza una lucha muy fuerte para mantener estas hectáreas verdes y agrícolas" Q19

Author's translation: "This was in 1970, in 73 the Spanish economy fell back and we were lucky that in 75 the dictator died, therefore there is a democratic change. This became public land, 1500 ha, and then when the Generalitat de Catalunya was organized, these hectares become the Generalitat's. Here begins a fierce fight to keep these hectares green and agricultural"

The fight for Gallecs was clearly riding a wave of release after the repression of the dictatorship (Galdon, 2011), as well as the vindication of Catalan nationalism (Guibernau, 2004). But riding that wave is one thing, maintaining it is another.

The Luck of Not having Plans

Demonstrations organised after 1978 by the CDG did not have the same numbers, the next demonstration was 6,000 then 3,000 (Galdon, 2011). We are now 8⁶⁴ years past the expropriation, yet the CDG continues to be a force in Gallecs, it was in 1982 that it fizzled out, for very specific reasons that we will get to later. During this time, Gallecs was moving networks, organising the use of the land, occupying the houses that were abandoned and providing agricultural education (Galdon, 2011). The time was used, the land given a definition, a definition oriented by the neighbourhood.

In this, I am reminded of Klein's (2005) thesis on how changes in lands and social structures are implemented in times of crisis quickly before the communities had time to react. If the urbanisation to create ACTUAR had happened quickly, would we still have Gallecs? There were no demonstrations of note till 1978, there was resistance but not of that scale. It is difficult to know for certain, but as I've argued it was clearly part of the reason for Gallecs' survival, however, we are still only at year 8, and there are still 37 years to go.

Size: Large enough to resist

“... si esto no se hubiera hecho la expropiación estaría todo urbanizado. Porque todo lo que es el núcleo de Mollet, Martorelles, toda aquella montaña que está edificada, estaba planificado hacerlo todo aquí. Porqué los agricultores como no había rendimiento en las tierras, iban vendiendo parcelitas para edificar. Al llegar la expropiación se paralizó y fue cuando llegó la conservación de Gallecs.” Q20

Author's translation: “... If this had not been expropriated it would all have been urbanised. For all that is the core of Mollet, Martorelles, that entire mountain that is built up, that was planned here. Because the farmers as they could not earn with the land, they were selling small parcels for it to be built on. The expropriation paralysed this and that is when the conservation of Gallecs arrived.”

⁶⁴ I count from 1970 when the law for the Decree to set up ACTUAR was passed.

He refers to Martorelles and Santa Maria de Martorelles (*toda aquella montaña*”; chapter 1, Figure 1.6; 1. 18, 1.20). His assessment of the situation isn’t exactly true, the development planned for Gallecs was a government planned building of apartment blocks, which were never built on ‘*aquella montaña*’ What is true is that the land in Gallecs was slowly being sold off as the city encroached and agriculture found it hard to get by.

The expropriation joined all these different land titles into initially 1471 ha (Galdon, 2011), a land of that size affects many people, many properties, many houses all at once. Thereby creating land that could not be sold of piece by piece.

“Entonces era la época de Franco, una dictadura y vino aquí un señor ministro y dijo -todo este terreno es para nosotros-. Nos quitaron el terreno, nos dieron poco tiempo para y marcarnos, nos pagaron una miseria y tuvimos que emigrar y nos fuimos a las granjas de otro sitio.” Q21

Author’s translation: This was the time of Franco, a dictatorship and there came a gentleman from the ministry he came here and said: “all this land is for us.” They took the field, we had little time to adjust and leave, we were paid a pittance and had to emigrate and went to farms elsewhere.

Though some choose not to be paid...

“Hay una lucha fuerte en contra de esta expropiación, le medían las tierras para saber cuánto tenía que pagar y ella iba con una horca y les pinchaba el culo para que se fueran de nuestras tierras, porque ella no las quería vender ni que las expropiaran.” Q22

Author’s Translation: “There was a fierce fight against the expropriation, he (the man from the government) was measuring the land, to know how much to pay and she (the interviewee’s mother) picked up a fork and jabbed him in the buttocks so that he would leave our land because she did not want to sell, not even if they were expropriated”.

However it was not just one person who choose not to leave, clearly when the expropriation happened, the villagers themselves had different levels of resistance, and as has been said it was the time of the Franco dictatorship, the choice of resisting for some as seen in the quotes was not considered possible.

Time, those eight years that passed and the change in the political institutions made it possible to consider resisting in 1978. Not for one, but for the 20 who started CDG (Galdon, 2011), as well as the men and women in the neighbouring towns, and for the networks they mobilised. Resisting so they could channel their need to define how they choose to live.

Networks: Move it!

Para llevar a cabo toda esta empresa era condición la participación, era necesario por tanto divulgar el proyecto por toda la comarca. Con este fin se organizaban charlas, debates, se pintaban murales, se organizaban fiestas campestres en las cuales participaban artistas de renombre, como Els Joglars, La Eléctrica Dharma, Jaume Arnella, etc. La alianza estratégica con estos personajes públicos y con miembros destacados de la prensa local y comarcal marcaron el rumbo de los acontecimientos, trascendieron las comarcas del Vallès y las consignas se materializaron en la primera gran movilización ecologista en Cataluña. A ésta le siguieron las ocupaciones, la presión a las instituciones, el enfrentamiento con los sindicatos obreros, sabotajes a las constructoras,..... Vicenç in (Galdon, 2011)

Author's translation: To carry out the entire enterprise the condition was of participation, it was, therefore, necessary to spread the project throughout the region. To this end, talks, debates were organised, painted murals, picnics in which renowned artists participated, such as Joglars, electrical Darma, Jaume Arnella, etc. were organised, the strategic alliance with these public figures and prominent members of the local and regional press marked the course of events, transcended the regions of Vallès and slogans materialised in the first major environmental mobilisation in Catalonia. This was followed by occupations, pressure on the institutions, confrontation with trade unions, the sabotage of construction.....

“era un momento en el que se salía de la dictadura y la gente quería buscar alternativas, entonces Gallecs era el sitio ideal porque estaban las casas vacías pero todavía estaban bastante bien porque acababan de irse los expropiados. Entonces toda esta gente que llegó joven con su energía y juntada un poco con la gente de aquí (de Mollet había Vicens Torrens no se si lo conoces que era profe del insti) pues unos cuantos de Mollet, otros de Parets y toda esta gente que llegó que eran de Barcelona básicamente.

