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## 1. Executive Summary

This report describes the research that has been carried out for the analysis of two sites of cultural heritage in Catalonia (Spain) so as to understand how they work in order to promote the cultural socialisation of young people. More specifically, the History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA)—in particular, Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira anti-aircraft battery—in Barcelona, and Can Jonch Centre for the Culture of Peace in Granollers, are the sites that have been analysed.

Methodologically, the research follows a qualitative approach combining different techniques: interviews with experts, ethnographic observation, and content analysis of the documentation collected in relation to the two sites (those documents that are available to the public) and dealing with the country's legislation and policies on cultural heritage. We carried out fieldwork in the two sites of Barcelona and Granollers and collected first-hand information and data regarding the educational activities that they carry out there and the involvement of young people. Six semi-structured interviews by experts were carried out in order to understand, firstly, the general framework of public policies related to cultural heritage and secondly, the orientation of the two selected sites and the orientation of cultural sites in general in Catalonia.

The empirical evidence collected shows, on the one hand, the importance of educational programs in both sites. Their educational work with children, teenagers and young people is used as a means through which they learn about the cultural heritage, often beyond the school curricula. The educational programmes are mainly addressed to formal education settings, in particular schools. This learning process is achieved thanks to the collaboration between the sites and schools in activities and itineraries that offer a dynamic approach to different aspects of culture and history. On the other hand, we have observed that great value is placed on the recent past in Catalonia, especially with regard to the Civil War and post-war periods, in both sites as well as in many cultural places. Some of these places have been the result of a process of recovering memory spaces and monuments in collaboration with civil society.

The narratives related to the recent past that take place in the sites merge and connect with universal values (such as peace, memory, solidarity and cooperation). There is no explicit reference to European culture in these narratives, but rather a local reference that at the same time is combined with a universal or global vision. In this sense, there exists a lot of collaboration with cultural institutions of different countries at the European level. There is also no explicit national discourse found either in the narrative of the sites or in the interviews. There appears to be a focus on cultural diversity which, in fact, is something already assumed by the Catalan society in view of the immigration background of many people. This does not necessarily imply a critical point of view towards identities and the colonial past, with some exceptions.

Youth culture, or popular culture, is present in cultural heritage sites only as based on certain specific activities. Rather, the intensive use of internet technologies and social networks is what enables youth participation, for example, through photography and Instagram. However, experts acknowledge that more work has to be done in order to involve young people, in particular those who do not come from formal education visits or programmes. This implies that the formal education framework provides the most important path to cultural sites and cultural heritage for teenagers and young people. This reveals that there is limited access to cultural heritage if we focus on the school period, with the involvement of young people ceasing altogether after formal education.

## 2. Method

### 2.1 Sites selection

The criteria for the selection of the sites are based on the relevance that the two local sites have had in the configuration of the network of cultural centres in Catalonia, their approach to working with civil society, and their educational programmes involving many activities of collaboration with schools, as well as their potential role in the building of a European cultural narrative.

As regards the local factor, we selected a site in Barcelona due to the importance of Catalonia's capital as a point of reference in the cultural landscape. The **History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA)**<sup>1</sup> is a cultural site with great relevance in the city's life and history, and is visited by schools from all over Catalonia. In this museum, a comprehensive overview of the history of the city from 2,000 years ago onwards is offered through an important network of local spaces and activities. In recent decades, the museum recovered some sites in the city as spaces for memory, especially with regard to the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the post-war period. Specifically, we will focus on two spaces of the MUHBA in Barcelona: on the one hand, the air-raid shelter of Poble Sec city quarter (known as Shelter 307); and on the other hand, the anti-aircraft batteries of the Turó de la Rovira, a place where the histories of the Civil War and of immigration merge. Both sites are used extensively as educational resources by primary and secondary education schools.

Also, we selected a site that is both a good example and representative of many cultural centres from medium-sized cities in Catalonia. **Can Jonch - Centre for the Culture of Peace**<sup>2</sup> is a cultural centre in the city of Granollers (60,000 inhabitants), located 40 km from Barcelona. In this space, work for the promotion of local memory is related in particular to the Civil War and to the bombing of Granollers during the war on May 31st

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<sup>1</sup> See: <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/>

<sup>2</sup> See: <http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch>

(1938), which resulted in 224 people being killed. They also develop many activities related to peace culture education. In connection with this site, we found a particularly interesting activity being carried out by young people from the schools of the city: the walking tour. One day every year there is a thematic walking tour organised by Can Jonch, secondary schools of the city, and the educational section of the city council. The walking tour takes place every spring and 14-year-old students take part in it. Last year, the theme was the remembrance of the bombing during the Civil War and historical memory spaces of the city.

Both places are cultural centres that have an impact on history and memory as a cultural heritage in permanent interaction with local actors and educational centres. In fact, historical memory has been put to work to address a very important issue in the cultural field of Catalonia. During the Spanish transition period, this had become political taboo, in order to achieve the consensus needed for the establishment of democracy. Memories of the Franco regime and of the Civil War were silenced, and no repair policies were begun until the end of the 20th century. The approach of many public cultural institutions has been to change the understanding of history and assume a new perspective for studying the past and the heritage. As we understand it, this process of recovering historical memory is connected with a potential European discourse on the memory of the recent past and the impact of the war in European societies. That is why updating the memory of the recent past plays such an important role in the panorama of local public facilities, made through the recovery of the historical heritage (both material and immaterial). It influences the educational curriculum through school activities and visits. Both MUHBA and Can Jonch are good examples of this, each with its own peculiarities.