Entonces había como comunas, en todas las casas había una pila de peña. Aquí había Can Torrens, Can Molar, Can Mallola Palau, Can Jornet de Parets, todas estaban ocupadas por esta gente. Q23

Author’s translation: “...it was a time when we left the dictatorship and people wanted alternatives, Gallecs was the ideal site because the houses were empty houses but were still quite good because the expropriated had just left. So all these people who came were young with their energy and got together with the people here (in Mollet there was Vicens Torrens don’t know if you know him, he was a professor in an institute) a few from Mollet, others from Parets and all these people who came here that were basically from Barcelona.

There were communes, in every house there was a pile of people. Here there was Can⁶⁵ Torrens, Can Molar, Can Mallola Palau, Can Jornet Parets, all were occupied by these people.

As noted by Lemkow, (1984), the environmental movement in Spain did run in union with the question of autonomy for the autonomic states as well as the historic tradition of anarchism. The major protest⁶⁶ for Gallecs not starting till after the demonstration of 11 September 1977, the collective farms and families in the area and communes (Galdon, 2011; Interviews) set up in Gallecs, all show the strong association between these various ideals and what was happening in Gallecs.

Hubieron muchas manis, grandes manis, la más grande fue una ciclistada que hubo hasta 9000 bicicletas y entonces fue cuando algunos ayuntamiento se apuntaron a que hacía falta que Gallecs se dejara sin construir. Q6

⁶⁵ Can is Catalan for House.

⁶⁶ This is the first protest on bicycles which is etched in the memories of the people of Gallecs and the surrounding, as show in the quote after.

Author's translation: There were many manifestations, large manifestations, the largest was the cyclists, there were up to 9000 bikes, that was when some of the town halls saw that Gallecs was needed to be left unedified.

In addition, the culture of the AVs in Spain mentioned earlier had been giving citizens a space to organise, demand and manage the lack of social services in the “barrio” (Bier, 1980). These AVs also had developed networks of cooperation and exchanges of experience between the AVs. It is all these networks that were available to Gallecs and used for the protection of the space, but this only functioned up to a point.

Strategy

In 1980, the land was transferred to the Generalitat de Catalunya under Incasol (Figure 1.7). In 1982 under a Municipal Plan of Urbanistic Order (POUM) the use of 231 ha of Gallecs was designated for urbanisation (Galdon, 2011). This according to Galdon (2011) was the start of the disillusionment between the environmentalist block and the other institutions involved in fighting for the protection of Gallecs.

Remember the times we are talking about. Coming out of the dictatorship, the left, in this case, PSUC and PSC were considered to be on the same team as the environmentalist. In 1982, the Ajuntament of Mollet had PSUC in power (Galdon, 2011; Interviews). The plan to urbanise part of Gallecs, meant to the environmentalist, that they were not on the same team anymore, and led to a sense of disillusionment in the movement to save Gallecs (Galdon, 2011). Ostensibly the POUM was sold with the catchphrase “Gallecs salvat per un Mollet Millor” (Gallecs Saved, Mollet Bettered) (Ajuntament de Mollet, 1982). It was clear at this point that the fight to save Gallecs was not over and vigilance was necessary to prevent the urbanisation of any aspect of it (Vázquez, 2011).

However, it is the strategies to create the PEIN designation that we can learn from. Here with the understanding that the PEIN could provide more consistent protection to Gallecs. Cànem, came on the scene and changed the strategy to one of persuasion and indirect pressure, as opposed to the more direct confrontation dynamic of the ear-

lier movement to save Gallecs (Galdon, 2011). There weren't great occupations and big demonstrations, but rather acts that kept placing Gallecs in the public and political eye, and emphasizing the use of Gallecs as a green lung, as a biological corridor. There was a questioning of the constant development without green spaces. This made Gallecs seen and Molletans recognise its value, so much so that no politician who wanted to gain Mollet would think to damage Gallecs (Galdon, 2011).

We see this assertion confirmed by Gordi i Serrat(2003) in less positive words “En canvi, el grup Cànem ha dedicat totes les seves forces a la denúncia i a la confrontació institucional.” *Author's translation:* On the other hand, the Cànem group has devoted all its forces to denouncing and confronting the institutions (in charge).

Of the newspaper articles where Cànem is the author, this is clear, however as we discussed in the earlier chapter, the Mollet municipality urbanising part of Gallecs completely destroyed trust between the groups involved in the defense of Gallecs and the governmental institutions. From then on those for the protection of Gallecs took on the role of watchdog and one whose gloves had clearly come off, they could never see themselves as part of the same team with the government anymore.

Here, we should stress the role of other environmental groups; their role was always as a support system. For instance in developing proposals for placing Gallecs in the PEIN, the extended scientific community and environmental groups always contributed expertise, but they never held the reins. It is important this distinction, environmental groups that did not have members residing in Gallecs did not play a directive role; direction was always in the hands of the residents of Gallecs.

Vigilance or?

Ahora ya es otro rollo, ahora como mínimo habitaje no se puede construir pero consideramos que no es una protección suficiente porque, por ejemplo, cualquier “Eurovegas” que ahora quieren hacer, pueden hacerlo. Aparte está muy amenazado por las grandes infraestructuras porque aquí quieren hacer una que se llama la Interpolar Sur, quieren hacer el Cuarto cinturón, aquí quieren desdoblarse la carretera variante de Palau, quieren hacer un tren Sabadell-Granollers y quieren hacer un tren La Llagosta-Caldes. Q24

Author’s translation: Now it is another stage, now at least buildings cannot be built, but we believe it is not sufficient protection because, for example, any “Eurovegas” who would want to build, they can. Besides this area is very threatened by large infrastructure because here they want to do something called the South Interpolar, they want to make the fourth belt, here they want to split the variant road to Palau, they want to make a Sabadell-Granollers train and they want to do a train La Llagosta -Caldes.

The story clearly has a lot more dates and details, because from then on with the support of the Mollet Municipality, the situation ping-ponged with actions taken on by Mollet to protect Gallecs and the Generalitat negating them (Details Figure 1.7). It was in 2004 that an agreement was reached and Gallecs was finally placed in the PEIN. This doesn’t mean Gallecs is completely protected, though, as shown in the quote above; there have been many “possibilities” for this land so close to Mollet and between everything.

In 2014, for instance, Incasol sold off 50,000m² for a logistic center; the press release for the sale was on 14th of May 2014. On 13 June 2014 there is mention of the idea to take up the protection of Gallecs in parliament. (El Punt Avui, 2014).

11th of July brings a short article in Lavanguardia stating that the PDG is considering a parliamentary initiative for better protection of Gallecs, as according to their statement in the said article, Incasol and the municipalities have been permitting modifications of the zoning of Gallecs and have sold off part of Gallecs (La Vanguardia, 2014a)

Three days later an article is published in *Directa*⁶⁷, here it states that PDG held an informative meeting to the public denouncing the sale of the land as not in accordance with the PEIN protecting Gallecs, and questioning the silence of the municipalities on the matter. It provides more details of the sale in question and mentions another meeting held by PDG next month on the matter (Bombila, 2014).

On the 25th of July another article runs, this time in the *La Vanguardia* about the “Polemical in Gallecs”.

“Aunque el Incasól y el Ayuntamiento de Santa Perpètua -la localidad a la que pertenece la parcela en cuestión- advierten que se trata de un terreno catalogado como suelo industrial, la Plataforma en Defensa del espacio rural asegura que está ubicada “a tocar del área protegida en el PEIN”, lo que a su juicio supone “un nuevo atentado” contra el entorno natural y las especies animales que habitan en él” (La Vanguardia, 2014b)

Author’s translation: “Although Incasól and the town of Santa Perpètua -the town to which the plot in question belongs- state that it is a land classified as industrial land, the Platform in Defense of the rural space ensures that it is located “in contact with the area protected under the PEIN”, which in their opinion supposes “a new attack” against the natural environment and the animal species that inhabit it” (La Vanguardia, 2014b).

The rest of the article gives a summary of the movement about Gallecs, a proposal to amplify the area of PEIN in Gallecs and a quote by the Mayor of Santa Perpètua stating that the land has been classified as industrial land since 1997.

⁶⁷ a platform for “cooperative communication of the actual state of Catalunya” (*Directa*, 2017)

On the 29th of December 2014 another article runs in the La Vanguardia, stating that the PDG has collected 50,000 signatures to impede the development of the logistic centre. With these signatures they are proposing a motion to the Municipality of Santa Perpètua to reject the initial offer on the land as there are 13 industrial polygons already in Santa Perpètua with vacant land. As well as a proposal to all the Municipalities on the board governing Gallecs to include this land as it is green and agricultural and next to the protected area of Gallecs (La Vanguardia, 2014c).

By 24th of February 2015 PDG announces a manifestation for the 19th of April that year (La Vanguardia, 2015). 2000 people demonstrated on that day (Viladrel, 2015). 29th of March 2017, the Catalan parliament approved the protection of the section of Can Banús and that it should be included in the PEIN (Esquerra Republicana, 2017)

This small incident in the history of the protection of Gallecs allows us to see the vigilance and tenacity in mobilising to protect Gallecs. It is impressive, more so when one considers that this has been going on for 46 years.

En paralelo tenemos muchas guerras; estamos luchando contra la falconeria, estamos luchando porque ahora quieren hacer... Q25

Author's translation: In parallel we have many wars; we are fighting the falconeria, we are fighting because now they want to do ...

As said in Q25, “*tenemos muchas guerras*”.....



Figure 8.1 One of the meetings held to discuss how to handle the treat to Can Banús. (Taken from El Punt Avui, 2014)

9 Finding my Methodological Mecca: A journey of coherence in interdisciplinary research design and analysis in social environmental science.

There are things known and there are things unknown, and in between are the doors of perception.
Aldous Huxley

Introduction

This chapter describes a common journey, the search for a methodology to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of a PhD research. This work has specifically focused on creating and recognising coherence between the researcher, the methodology and the type of research. We usually ask questions of methodology in the assumption that we are objective. Questioning assumed objectivity of science is more commonplace after Kuhn's (1962) "The structure of scientific revolutions" but these questions of objectivity tend to be asked following Kuhn at macro scales, however there is also a need to ask these questions at a micro scale (Reyes, 2009⁶⁸).

Yet to question our subjectivity in the process of research requires a practice, a praxis⁶⁹ as it will have to be a "method of being/doing" within the day to day act of research. I provide the example of my particular practice (praxis) in interdisciplinary research, and it's particular problematics on the questioning of its etic/ emic⁷⁰ divide during the process of research. To begin, Guba and Lincoln (1998) offers a criticism and dissection of the paradigm that researchers hold on to, and stresses that questions of method are second-

⁶⁸ There are similarities here to feminist research in terms of being positioned research that questions the view from its position. However feminist research defines the view as being from an oppressed position (Stanley & Wise, 1990). As I do not completely agree with this, I define the position as of difference subjectivities, and during the course of the research, they may or may not be power issues in question, but I do not enter the case with that assumption.

⁶⁹ We refer principally to Hannah Arendt (1958) use of the term. Praxis here in its relation to action, refers to processes that are not strictly "labor" or "work" but actions with an intention to change political life on a personal level.

⁷⁰ Etic and Emic is a term referring to insider and outsider perspectives, for details refer to chapter 3 on the theoretical framework and methodology for a discussion of the concept.

dary to questions of paradigm, as according to them it guides the investigator both ontologically and epistemologically. Experientially I found this to be true, as through the investigative work as well as the constant reflection on my relationship to the research and research subjects, choices on methodology and the day to day decision in the field were easier, the clearer I become both ontologically and epistemologically. Maintaining this coherence of praxis throughout the project allowed data, methodology and writing to flow with greater ease through the definition of the relationship between research, methodology and process.

However part of this included my particular etic/emic dilemma, which is rather curious. I trained in science, at an Australian University while being of Malaysian national with an India ethnicity. I was conducting research in Catalunya, a more European-Latin environment. Most particular etic/ emic dilemmas start from a strong western perspective (Marcus & Fischer, 1986)⁷¹, in my case there was a clear mix of context at three levels, the researcher, the case study and the overall institutional context would clearly effect what was seen and hidden and would be a distinct *mélange* to untangle, as opposed to the common set-up.

Fernandez, (1994 in Rodriguez 2009) describes the intersection of the subjective individual and objective institutional reality as the point of creation of an inter-subjective reality. In these terms a *tridactic reality* opens up, when the three aspects constitute a new reality composed of aspects of the three, which cannot exist should one element be changed. This is a particularly useful model to understand my particular part of this tridactic reality, to truly capture and provide congruent research of relevance, hence the need for a strong reflexive and reflective stance was essential. Maintaining a reflexive and reflective stance requires both a clear definition of where a researcher stands epistemologically and ontologically, as well as a day to day praxis during research.