## 2.2 Data gathering

- Six experts were interviewed in five interviews (Expert 1 and Expert 2 were interviewed together, as they expressly asked for it to be done this way for reasons of availability). In all the interviews, information about the CHIEF project was stated and consent forms were signed. We conduct semi-structured interviews following an outline that contained several topics.
- Observation: the selected sites had been visited before the interviews. In the case of the MUHBA, we visited the Turó de la Rovira's anti-aircraft battery and the exhibitions there, as well as Shelter 307 (in a formal visit with a guide). In the case of Can Jonch, we visited the building accompanied by the person in charge of this institution.
- Pictures and fieldwork notes: during the visit of the sites we took pictures and collected both information and impressions in written notes. Later, we

complemented this information with the interviews. A selection of pictures is shown in Appendix 3.

- Materials collected: in both cases we collected materials published by the sites: informative guides, activity agendas, flyers, etc.

### 2.3. Expert interviews

The experts were selected based on the following criteria: 1) they were experts in some part of the period on which the study focuses and in cultural heritage; 2) they were involved in institutional sites (museums and memory sites); 3) they were involved in collaboration with schools and had good experience in educational activities; 4) they worked from different historiographical perspectives and work experiences; (5) in four cases, the experts worked in the sites being analysed.

Characteristics of the interviews:

<b>Name</b>	<b>Profile of the expert</b>	<b>Duration of the interview</b>
Expert 1_and Expert 2	Leading the programmes and communication areas of a public museum. Responsible for the educational activities of a public museum	0:58'
Experts 3	Responsible for visits forming part of the educational activities in a public museum and other cultural sites	0:35'
Expert 4	Responsible for a local cultural centre	1:17'
Expert 5	Responsible for the education programme at a memorial	0:58'
Expert 6	Leading a public museum	1:33'

### 2.4 Analysis

Based on the guiding questions of WP6, the following different sources of information provided the data for the analyses of the sites:

The data collected in the interviews, publications, documentation, websites and during the observation of the sites has been organised according to the questions that were formulated: 1) background and career path; 2) defining what constitutes national heritage and its relation to European and regional heritage; 3) institutional background of the particular heritage site; 4) thematic scope(s) and goals of the site in relation to the public; 5) engagement with young people (and other age groups/ local communities) and their socialisation in cultural heritage (national, regional/local, European), and the role of their institution in this process; 6) educational aspects of their work with young people; 7) difficult aspects of cultural heritage that they are dealing with in their work.

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All the information has been analysed inductively in accordance with the framework of content analysis.

### 3. Findings

#### 3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

The responsibility for cultural heritage in Spain resides with each corresponding autonomic regional government. In the case of Catalonia, this means having its own policy on cultural heritage<sup>3</sup>. In order to exercise its competences, the Catalan government created a Heritage Agency in 2014. The mission of this recently created institution is to manage the Cultural Heritage of Catalonia with criteria of integrity, sustainability, and efficiency. The Agency is responsible for 38 monuments and 6 public equipments: Archaeological Museum of Catalonia, Archaeological National Museum of Tarragona, National Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia, Museum of History of Catalonia, Museum of Art of Girona, and the Movable Cultural Heritage Restoration Centre.

The Inventories of the general, architectural and archaeological heritages began in 1982 in Catalonia, once those powers that were recognised in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (1979) and by the subsequent creation of the Architectural Heritage Services were transferred to the Catalan government. 29,798 buildings and 12,667 archaeological sites constituted the whole of the Catalan heritage at that moment, as included in the Inventory of the Catalan Cultural Heritage<sup>4</sup>.

The national framework is integrated into the institutional discourse on Catalonia's cultural heritage, especially in the legislation, as a justification for the importance of this cultural heritage. The Law on Catalan Cultural Heritage<sup>5</sup> forms the legal framework for this policy. In the first paragraph of the law, the cultural heritage is described as the "fundamental testimony of the identity of a nation throughout history". This "irreplaceable heritage" must be "transmitted to the future generations". Thus, public policies have the duty to disseminate knowledge about this cultural heritage. On the other hand, on the

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<sup>3</sup> See Statute of Catalonia (2006): "Article 127. Culture. The Generalitat [Catalan government] has exclusive power over cultural matters. 2. The Generalitat has executive power over archives, libraries, museums and cultural heritage centres owned by the State and located in Catalonia and whose management the State does not reserve for itself. This power includes in any case the regulation of their functioning, organisation and staffing system." [https://web.gencat.cat/en/generalitat/estatut/estatut2006/titol\\_4/](https://web.gencat.cat/en/generalitat/estatut/estatut2006/titol_4/)

<sup>4</sup> For an inventory of the Catalan cultural heritage:

[http://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estructura\\_i\\_adreces/organismes/dgpc/temes/Informacio\\_i\\_Documentacio/Inventari-del-Patrimoni-Cultural-Catala/](http://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estructura_i_adreces/organismes/dgpc/temes/Informacio_i_Documentacio/Inventari-del-Patrimoni-Cultural-Catala/)

<sup>5</sup> See: [http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur\\_ocults/pjur\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=92717](http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=92717)



heritage (cultural traditions and cultural festivities) items that are collected in the official website of the Cultural Heritage Agency<sup>6</sup>.

With its interpretation of the legal and official discourses, this network of cultural heritage sites is considered the *national cultural heritage* by public authorities in Catalonia, and is linked to the idea of the history of Catalonia as an ancient nation of Europe, due to the presence of cultural heritage from the Greeks and the Romans. Thus the cultural heritage is connected to the history of Catalonia, and to its cultural expressions and characteristics.

### 3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

At this moment, cultural heritage is being presented as one of the core values of the country, given the importance of cultural tourism in both Catalonia and Spain. We find a special offer of monuments, cultural performances, and movable values on the Cultural Heritage website (<http://patrimoni.gencat.cat/en>), where a ranking is given of the top 25 sites promoted as the best places/things to discover in Catalonia. The discourse of the official website is an invitation to visit those places or to get to know things such as the “Mediterranean diet”, the work of Gaudí, the *Patum*, or the Cardona Castle.