⁷¹ Currently though I would say that we are in a state of flux, even during the time of the doctorate, these past 6 years, those lines within the environment-social field that I work/worked in both Spain and Malaysia, has changed drastically, emic and etic differences that were clearer 6 years ago are not so clear anymore.

Using Reflexivity to Create Congruence with the Context Drivers of Research

However to deconstruct these underlying perspectives we need to find a way to ask what are the very specific *context drivers* behind the questions of each researcher and their investigation, this is in keeping with constructivism inquiry paradigms towards research (Guba & Lincoln, 1998), of which my investigation was in the end strongly situated. Here it is essential to stress that constructivism inquiry paradigms aren't just for the out- here, but also for the in- here of each research. I use Guba & Lincoln's (1998) deconstruction of paradigms as well as their definition of the ontology and epistemological relationship in paradigms to add that these relationships need to be in congruence with the researchers own relation to their research. As the incongruence created if these matters aren't considered during the conduct of research means that one of the points of a tridactic reality that a researcher creates during the process of research is being ignored. It is essential to stress that we are still in a situation where methods and practice of research while respecting and allowing for methodologies that deal with messy subjectivities, do not stress it, nor does it specifically ask for the researcher to question their own specific ontology and epistemology. Reflexivity, depending on the level at which it is used (Dowling, 2006) can and does help unknot such messy subjectivities. Hence, helping researchers select a methodology that will always allow them to be in congruence with their research. This chapter is written to stress the necessity of bringing this perspective more concretely into subjective research, so as not to lose out on 1/3 of the reality of the research as mentioned above, but also to maintain congruence between the researchers own epistemology and that of the research and it's methods.

How this translates into prioritising the case and NOT disciplinary frames in interdisciplinary research.

This mode of conduct also allows for better navigation in the realm of interdisciplinary research, as each discipline has it's particular method and rules, interdisciplinary research seems to follow the rule of starting with one and fitting other disciplines as necessary. This can lead to paradigm, disciplinary necessities being prioritised over the research

question or disciplinary methods outside the primary field, not fitting well, and being more of an add-on⁷².

To help navigate interdisciplinary waters, using a methodology that places the questions we ask as researchers as primary to disciplinary divisions or theories can reduce this problem and allow a mix method framework that uses the question as its anchor. These ideas are in accordance with the current criticism in science, where post-normal science (Ravetz, 1997) expanded our definition of how these presumed objectivities in science can cause problems of its own, hence the need to engage with subjectivities⁷³. But how is this truly possible if the researcher has not done the work of deconstructing their subjectivity?

Within these frames of the internal subjectivity of research, and the subjectivity of a disciplinary frame we can use constructed grounded theory as a methodology to circumvent some of these biases, and allow space for the subjectivity of the research and researcher to be framed. Epistemologically we are moving to a more relativist frame of qualitative research (Ortega Guizado, 2009).

In order to truly create this relativist frame this chapter is written by being self-reflective and reflexive (Chin, Hung & Tse, 2007) within the process of designing and conducting the research. In keeping with a constructivist approach of the subjective reality of a researcher, the research study is then not a case study of a particular space and the people living there, but the case study of the clash of the researchers subjective reality and understanding of the world within a case study of a particular space and the people living there. Constructivist Grounded theory then allows an engagement in a dialog with the participants of the case study, being open to the change of subjectivity through the confrontation of larger experience (Chamaz, 2006), this creates an impredicative loop of analysis and experience.

⁷² While this was my own analysis in choosing how to approach the methodology for the case study, I later found out that it does coincide rather neatly both in problem formulation and definition of what interdisciplinary studies should aim for, with Max-Neef (2005) commentary on Foundations of transdisciplinarity.

⁷³ Beck engages this as Reflexive or second modern society were we recognise the multiplicity of boundaries (Beck, Bonss and Lau, 2003)

The beginning of that impredicative loop

I was very clear about doing environmental research of an interdisciplinary nature, but I was constantly asked to choose a discipline to begin with. The question I was interested in was “How do I stand in the middle of the case in asking these questions?” To start from a particular disciplinary line, does also mean to start from a particular perspective/paradigm (Kuhn, 1962), so how may I take a neutral stand?

Doing environmental research of a multidisciplinary nature is to me to take a generalist stand, allowing one discipline to predominate I feared would mean a particular ontological limitation that could skew the results epistemologically in a way that would not be fair to the investigation. However, neither was I sure what alternative could be used, and what sort of methodology I could use that would capture more of the case study and the focus on the interrelations between the person /persons and their ideas and concepts of the space and their relationship to it.

I was introduced to Q-methodology (van Excel & Graaf, 2005), which certainly allows this focus on interrelations through the discourses presented in the community of study. However it allows a snapshot of the discourses in play in the community and unlike oral history methodologies (Miller, 2000) and narrative methodologies (Josselson, 2011), it leaves less space for the individuals to ascribe their meaning and history with the place. It, like the principal components statistical software which the methodology is inspired by, functions better on discrete data, and therefore demands than the researcher decides the cutting points of the data. My particular case study and question required a methodology that allowed me to make those cuts in a more qualitative manner.

For my case study area, Gallecs, in which the inhabitants within and in the surrounding area have fought to maintain the space unurbanised, a necessity for the individuals to define their relationship and narrative was essential. However as we refer to a community of actors, the capacity for me as a researcher to be able to analyse and synthesise guiding themes and commonalities was also essential to begin to see a pattern for the process that had occurred here. There was clearly a need for a methodology that took into account the current discourse but also allowed each participant to give meaning to

their history with the place and follow their evolution. I was looking for a methodology that allowed me to look at sociological processes within communities and in relation to the events of the case study.

Each of the methodologies previously mentioned fell short then. In finding constructed grounded theory, I found the answers to these questions. It allowed that the research question was always central, rather than methodology or disciplinary issues. My main investigative questions were two 1) Why did Gallecs come to be this way? Many communities have fought to maintain their communal space, many had lost, yet this space has been maintained for 46 years. On a site that officially was listed as urbanisable (until 2005 when the designation was changed). And 2) How much of a role did the people who live there play in this?

Via grounded theory additional methodological techniques could be added if they were relevant towards the investigative question. While connection to other disciplinary factions could be done after a theory developed, thereby omitting the disciplinary bias I was worried about. While, focusing on the question would then allow me to take a generalist stand. This makes the case study and the questions, the priority at all times.

A crucial paper in the decision to use constructed grounded theory was McCallin (2009) web article on “Which grounded theory should you choose?”, further reading particular of Charmaz (2010) confirmed that initial choice, however McCallin (2009) words continued to resonate with me.

“..... The rule of thumb is that, if a particular version of grounded theory appeals to you, you will read more and more. Reading as much as you can comes easily. If, though you struggle to understand a version from page two, your attention wanders, and you find yourself arguing with the writer, there is likely a dissonance between your innate belief systems, your way of thinking, and that particular version. **Your patterns of thinking influence who you become as a researcher. As you check out the different versions be careful not to force yourself into a mould to please others for whatever reason**⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ Bold, author's

In terms of my belief systems? My way of thinking? In many ways this was the same questions I was asking as a doctoral student and who I wanted to be as a researcher. It was also the questions I was asking of the community in my case study, to understand why that space exists in that particular way? Their belief systems? Their way of thinking and creating contributed to creating this space?

Considering that being explicit about the subjectivity of the researcher is recommended in grounded theory through the use of reflexivity (McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007) particularly with constructed grounded theory (Chamaz, 2007) it is still dependent on the investigator themselves as to its implementation. Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006b) through their review of the development of constructivist grounded theory point to the need to ensure strong research design, “researchers must choose a research paradigm that is congruent with their beliefs about the nature of reality p. 26”. In another article of theirs Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006a) on how the constructivist stance implicates a reassessment of the role between researcher, participant and research they offer this choice quote.

Ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist, constructivist grounded theory overtly reshapes the interactive relationship between researcher and participants in the research process and in doing so brings the centrality of the researcher as author to the methodological forefront. pp.9

Considering constructed grounded theory as well within the paradigm of constructivism, where the research is a negotiated worldview, then we do need to have a more defined way of relating and being congruent between the **researcher’s worldview, the methodology and the case study**. Hence I am left with the understanding that without a more through deconstruction of my own subjectivity and meaning in coming to this research question and study, I only have 2/3 of the study, or half if we sum that the study is defined in many ways from the researcher’s perspective.

One of the closest studies I came across that addressed these questions was Probert, (2006) on her discussion on choosing grounded theory, however, I found myself asking for more, I would have liked to understand more of the subjectivity of the researcher in

coming to her research. These influences are the basis for this chapter. Using this space to deconstruct my own subjectivity and search for the subjective meaning in conducting this study to me. This then allows space for comparison, through understanding how the idea of the study came to be, we then bring in the background of the researcher, to understand its influence on the study.

The beginnings of a Question

.... In a sense all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it
(Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

From this point of view participant observation is not a particular research technique but a mode of being-in-the world characteristic of researchers.
(Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998)

I'd come to the doctorate with a question; "How does our environment affect us?" And "How can a predominantly urban society care about an environment they barely experience?" This was a common statement bandied about working in the NGO setting in Malaysia. "People don't care about the environment!" What I saw though was, how can people accustomed to urbanisation care about something that isn't in their everyday lives? And yet work has been done that points to the effect nature has on human emotion (Nisbet, Zelenski & Murphy 2011), but we build cities without trees, and many people live, grow and work without seeing nature, except for the occasional shrubs and the television. In much of the awareness work with NGOs, we constantly faced the question, how do we make people care for what they don't see?⁷⁵ Understanding the influence of the environment on peoples' lives and how it could move them to protect it was then a question of great significance to me, but how do we even begin to understand that relationship?

⁷⁵ While we certainly see a greater awareness of environmental and social causes currently, these issues still stay closer to home, such as in "how food is grown", "issues of social justice", "sustainability of resource links" but it is still less so on the conservation of wild areas, if anything we see conflicts that have increasingly become violent. EJOLT (2016).

A chance encounter of Gallecs, near the town I was living in, provided me with the perfect case study for this particular question. It was a place, a highway away from urban living. Literally, a highway was where Gallecs ended and across from that highway the town of Mollet began. In Gallecs, there were fields of wheat, poppies, gardens and houses scattered about, only one road, one shop. Just across the highway, there were supermarket franchises, hotels, apartments, roads, streets, cars. How was this stark difference possible? Asking about Gallecs revealed that it was a place that the community had fought for during the last 46 years. Hence my research question now changed, it clearly was possible to maintain a more rural state close to modernity and it had been maintained for 46 years. The question now was how? and why? Why this particular place, many places have fought to maintain their place, what made this place so special that it managed to exist despite the fact that others failed.

Today, as we question modernity and the problems of modernity (Taylor, 2004), particularly how it relates to the environment, places like Gallecs, that not only have taken a step to maintain an older reality but also to maintain it and help it co-exist with the present modernity, offers us a rare look at what is possible, a rare road that may have never been taken. Hence in using Gallecs as a case study these questions could be asked not from is it possible? but that it is clearly possible! How did it become a possibility and if we could understand the dynamics of that could this be repeated elsewhere.

Beginning from a question was exactly how grounded theory was structured, (Chamaz, 2006) hence it suited my intent. Given that the subject of study is highly subjective it is understandable that part of the value that the methodology possessed was to keep me on track with the question. And at every moment, questioning each step so that every decision, every action would be a step towards an answer for the research question. This would mean that the question would always be the priority and choices of methodology came as they were necessary.

Here too McCallin (2009) voice in defining the relationship between researcher and research rings in my ear. Methodology as I used to understand it was all about “how best can I obtain the answer to the question I’m asking?, or frequently is there someone in the department who can teach me and work with me on the methodology?”. Asking if the

methodology suits my way of thinking and doing research wasn't something I actively thought a methodology could be asked of, yet, asking who I choose to be as a researcher, was an ongoing question for me in the doctorate. It was these questions of how I choose to be as a researcher that allowed me to make decisions about how I would conduct the initial interviews to centre me in the case study. These were done without grounded theory as a methodology in mind, though it was within my radar. Yet these initial interviews and the idea that I should allow the participants voice to be priority fell within the methodology of grounded theory. This result therefore adheres to McCallin's, (2009) observation about choosing a methodology based on how a researcher thinks, as this result is in congruence with the particular research. In this sense it is a matching of the researchers' epistemology with that of the methodology. Defining how a researcher is related to their research and being clear about that epistemological connection is relevant in taking into account how our subjectivities direct our research. Hence this capacity to match the researchers' epistemology with the epistemology of the methodological choice helps define and create methodological congruence.