This policy of promoting the cultural heritage of Catalonia is also carried out through the new social networks, such as Instagram (@patrimonigencat). The promotion of routes by using mobile apps and online ticket services to visit places is another practice. Following a similar strategy, the tourist board of Catalonia has set up a Facebook profile: Catalonia Experience. This touristic promotion combines cultural heritage and landscape, taking advantage of the fact that Catalonia has some very touristic locations, including the Costa Brava or the city of Barcelona.

However, some historical museums (Museum of History of Catalonia, MUHBA, etc.) and cultural museums or sites (such as the Dalí museum, Sagrada Família, Empúries’ archaeological ruins, or Memorial Democràtic) have common targets with regard to schools/educational programmes and tourism. In this context, local sites can offer a good overview that combines public policies of cultural heritage, the involvement of civil society, and some touristic promotion of their respective locations. The main discourse does not refer explicitly to the national heritage, but rather to the “cultural heritage”. The *national* condition of this heritage is taken for granted in public venues, as it is assumed to form part of the public definition of Catalonia. The explicit references given within the cultural heritage framework are to the country considered as the global framework.

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<sup>6</sup> <http://patrimoni.gencat.cat/en>



### 3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

#### **MUHBA**

We collected the data on the two sites by means of ethnographic observation and interviews. In the case of the MUHBA, in the words of the interviewed team, this is “a unique museum with sites and exhibitions that are spread out across the city” (Experts 1 and 2). The location where the museum has its starting point and its headquarters is at the heart of the city, in the city centre’s old quarter where the Roman ruins can be found. A conglomerate of heritage sites, exhibitions, and memory places are spread out in different quarters all over the city of Barcelona. Accordingly, the thematic scope of the museum consists of a wide range of elements from different historical periods, from the Romans until recent days. The museum has a staff of 32 professionals with different backgrounds.

The interviewees were an archaeologist specialising in cultural management, and an art historian with experience in heritage preservation. Their professional profiles show that the museum is interested in research and conservation works regarding heritage. Actually, the MUHBA is doing constant research and work to discover or preserve and update the cultural heritage of the city. And it is precisely the history of the 20th century that is being explored in an extensive way today, with the recovery of heritage linked to the Civil War, or the internal migration movements that, in many cases, gave rise to the poorest neighbourhoods in the city – all this is explained in one of the exhibits at the Turó de la Rovira. There is a great interest in preserving the architecture of working-class houses in some neighbourhoods. This generates interactions between the recovery of the heritage through the participation of neighbours associations and associations in favour of memory. Besides, “we make a distinction between history and memory” (Experts 1 and 2). They consider that history is also interpretative, whereas memory, memories and experiences are more subjective. They said that they focus more on history than on memory. As a cultural heritage, one of the main ideas to be transmitted is a characteristic feature of Barcelona, a city that is made up by the constant arrival of people from outside. The city's heritage includes understanding how the city has been organised. From the MUHBA’s point of view, “heritage helps people to take roots in the city” (Experts 1 and 2).

The public of the MUHBA is 80% made up of tourists, but the museum provides “more than 40 activities and itineraries for the local public. While the local public participates in the temporary activities (conferences, seminars, courses, itineraries, etc.), the tourists tend to visit mostly the permanent exhibitions of ancient cultural heritage (the Roman ruins and Medieval sites in the city, such as the Cathedral or the Parc Güell)” (Experts 1 and 2). Unfortunately, they do not provide data on the socio-demographics of the visitors (age, gender, social class...). However, the interviewees estimated that many of the visitors are middle-aged or senior. There is a lack of young visitors, aside from the young people who come as a result of educational activities organised by schools.

The museum has a specific educational program for schools. The aim of the MUHBA's school activities programme is "to provide students with the necessary information to enable them to read, interpret, and build up their own knowledge of Barcelona and its heritage, so that they attain a better understanding of Barcelona and achieve more proximity to the city" (Experts 1 and 2). Each academic year they organise a specific programme for educational activities. This academic year (2018-19) the educational programme has been titled "Questioning Barcelona" (a summary guide is available in printed and online versions). Among the activities that involve visiting important spaces, there are several that are in connection with Shelter 307 or the Turó de la Rovira. In the case of Shelter 307, on the one hand, the main question is: what were the strategies developed by the public and citizen powers to protect the inhabitants from the first great bombings in history? On the other hand, in the case of the Turó de la Rovira, the main question guiding the educational activity is: what did the wars and the lack of housing signify for the city?

Apart from the 2018-2019 academic program, they offer other educational programs that have been at work during recent last years:

- "Patrimonia'm" ("Patrimony me!"). A project of monument sponsorship in collaboration with schools that has been running since 2005. A classroom picks a monument/site and they have to study it from all points of view. The choice of the historical site/monument usually depends on the curriculum and the proximity of the school to the monument. Teachers are trained, by providing follow-up and accompaniment as they prepare the didactic units during the execution of the project. Students can go to the museum headquarters, ask for information, etc. At the end of the year all the schools join together and show each other their work. This is usually done around May 18, which is International Museum Day.

- "Ciceró BCN". Learning and Service Project. Aimed at students of 3rd- and 4th-year ESO (compulsory secondary education). Based on a certain heritage element in their neighbourhood, students have to decide and think about the best way of granting value to this heritage. For example, by means of visiting guides, an exhibition, drafting a booklet, etc.

- Credits for the synthesis project. Aimed at students of compulsory secondary education (ESO). This idea is known as "Travel to Barcelona", and it follows itineraries in two different but bordering neighbourhoods. Students are given suggestions for routes along with guidelines for observation, and then they have to draw their own conclusions.

- Follow-up tutorial of research projects. Aimed at students of post-compulsory secondary education (Batxillerat). Access to materials, data, historical sources, and

teaching resources is given to students and teachers for working on a specific topic related to the MUHBA.

- Summer Camp "Let's Read The City". Participants are children/teenagers between 8 and 12 years of age.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are other thematic visits addressed to people in general (young people can attend these too) outside of the educational programme and related to Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira. Their titles are the following: "The Civil War in Barcelona: Revolution and Bombing", "The Barcelona of the War and the Post-war Period. Perspectives from the Turó de la Rovira" and "The Defence of the Modern City". More information about the content is given in Appendix 2.

In terms of publications, the MUHBA produces a lot of material, both printed and online. However, the most used by citizens and visitors is the collection of urban history guides published in several languages. Table 1 of Appendix 1 describes summarily the three urban history guides dealing with the Shelter 307 and Turó de la Rovira sites.

### **Can Jonch: Centre for the culture of peace focused on educational activities**

Can Jonch is a cultural centre that is organically dependent on the city council of Granollers, and was originally created by it. It is located in an urban area, at the downtown part of a city with 40,000 inhabitants, close to other public facilities and commercial streets. The aim of the centre is to provide tools for taking part in the "transformation of the world" with a "commitment to peace through education, and promoting coexistence and dialogue" as is explained on its website.

The place is devoted to the culture of peace, social mediation, historical memory, and civil society. Thus, the thematic scope of the site is quite diverse, and the most important element is the memory of the bomb raids during the Civil War against the city. After Barcelona, Granollers was the city with more victims of bombardment in 1938, when 224 people were killed. For this reason, and as a symbol of the site, a tile has been adopted and can be found in some of the streets of Granollers to mark historical points. Other symbolic referents we find there include a tree from Hiroshima (*Ginkgo biloba*), and another tree from Guernica planted in Can Jonch's garden. One of the walls of this garden is decorated with graffiti made by young artists of the city.

There are three members of staff at the centre. The person in charge (interviewed) has a degree in social education and experience of working on social programmes with socially disadvantaged people (women and young people). This means that in the ten years of working at the centre that person "has had to be trained in matters of memory and the other subjects that the centre works with" (Expert 4). The activities of the centre are carried out by two people: the interviewed person in charge (who does not have a recognised rank of director or coordinator), a technician responsible for cooperation

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activities, and a receptionist recently incorporated into the centre. An external firm deals with the afternoon activities.

The centre organises a wide variety of activities. Some of them take place inside the building, such as lectures, round tables, conferences, exhibitions, and meetings. However, the most important activities happen outside at different locations: in 'the forest of peace', the shelters, or the walking itineraries for memory places. In Granollers' centre, there are plaques that indicate the specific spots where bombs fell during 1938 and 1939. Also, a set of *stolpersteins* identifies the house where the people who were deported to the concentration camps used to live.

Can Jonch has quite diverse targets, given the wide range of activities that it provides. However, the most regular and popular activities every year are those in which the educational community takes part, especially secondary education students:

- "Citizen Walk". The students of ESO/3 (14 years old) participate each year in the so-called "Citizen Walk", which consists in a walking itinerary around the memory spaces of the city. Every year, the bombing of the city on May 31st of 1938 is commemorated. The commemoration, however, is always linked to a current topic that students are studying at school (this year it will be gender equality and the memory of the women who used to work in the old textile factories of the city). A total of 450 students take part in this activity. One school is in charge of leading the walking tour each year.
- "Granollers. A City Open to Peace". Each year a public figure related to the culture of peace (local or international) makes a speech on human rights at the city's theatre in front of 400 students. Students of secondary Art Studies perform an artistic intervention.
- "Open visit to the shelters". Each May 31st, free visits are organised to the two shelters of the city. All visitors have to form part of a group and there is a guide in charge of providing an explanation of the sites.
- "Commemoration of the 31<sup>st</sup> of May". Different activities are organised in primary and secondary schools, as well as in special education centres, open education centres, etc.

Other thematic visits addressed to all people are mentioned in Appendix 2.

Thus, Can Jonch has as its main target reaching the town's teenagers through the schools. In addition, Can Jonch gives NGOs and cultural associations (theatre, dance, music, history, etc.) access to rooms where they can organise their activities. In connection with this, there are instances of activities developed by youth associations - but this is not their main target.

Can Jonch has its own space in the city council's website. Likewise, it publishes guides for activities and explanatory booklets about some of the most relevant activities. They

also try to reach young people through social networks: Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. In YouTube, they upload videos of activities with young people.

### 3.4 Local Heritage offer

The interviews with the experts have allowed us to ascertain that the educational offer forms part of the public cultural institutions, in the form of specific educational programmes. In fact, not surprisingly, some of the people responsible for these cultural centres have experience working in the field of education, as is the case of Experts 3, 5 and 6. Apart from this link to education, the different cultural heritage centres in Catalonia have ties with associations or citizens in general. But the youth are not being targeted specifically by these cultural heritage institutions. The spaces of cultural heritage related to the young are basically provided through the educational centres, and therefore as a complement to the school curricula.

As people in charge of public cultural institutions, the experts interviewed are very clear about the need for the offer to be connected to civil society. There is a concern about making citizens form part of the cultural story at the same time as they are the recipients. As Expert 6 said, "The difference between a museum and a university is that in a museum you do not need to have academic credentials or pass an exam in order to enter. It is a space of knowledge with free access. That is all the more reason why they should be social museums, where citizens can share knowledge in complex ways."

We have also been able to ascertain that one thing the interviewed experts have in common is this social orientation with regard to cultural heritage. In some cases, this social vocation is realised through the recovery of the recent cultural heritage or the dignity of memory places with which the citizens identify. In other cases, this social view of culture takes place within the museum or cultural site.

It can be said that this social perspective is more relevant than the national perspective for the experts. When the question of the relationship between culture and identity is raised, they agree in that they all define this relationship within the framework of a diverse society in terms of culture and identity. Thus, "a complex national reality is represented. Because it represents a complex urban society. What is represented here is not only Catalan Catalonia, but a complex Catalonia"(Expert 6). The national patrimony must therefore contain the same cultural diversity that is present in Catalan society. This is also true for memory, as stated by Expert 5: "I may have a national memory, but I think it is necessary to have many memories. Having only one memory is wrong".