The researcher is part of the research

“Here I realized that the research situation as such, due to colonialism and neo colonialism, was a situation of clear dominance between research subject and research object, which tended to lead to distorted data.”

(Mies, 1993)

I began to review how the decisions to become a researcher in the environmental field and the type of research I choose to do had influenced my thinking, in questioning my own subjectivity and the decision I've made to begin this research, I am also asking the questions of a phd student, beginning academic life. Drawing connections between my life decisions and the work I choose, because at its heart the interviews and results that come out of the case study are the result of the clash of multiple realities, mine with each of the people of Gallecs who chooses to talk to me. Without a clearer subjective placement of myself and my rationale for doing this study, a rationale I had maintained but hadn't considered could or should be made explicit; I was losing part of the reality of

the study. By at least intending to dissect that subjectivity, the research would not suffer the inevitable loss of understanding that occurs if I were to be “objective”.

Being explicit and reflecting on my own subjectivity, and thereby being reflexive in choosing the manner and methodology for the study, I hoped to provide an example of the many influences a researcher brings to her study and offer a way for asking more questions of that subjective interpersonal relationship between a researcher and the choice and form of research. Doing so, added the juxtaposition of two very distinct cultural backgrounds, the understandings of which are particularly interesting as they reverse somewhat the traditional etic/ emic question of a more northern/ colonial researcher describing a southern worldview. The graphic below shows a spatial dissection I used to handle the subjectivity of the study. Within the theme Researcher as Subject we will bring into the discussion McCallin’s (2009) idea that it is the patterns of thought of the researcher that needs to match with the methodology chosen. We will take it a step further through the combination of reflexivity throughout the research process in the specific questioning of the researcher’s ontology and epistemology and the constant rechecking of that with the research.

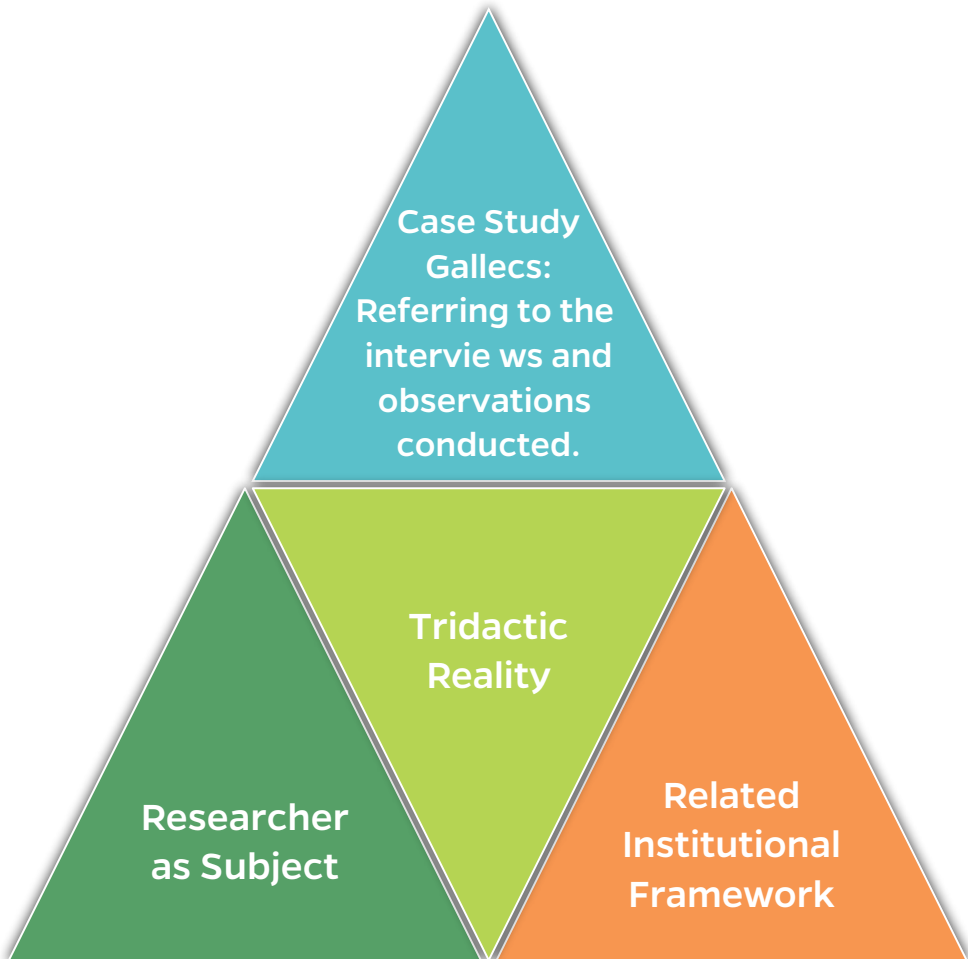


Figure 9.1: Theoretical Framework showing the various sections that make up the Tridactic reality of the case study.

Designing the questions

«In addition the qualitative researcher is very much like an artist at various stages in the design process, in terms of situating and recontextualizing the research project within the shared experience of the researcher and the participants of the study»
(Janesick, 1998)

To bring the comparison of subjectivity to the research I was basically questioning my innate epistemology. 1) Who are the participants to me? 2) How do I want to relate

to them? I clearly saw them as co-participants of the research, despite the fact that my focus of analysis of that co-participation would be through the lens of my particular perspective in this analysis and interpretation. Hence to create a relationship of equality the interviews were semi-structured with space for each person's story to be told. Where my role was as listener and conduit of the areas of the narrative I analysed as relevant based on their spontaneous reoccurrences among the interviewees as well as other primary and later on secondary data. There is a possibility of biasness, however if the concept of interaction is of subjective co-creation, leaving that space open during the interviews, while providing as clear a dissection of my subjectivity reduces and limits this biasness, this understanding is concurred by Mills, Bonner and Francis, (2006).

With all interviewees, I explained the nature of the study and why I had come to be interested in Gallecs, naming my own subjectivity. That I was interested with the connection of persons in unurbanised areas to their space, in particular if that space was near urbanised areas. To try and understand why the space was maintained that way through the people who were part of that space. This form of questioning in interviews as being explicit with my subjectivity, can be debated as creating bias with my interviewees.... most probably. But the often unasked question is, would my undefined subjectivity bias my interviewees?... most probably. Here we refer to Guba and Lincoln's (1998) assessment of the basic beliefs behind alternative inquiry paradigms by placing ourselves in a constructivist paradigm it is clear that being transparent about our subjectivity allows for the co-construction of reality that we are creating within the case-study. Within this paradigm the ontology and epistemology are not considered as separate, as an understanding of the relationship between people (epistemology) will change your relationship within (ontology).