The context in which these cultural spaces are situated, whether in a local area (Granollers, Barcelona) or at the Catalan national level (Ethnological Museum of

Barcelona, Democratic Memorial), is understood as a territory that has a population with diverse origins and diverse points of view, in both ideological and generational terms. This heterogeneity causes the territorial and narrative limits of the cultural history to become diffuse. The history and memory of immigration (especially in regard to the ethnological heritage), as well as a global culture that is transmitted through universal values—peace, diversity, preservation of heritage, etc. —are involved too. An interesting fact that we were able to extract from the interviews is that there is a concern about connecting with the public, about working on an identification with the cultural heritage that forms part of the offer of public institutions. The memory of the recent past is very relevant in the Catalan context: the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime are two pillars on which memory is built up in an insistent way and in connection with the experiences of the people. In this sense, a narrative that is not only European but also, at the same time, local and universal, is embracing concepts such as war, peace, resistance, repression, victims.

In all the experts, we find references to a link between local culture and global culture, but not specifically to European culture. In fact, in one of the interviews the idea of an identity in Europe is directly challenged as being something that is created and promoted "from above", that is, from the institutions, in an artificial way. "European identity is being made artificially, out of political, economic, religious, and ideological criteria." (Expert 6).

The Catalan cultural spaces and institutions are deeply involved in the European networks and platforms of their field. The framework of the European Union is not considered to imply any obligations or norms that might impose limits on them. They consider instead that they are much more influenced or limited by the local institutions, who accuse them of an excessive bureaucracy that hinders their work. Although they may receive political pressure in one way or another, the interviews let us see that they work with great freedom when programming cultural and educational activities.

We can therefore say that bureaucracy is one of the difficulties encountered by cultural managers, as we have been able to extract from the interviews, along with local regulations. The lack of resources due to the economic crisis, but also the lack of resources for culture, is another great difficulty. This, for instance, is mentioned by experts 1 and 2, who work at the MUHBA (they have been witnessing a reduction of the staff after the economic crisis in 2009 up until today).

As regards the external communications at these sites, the internet has become a common means of communication for the cultural institutions across the whole country. However, we can observe that the publication of guidebooks, brochures, booklets, papers and activities programmes continues to be important. The more resources an institution has, the more the printed format is used. However, what we are seeing is not an orientation of the cultural institutions towards tourism, but towards the local public,

towards an understanding that this local public is diverse and can comprise an international component as well. There is no focus on mass tourism.

## 4. Discussion

### Institutional policies of cultural heritage

As we have seen in the analysis, heritage policies in Spain are developed by each autonomous government. In the case of Catalonia, the whole region is recognised as a "nationality"<sup>7</sup> within the framework of the Spanish Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy. As a "nationality", its competencies include the regulation of its own cultural matters.

The economic crisis affected the resources assigned for culture very deeply, which in turn had an impact on the sites of cultural heritage, as has been highlighted in the interviews. Some projects were abandoned, others had their staffing resources considerably reduced, as in the case of the MUHBA and the Democratic Memorial. And this also has affected those educational projects that have young people as their main target group.

### Tourism and heritage: an unappreciated binomial

The scarce importance that is given to tourism in the interviews is worth noting. Expert 6 argues: "A museum should not only target tourism, focus only on selling many tickets. The role of a museum is to serve the people in its surroundings, to do scientific research, to generate knowledge. It must have some relationship with the university." This is somehow surprising considering that every year Catalonia receives around 20 million visits of tourists, and the city of Barcelona alone receives 8 million. In fact, both the Government of Catalonia and the City Council of Barcelona have tourist offices and tourist information portals that are taking into account the cultural heritage as a vector of tourist attraction.

In the light of what the experts said in the interviews, one can appreciate the contradiction arising from the interests of the people in charge of the cultural sites, in contrast with the economic impact of tourism in those same sites. Having said that,

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<sup>7</sup> According to the current Spanish Constitution (1978), "the Spanish nation is the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards, which is composed of nationalities and regions" to which the constitution recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government. The term nationalities, or historical nationalities, though never defined officially, indicates territories whose inhabitants have a strong historically constituted identity, or, more specifically, certain autonomous communities whose Statutes of autonomy—their basic institutional legislation—recognizes their historical and cultural identity.

there is an important social debate taking place nowadays around mass tourism and how, in some places like Barcelona city, it has had such contradictory effects. There is a strong debate going on about gentrification and the high cost of living in Barcelona due to the impact of tourism.

The interviews show a concern about working with communities and neighbours associations, or with schools, as well as in some sites that are not the most visited by tourists.

## **National and European framework**

In the Catalan institutional framework, there is a clear concept of cultural heritage as a national heritage. This conceptualisation may sometimes lead to conflict with the Spanish national concept of culture as seen from the Spanish institutions, whose position is ambiguous with respect to the national nature of Catalan culture. In fact, during the administrations of the right-wing Popular Party, this has been manifested as a conflictive issue between a Spanish vision of what is national, on the one hand, and a claim for national recognition from Catalonia, on the other.

In spite of this, among the stakeholders and practitioners that we interviewed, we see an interest in transcending the idea of national culture. We see this in that they include groups that have been born outside Catalonia, and also in that they frame the narrative discourse around issues that are universal.

In the case of the MUHBA, there is an interest in showing the cultural diversity of Barcelona, especially in contemporary times. Barcelona is a city that was created by the arrival of people from outside. For the people in charge of the site, knowledge of the city's cultural heritage is conceived as a tool for newcomers to create roots ("This is BCN (Barcelona). Welcome to the city"). At the same time, the city is thought of in a metropolitan sense, rather than in national terms. Thus, it is seen as connected to other cities lying on a vast urban expanse, as expressed in exhibitions such as "Connected Bcn, global BCN". On the other hand, they make references to the cultural contributions of other places around the world that the city has incorporated, for example in "Arrival of jazz in BCN".

In the case of Can Jonch, the discourse is very clearly in favour of a global conception related to the promotion of the culture of peace. They participate in different Catalan and Spanish networks so as to coordinate with other sites, but their narrative is very local-global oriented: "the consequences of the war in Granollers and elsewhere in the world. Everything is connected, everything is global" (Expert 4).

Both in the documentation of the sites, as well as in the observations made and in the interviews with experts, we have observed that there is no explicitly European discourse



on cultural heritage in the Catalan and Spanish cases. However, the cultural sites are connected to European networks of cultural heritage, museums, and some thematic networks. This means that they collaborate with other cultural institutions of European Union countries, as usual, as well as in European research projects and specialised journals. Institutionally, however, neither European legislation nor European policies define the specific framework of the work carried out by the experts interviewed. Furthermore, they consider local policies as the most influential in their daily work, either in terms of management of resources or because of political pressures, and especially due to the bureaucracy, which compels them to spend so much time dealing with management issues.

Thus, as we have been able to observe, their narrative on the cultural heritage transcends the local scope. Another feature of the two sites chosen is the relevance given to local memory in relation to the Spanish Civil War, which enables this connecting of a local fact with the modern history of the world (for instance, with World War II), yet without specific reference to the European context.

### **Cultural heritage and cultural diversity**

From the point of view of the interviewed experts, Catalan culture is considered to be a “complex” culture in the sites’ narrative—in other words, diverse. We can see this understanding in the fact that the Ethnological Museum of Barcelona exhibits together objects that have different cultural backgrounds, in the understanding that, in fact, all of them are part of the same culture (human culture).

In the case of the Democratic Memorial, although the focus is on the recent past in Catalonia, the territorial scope is transcended whenever the content requires it. If an exhibition deals with people whose origins are outside Catalonia, institutions from outside are invited to collaborate (for example, when they exhibited a series of photographs related to pedagogues, since these were from Navarra, the Government of Navarra attended the presentation). But the links beyond Catalonia are mainly international, such as the yearly celebration of the International Day that commemorates the victims of the Holocaust on January 27.

In spite of these initiatives, we can observe that there is still a potential for expanding the programmes and activities and offering a broader focus that reflects the cultural diversity of the Catalan society, given that 15% of the population is already born abroad. Although international migrations are a very recent phenomenon (they started in 2000 and reached a peak percentage of arrivals in 2008), cultural policies are playing a role in the recognition of diversity. As indicated by the studies on youth identities (Feixa and Sánchez 2015), it is important to take into account how the cultural practices of young people are being marked by the cultural diversity brought about by migrations, cyber culture, and social movements (for instance, the feminist movement in the latter years).

In fact, as pointed out by Feixa and Nilan (2009) or Pujolar, Martínez, and González (2010), current youth identities are characterized by their being hybrid culturally.

On the other hand, we are seeing an interest in recollecting the migratory past of Catalans from all over Spain by means of some relevant initiatives, such as those by the Museum of Immigration History of Catalonia, located in Sant Adrià del Besòs, a municipality close to Barcelona. We can also observe this process in an exhibit in which the space of the Turó de la Rovira was interpreted as an informal housing neighbourhood populated by migrants from the 1940s-1960s and made up of many shacks. This part of the memory and of the recent past reinforces the idea of Catalan national identity as an identity that comprises different cultural backgrounds. The immigrants who came from other parts of Spain in the sixties were called “the other Catalans,” in a reference with which it was intended to represent the conformation of a complex but inclusive Catalan identity<sup>8</sup>. In some cases, the focus is on local identities, however. It must be mentioned that in the exhibit about informal housing and shacks in the Turó de la Rovira there is not so much explicit reference to the Catalan identity, but rather much more to the local identities of the city.

On the other hand, 2016 saw the organisation of one of the first exhibitions on Catalonia’s colonial past, in reference to the occupation of Guinea during the 19th and 20th centuries: “Ikunde. Barcelona, colonial capital” was the first exhibition to show the properties and activities that the municipality of Barcelona held in Guinea as a colony. Ikunde was the name of the location that was assigned to Barcelona’s City Council as a place in Guinea to hunt animals and export them to zoos in Europe and beyond.<sup>9</sup>

In the 21st century some museums and cultural sites have exhibited this colonial past by making reference to the slave traffic undertaken by certain businessmen belonging to the Catalan elite during the colonial era. In fact, in 2018 several entities of the city of Barcelona called for the removal from the Rambles of the statue of the Marquis de Comillas, an ancient slave trader in the African colonies. The city council of Barcelona decided to respond to this request and to withdraw the statue.

### **Young people and cultural heritage: a pending challenge**

In the research carried out so far, we find that cultural heritage (we may almost say the official cultural heritage) is transmitted to young people through educational programmes. Thus, the alliance between school and public cultural institutions plays a

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<sup>8</sup> Candel, F. (1964). *Els altres catalans*. Edicions 62. It was that year’s best seller during the Saint George festivity, when the streets of Catalan cities are occupied by booksellers.

<sup>9</sup> Ikunde is also the place of origin of Snowflake, who became an icon of the city for so many years, as well as a naive and sweetened simulation of the true implications that colonialism had for the people of Guinea and for its natural environment.

central role in the participation of young people in activities related to cultural heritage in Catalonia. This collaboration is a pattern that extends to the entire Catalan educational system. Therefore, we can say that every young person, in their school life, have visited some cultural institutions. The interaction with these heritage sites thus plays a fundamental role in improving the cultural literacy of young people, because it allows the cultural transmission to extend beyond the educational curriculum. These institutions are a non-formal education resource that complements a systematically organised formal education.