Hence by basing my "methodology of being" within an inquiry paradigm of constructivism .I choose to be very open about my subjectivity and bias, since I clearly place predominance on the *person as an actor* in creating this space. Will it influence the people I interview as opposed to not being so open about my subjectivity? Both versions of handling this would influence the outcome, the difference is in how. By being open about my subjectivity I also allow it to be open to change, to the participants to contest it, or agree with it. The interviews become a little closer to conversations, where two

people's viewpoints can be called into question. Trying to keep the participant unbiased, by not stating my subjectivity, quite frankly assumes too much power of suggestion from the researcher and too little on the part of the participant to be swayed. Also by not allowing the researcher to be open with the participant, it does create a sense of distrust that further hinders a real volunteering of information and rapport, a core necessity in a grounded theory study.

Creating expertise in learning

We have discussed the dissection of my own subjectivity and the importance of doing so as part of the methodology of inquiry that demands that the researcher questions their own place within the research in order to conduct research that is congruent with themselves and the results obtained. With this I refer back to McCallin's (2009) statement that "Your patterns of thinking influence who you become as a researcher." her words have clearly stuck to me. Looking back at what I had done, I realised it was true, my decision and choice were in congruence with constructed grounded theory methodology because I have remained in congruence with my own concept of who I would like to remain as a researcher. If we are serious about working in the realm of post-normal science (Ravetz, 1997) then we need to be serious about questioning our own thinking as academics, the Phd provides the perfect space for that but it does require us to deconstruct our basic belief in inquiry to be able to match our construct of inquiry with the work we do.

Following on this, an interesting discussion of how this congruence can help create expertise in the doctorate is a follow up question. Because this particular methodology requires proficiency in adaptive expertise (Fazey, Fazey and Fazey, 2005), "1) the ability to vary and reflect on their experiences and become adept at seeking out and taking different perspectives and 2) becoming proficient at making balanced judgements about how or if an experience will change their current perspective or working representation of a social, economic and biophysical system applying principles of "good thinking." This is further couched in the same terms by Flyvbjerg (2006) in relating "context dependant knowledge and experience at the heart of expert activity".

Quoting from him “the type of context dependant knowledge that research on learning shows to be necessary to allow people to develop from rule- based beginners to virtuoso experts” Flyvbjerg (2006).

These understanding come from literature on learning from experience and case study research and the question of expertise, however to be able to do that requires a certain level of reflectivity and reflexivity to obtain the adaptive expertise that experts have. And aren't we in the process of creating experts in the doctorate? Reflexivity is a trait that allows for inter-subjective reality to be more transparently respected (Rivas, 2009; Rodriguez, 2009). This means that not only is questioning our methodology of being within research relevant for creating congruence for the researcher and the research but also that this understanding helps in augmenting the level of expertise we are trying to create for our doctorate students.

Conclusion

To conclude, to be able to navigate interdisciplinary research, I found it essential to search for congruence between my belief system/s and the research I was conducting. This required a deconstruction of my inquiry paradigm and a matching with a methodology that shared that same inquiry paradigm. Doing so maintained congruence within the research, but also added to the creation of adaptive expertise as the reflected experience and consistent deconstruction of my subjectivity created research that was reflexive and truly questioned at various levels. It also is a form of working with research that placed the research and researcher completely within the constructivist paradigm as co-constructers transparently, rather than creating a divide of self and other (Fine, 1998).

10 To Conclude

Generations have passed and this is a new generation. The moon is always the same, only the water changes. Justice remains the same justice, learning the same learning, as people and nations change. Generations have passed; the true meanings stay constant and are eternal. The water in the stream may have changed a million times the reflection of the moon and stars stay the same.
- Jalalud-Din Rumi (13th Century Persian poet, jurist, Islamic Scholar, Theologian and Sufi mystic)

Within the various chapters of this thesis we have explained an alternative vision of the rational as to why Gallecs exists. I have opted for a thick description of the area, hence chapters 1 and 2. In chapter 2, I describe the history of the towns surrounding Gallecs. These towns have evolved together since the 10th century and have much history and association. Because of the interchange between them and the increasing migration among them, to talk of the history and how Gallecs survived needs also an understanding of the relations to the other towns, as well as the relations created through the Neighbourhood Association during the latter half of the Franco dictatorship.

While Gallecs took a different path in the 70s, its difference and proximity to the neighbouring towns allowed for support to be given relatively easily. The use of the space by all these towns as a recreation area at this moment makes Gallecs in part a “common” for these various communities. While in chapter 1, we give you Gallecs as the story is commonly told, the details as well as the current rational behind the common story. The narrative of “Gallecs survived because the people fought for it”, as learnt through the later chapters “yes and no”, the reality of something coming into being is usually much more complicated than a single sentence.

The theoretical framework and methodological design were presented in Chapter 3 and 4. In this case, the research question was how and why did Gallecs come to resist development? This case study of relationships, events and the past of an event would now be viewed by a third party, who had seen Gallecs today and wanted to understand why. Not

an innocent why, a why that had its own subjectivities as detailed in Chapter 9. But certainly a why and an analysis that is not caught up with ideas commonly held by parties closer to the case. This difference in part helped to see different issues of the case study. But this mix needed to be structured and designed to create workable information.

In Chapter 5 we devolved into the various communities, their ties between each other and their unspoken division of responsibilities in Gallecs. We detail our analysis for describing these groups as such, through observation and associations said or implied. In Chapter 6, I discussed the timeline of Gallecs in Epochs and highlight epochs and events happening in micro, meso and macro time that are considered relevant by the communities. While in Chapter 7 I detail the codes and how they developed into conceptual threads.

Finally in Chapter 8 we detail the interpretation of the events and actors to create the recipe for resistance that created Gallecs. We related the evolution of Gallecs in relation with the 5 main relevant axis of Time, Size, Networks, Strategy and Vigilance, thereby offering an interpretation of an archetype necessary for successful resistance. We relate our rationale for this through the documentary evidence and the interviews. Chapter 9 is devoted to a side thesis of the research, which is a methodological thesis developed from the problems and observation of possibilities of the cultural difference between the investigator and the research participants, and the benefit in operationalisation this difference.