However, when these students leave secondary education or go on to vocational education, there is no guarantee that they will continue to take part in activities related to cultural heritage. This is the pending challenge for cultural heritage institutions: to develop activities specifically for young people outside formal education settings. In both of our selected sites, we were able to observe a few activities involving youth participation, but these are exceptional. Quite a separate case is that of the anti-aircraft battery in the Turó de la Rovira. Its 360° view over the city of Barcelona has turned it into a tourist attraction and an image with a strong appeal for those who do advertisements and music video clips. That is why it has become a point of attraction for many local and visiting young people, as they find in it a free and open space for meeting, taking *selfies*, having a beer, or simply chatting. But for young people this is a space for leisure, rather than being cultural.

As the interviewees point out, participation of young people in the cultural heritage is a pending challenge. An example of an initiative that can be taken in order to attract young people toward the cultural heritage is the Council of Europe's International Heritage Photographic Experience (IHPE) competition, which is also organised in Catalonia for young people. This is an initiative for young European participants to become aware that they are working on a common project of cultural heritage. A yearly call is opened for all countries and regions in Europe to join. The photos are published on Instagram and Twitter.

Another initiative that promotes cultural heritage among the young is the *CarnetJove* (Young Card), a card that can be requested by young people from 12 to 30 years of age, offering discounts on more than 8,000 cultural, social and commercial proposals. On the cultural section, it includes films, museums, theatre, and publications. As Ariño and Llopis point out (2016), when social class is a factor conditioning the cultural practices of young people, public institutions become a fundamental counterpart to this tendency, by creating opportunities for equal access to culture among young people.

## 5. Conclusion

In this report we have reviewed how cultural heritage policies reach young people. We need to distinguish very clearly between the governmental cultural heritage policies of

the governments of Spain and Catalonia (and also of the City Council of Barcelona), and those that correspond to the specific activities carried out by the cultural sites. Government policies have to do with a general planning of the preservation of heritage, with the intention of creating a set of "national" cultural heritage points, and of ensuring their tourist promotion.

Furthermore, the report has targeted cultural heritage sites that reveal how specific strategies, connecting cultural heritage with the community and the schools, are developed. Interviews with experts, as well as observations in the two sites chosen, have given us a lot of information about the activities that are carried out in this space of proximity, and about the relationship between culture and education. From this area of proximity, we have also been able to observe how diversity is incorporated into the conception of national culture (especially in the MUHBA and the Museum of Ethnology of Barcelona). As regards the narrative, there is no explicit reference to Europe, despite the involvement of cultural heritage institutions in the corresponding European networks. Nor is there any clear explicit national discourse with regard to the Catalan case, apart from the text of the Law of Cultural Heritage that we consulted.

We also noticed how the memory of the recent past is important within the framework of the Catalan cultural heritage. That is why the two sites were chosen to link the heritage to the Civil War and to the Franco regime, as well as to subsequent internal migratory movements. It should be remembered that this is a heritage that was recovered a few years ago, after a change came about in relation to social awareness about the past, in a desire to overcome the silences that were imposed both during the Franco dictatorship and during the transition towards democracy with respect to the Civil War and its consequences. The pressure of citizens and civil society has been very important for the recovery of sites such as Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira anti-aircraft battery in Barcelona, or the shelters and the commemorative walk around the bombing site in Granollers. Local demand has also been active in demanding, and above all in dignifying, the ancient shedding space in the city of Barcelona, a place where thousands of people lived during the Franco regime until the 1980s and early 1990s.

Without a doubt, remembering the recent past through the heritage allows for an educational work that would otherwise be very difficult without this heritage. It allows for the curricular content to be complemented with direct experiences on the part of the students. The problem is that this remains practically the sole involvement of young people with knowledge of the cultural heritage.

Although the internet is a medium widely used by sites and for the promotion of their activities, print publications continue to be the preferred means of communication. We have been able to observe how social networks are being incorporated into the promotion of cultural heritage, especially through photography and the Instagram

application. This is obviously one way of approaching youth culture. But, as the consulted experts point out, specific work with young people is still a pending challenge.

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## 7. Appendices

### Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites (including web links)

#### MUHBA:

Website: <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/>

Web link to the educational activities:

<http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/taxonomy/term/432>

Table 1. MUHBA Urban history guides related with Turó de la Rovira and Shelter 307 sites (with the web links)

Title	Main content
<i>Barraques/BCN (number 7). Urban history guide</i>	Depicts the shantytowns in the city of Barcelona during the 20th century, basically in four areas of the city: Turó de La Rovira (El Carmel neighbourhood), Somorrostro, Montjuïc, and other places distributed over the city. The shanties of Turó de la Rovira are presented as a good example of an informal city. During the 40s, hundreds of migrant people from other parts of Spain took advantage of the structure of the anti-aircraft batteries to build informal housing. In the 60s, there were 3,000 inhabitants living there and in the neighbourhood. During many years the barracks had no access roads nor services of any kind. The neighbourhood's struggle is also presented as an improvement from its situation in the 70's. Photographic content and map of the city. <a href="http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/barraquesbcn">http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/barraquesbcn</a>
<i>Defensa/BCN 1936-39 (number 8). Urban history guide</i>	Historical and photographic account of the indiscriminate bombings suffered by the city during the Spanish Civil War from Franco and Italian aviation. It describes how bombings were becoming a modern war weapon to destroy factories, seaports and railways, communication channels, etc. It also explains the concepts of passive defence (measures for the detection, prevention, and rescue of citizens during the bombings, such as the creation of shelters or actions to protect themselves) and active defence (military devices, such as observation centres or lighting used to detect airplanes, and anti-aircraft defence). A map of the city with the bombed areas is presented, showing its passive and active defence points. Shelter 307 and the anti-aircraft battery of the Turó de la Rovira are essential elements on the map. Photographic content. <a href="http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/defensa-1936-39bcn-0">http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/defensa-1936-39bcn-0</a>
<i>Balconada de Barcelona (number 18). Urban history guide</i>	Depicts different balconies and perspectives of the city, taking advantage of the geographical features from the mountain to the sea. It includes 33 buildings, hills, or spaces along a route that runs across the Civil War anti-aircraft battery of the Turó de la Rovira. Photographic content and city map. <a href="http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/publicacions/balconada-bcn">http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/publicacions/balconada-bcn</a>

Can Jonch:Website: <http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch>

Table 2. Can Jonch urban guides related to historical memory (along with their web links)

Title	Main content
<i>Air-raid shelters in Granollers</i>	his flyer in Catalan, Spanish and English deals with the building of the four shelters in the city during the Civil War. How the people had to live under the booms, and how the municipality decided to build the shelters, and the situation of the shelters in the present day.  <a href="http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Refugis%20antiaeris.pdf">http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Refugis%20antiaeris.pdf</a>
<i>Places of remembrance. Granollers bombed.</i>	This flyer in Catalan, Spanish and English deals with the impact of the war on the city along the “route of remembrance”, a clearly indicated urban route around the site of the 1938 bombing. One can follow it using the informative placards and the tiles inscribed with the date of the raid (31/05/38). The guide has a map and some photographs taken in 1938 after the bombing raid, and also presents the commemoration.  <a href="http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Itinerari%20bombardeig.pdf">http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Itinerari%20bombardeig.pdf</a>
<i>Memory spaces</i>	This flyer in Catalan talks about the civil war in Granollers and the memory places related to this episode of history.  <a href="http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2012/07/M%20GRANOLLERS.pdf">http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2012/07/M%20GRANOLLERS.pdf</a>
<i>Granollers bombing</i>	Information displayed on the website about the city of Granollers, the bomb attack of May 31 <sup>st</sup> 1938, life under the bombs, the heritage memorial, and the long, silent process of memory recovered.  <a href="http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch/granollers-bombardeig-31-maig-1938">http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch/granollers-bombardeig-31-maig-1938</a>
<i>Granollerins deportats als camps de concentració nazis (People of Granollers deported to the nazi camps)</i>	This is a little publication with an overview of the life of the 7 people of Granollers who were deported during World War II to the Nazi camps. The book explains how this memory of the deported people was recovered, and the dangers of <i>desmemoire</i> . The guide locates the places where the deported people used to live.

## **Appendix 2. Brief content of MUHBA and Can Jonch thematic main visits or activities addressed to the general public at the selected sites**

### MUHBA (Shelter 307 and Turó de la Rovira)

- "The civil war in Barcelona: Revolution and bombing." An itinerary that goes from the centre of Barcelona to Shelter 307, which situates the context of the Second Republic, the coup d'état, confrontations, actions of the military and civil authorities, and citizen participation.

- "Passive and active defence of the city. Shelter 307 and the batteries of the Turó de la Rovira." These are considered decisive heritage spaces to understand the active and passive defence plans in Barcelona during the Civil War and the response from the population, and how the Republican army dealt with the air bombardment that frightened the city.

- "The Barcelona of the War and Post-war period. Perspectives from the Turó de la Rovira." At a height of 262 meters above sea level and with a wide panoramic view of the city, the Turó de la Rovira is a privileged vantage point. It was a strategic location for the defence of Barcelona during the Civil War, and afterwards for the construction of informal housing during the 1940s-60s.

- "The defence of the modern city", in which the Turó de la Rovira is seen as an advanced natural viewpoint of Collserola, chosen in 1937 to project one of the most important anti-aircraft defences in the city.

### Can Jonch

- "Cities defending human rights". 13 Catalan municipalities participate in this activity in a coordinated way. The objective is that city councils and entities will altogether bring 8 human rights activists from all over the world to explain their cause in different municipalities of Catalonia. Those activists take part in activities with high school students of the city during two weeks.

- "The Forest of Peace". The Forest of Peace is a green space on the right bank of the river. It was planted in 2008, coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the bombing of Granollers. It is made of 224 trees, as many as the victims of the 1938 bombing. On each tree are placed thoughts about peace made by individuals, organizations, groups, etc. Coinciding with the anniversary of the bombing, every year there is a popular walk to the Forest of Peace.



### Appendix 3. A selection of pictures taken during the fieldwork in both sites

#### MUHBA- Shelter 307



Before the entrance to the shelter, the guide explains the context of the Civil War and the building of the shelters.



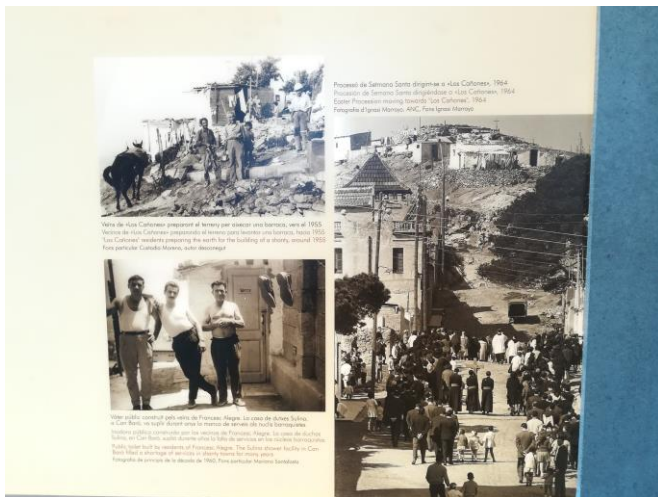
The visit guided by the responsible guide inside the shelter.

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

MUHBA- Turó de la Rovira



Remains of one of the anti-aircraft batteries of the Turó de la Rovira



Photos shown on the ceiling of the exhibition at the Turó de la Rovira depicting the shacks of el Carmel, 1940s-50s.

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

Can Jonch



Forest of Peace in the garden of Can Jonch



*Stolpersteine* of Granollers