And that brings us here, chapter 10, the conclusion. In the title for this work, *A Space for Resistance: Understanding the Socio-Ecological Archetype of Successful Resistance: Case Study of Gallecs*. Mouthful though it is, has its meaning. Gallecs at first glance is clearly a space of resistance. A space with its own narrative, a narrative that is repeated by the people within and in its surroundings, a narrative that is rife with identity. And we as researchers of environmental issues uphold it, because a space resisting because people fought for it is exactly what all of us want. It is what I wanted to hear as I walked into Gallecs. It is part of the reason, I could not find any real study asking why did Gallecs survive, because the answer was seen as obvious. All of us have seen it before, spaces resist because the people fought for it.

Archetypes do that, they help us recognise villains in the first sentence of a narrative. And a hero with a phrase “Gallecs is here because the people fought for it.” Reality isn’t a story book with an easy catchphrase to string a David and Goliath narrative we feel comfortable hearing. It’s complication upon complications, the occasional luck, unimaginable tenacity, good strategies, millions working together over time, annoyances, a size enough to matter, and time to get your act together. Questioning our heroes, our archetypes of classic narratives of resistance help us understand the sear complexity of the success of resistance.⁷⁶

To conclude, the possibilities of a space to survive in a particular manner over another is a complex matter, this case study simply offers an analysed suggestion of those possibilities. Understanding the possible reasons for a positive case can help guide the way to understanding the complexity of the matter, in a specific direction that perhaps we would like other spaces to take.

Further Research

There are many avenues for further research; I will divide the research proposals between methodological research and empirical research.

Further Methodological Research

Two lines, one in terms of the research design with the use of grounded theory for understanding the processes between the persons and communities in Gallecs. Grounded theory being a methodology that focuses on processes, typically form an individual perspective towards creating generalisations of that process within society at large (theory), in this case study the method has to be tweaked, because an underlying assumption of grounded theory is that lived experience has a homogeneity to it. Within this case study

⁷⁶ There is a conflict happening in Malaysia over a natural park of 12 acre that the government has plans to develop into high density housing. The residents through their residents association are taking the municipality to court on 12 October 2017, based on readings (New, 2017) of the conflict they do fall into the Archetype developed here.

it was very clear that the group perspective coloured lived experience. By combining that understanding and then embedding the study of social processes within groups in a case study design, these dynamics could be analysed along with the events of the cases study. A focus empirically on the time line in conjunction with various emotional processes of the participants would actually be a very interesting continuation study.

The use of cultural cognition as an operational tool in the analysis of perceptions and discourse analysis. Operationalisation for me in this sense has a lot to do on two levels, the susceptibility to tone, and then questioning of a discourse heard too often. The multicultural society of Malaysian, like a lot of oriental and east Asian cultures relied heavily on tones. More so than the Spanish or Catalan language, this make me more sensitive to changes in tone out of experience, and while not part of the language is a useful indicator of possible themes to look into during interviews.

In terms of discourse in groups it's common to see statements repeated consistently by many players, it usually represents a core belief. While I was inclined at the beginning to agree with my participants, hearing almost the same sentence repeated by many interviewees both formal and informally made me uneasy. Why? Because it is very difficult to get persons to agree, for various factions to provide almost the same sentence required more probing. Outlier interviews, cross- referencing fact and ideas that were given out of the more common discourse became then a way of testing the validity of the initial idea. But these questions are clearly in their infancy and more work would be very interesting.

Further Empirical Research

Using grounded theory further to delineate the point where fear stopped being part of the communities of Gallecs makeup. Trying to pinpoint the events and the emotional switch that happened between their constant fear of having to leave and when they started to really feel that no one could chase them away. Identifying that process. The lack of fear in the population of Gallecs today is notable and the situation currently is very different. It would be interesting to go back and specifically focus on this aspect of fear with grounded theory tools.

Comments about trust between the groups and how the internal group processes developed into the actions in Gallecs. The separation between the groups and the rational I have given are really just the tip of the iceberg.

With reference to the components of successful resistance, a comparison between El Prat and Gallecs social- historically would be valuable. As there would be components of their processes that would converge or diverge within the same autonomous zone, it would therefore be a suitable comparison of the component of resistance identified in Gallecs.

In completing the study, I keep coming back to indigenous resistance, particularly in Malaysia and works I have heard or read about in this arena. One of the issues I keep coming back too is how many of these resistances frequently involved like Gallecs a choice for a different way of life than the one that was imposed on them.

I suspect part of the reason for non- success in these cases frequently involves the difference between these two socio- ecological worlds, and the inability for the resisting parties to navigate the imposed structure to create space for their demands. This is where, the people of Gallecs, as they understood how to navigate the imposing system was able to use aspects of the imposing system to resist. Comparison and analysis would help define the theory better.

“Beware the stories you read or tell; subtly, at night, beneath the waters of consciousness, they are altering your world.”

Ben Okri (Nigerian Poet and Novelist)

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ppendix 1: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- 1) When did they live in Gallecs? — as I'm looking for relationships with their space and time lived, this question had to be a chronology of their life in Gallecs.
- 2) What is their role here? (To understand their place in the community of Gallecs.)
- 3) Who do they associate with? (Who do they contact or work with on a regular basis, to have an idea of their current relationship other people in the area)
- 4) Where do they live in Gallecs? — this didn't become an explicit question since all interviews took place in their homes or places of work, hence this aspect became covered more by observation.
- 5) Why are they still here? (Self- explanatory)
- 6) How do they create their life here — this turned into a question about their daily routine

These were later regrouped around themes rather than questions to provide greater flexibility and less repetition.

- 1) The history of Gallecs in their own words (every single person gives a very different version and emphasis; each person's emphasis in what should be the same story provides a very interesting theme to follow.)
- 2) Definition of the main inflexion points in Gallecs history, and their rationale for why and how that changed.

3) Power as right (i.e. the right to ownership, land and sense of ownership, and how and when that has changed with the persons interviewed).

4) Persons role and relationship to their surroundings, people and routine, but focusing on ideas of sense of community and sense of land through this.

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ppendix 2: Bibliografía Gallecs

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Let me tell you a
story,
Of beliefs...
Of stories....
Of beliefs of stories,
Of questions,
Of answers?
Of more questions.
Of beliefs.
Of words said,
And repeated,
And not questioned.
Of beliefs
That fuel...
That fuel...
Conflicts.
Different beliefs.
Decisions?
Strategy.
Decisions.
Of a little town
That could...
That could....
Say "NO"