

T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

# 7

## CIUTAT MORTA/DEAD CITY

### Agency, ICTs and critical urban documentary in the Spanish context

*Ana ~~Rodr~~, ~~í and~~ ~~guez~~ Granell*

In recent years, urban issues have been shaping many of the counter-discourses in audio-visual production linked to social movements, in the knowledge that these struggles, situated in everyday life, are establishing a dialogue with a global model of capitalist restructuring and with neoliberal market logics. Considering the Catalan and Barcelona context (Balibrea 2001) and, on a larger scale, some of the sequence of events in the Spanish history, the links between the establishment of production models and urban transformations provide a landscape of drastic changes in which social action and the use of media have often played a significant role. It is possible to trace a long history of entrenched social and cultural militancies within these urban boundaries, in which agents are today offering radical forms of democratic participation that are reshaping the political agenda and institutions (Pickvance 2003). This chapter aims to highlight the relationship between these economic, cultural, urban and ICT (Information and Communication Technology) processes in order to determine the nature of the tensions they generate and the political agency achieved by some organisational models at the margins of cultural industry. In doing so, we will analyse the case of the documentary *Ciutat Morta* (Dead City) (Xavier Artigas and Xapo Ortega 2015) produced by the audio-visual platform Metromuster. This documentary recounts the dismantling of the 4-F case: the events that took place in Barcelona on February 4, 2006, when an officer of the city's Guardia Urbana police force was seriously injured after receiving a blow to the head during the eviction of squatters from a theatre. Several people were arrested and tortured, and four received prison sentences despite repeatedly proclaiming their innocence. One of them, Patricia Heras, who was not even at the scene of the crime, committed suicide on April 26, 2011, while on leave from prison. *Ciutat Morta* is presented as a paradigmatic case since it includes various aspects that we will analyse here: the reshaping of the alternative media's political agenda by global economic dynamics and the model of the city brand, and the practice and transformational capacity of the militant documentary in the digital age.

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

80 Ana Rodríguez Granell

Some minimal consideration must be given to the long history which aids in the understanding of the current context of the emergence of film practices. As a result, I will establish a history of relations between the production model, urban transformations and militant cinema in Spain, and subsequently highlight the current framework using Barcelona as a paradigm of the city brand. On the one hand, this context engages in a dialogue with a specific historical legacy and, on the other, it provides an understanding of the meanings within current politicised cultural practice.

This context will help us to think if militant film creators should no longer be considered as prototypical outsiders working on activist culture. As practices embedded in the cultural sphere, the flows of the digital economy run through militant audio-visual practices and they are even central to it in their flexible working conditions, involving voluntary and unstable work (Terranova 2000), while we argue that activism has also been prone to generating transforming economies. What are cultural labour's new political concerns today, and what organisational models do these activist agents offer? What relations are created with established cultural institutions? What level of self-reflection do alternative audio-visual production platforms engage in, and how are these practices related to the rise of protests that we have seen since May 2011? These are some of the questions that I will answer, or at least outline in the context of a country that is heavily committed to free culture, like Spain. In the Catalan context, it is significant to note that since the so-called creative documentary in the early twenty-first century, two of its leading lights, José Luis Guerin and Joaquim Jordà, with *En construcción* (*Work in Progress*, 2002) and *De nens* (2003), portrayed the processes of transformation in Barcelona that were rendered invisible by the institutional promotional narratives found in blockbusters such as *Todo sobre mi madre* (*All About My Mother*, Pedro Almodóvar 1999). The promotional strategies culminated in the famous government-funded example of cinematic branding, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (Woody Allen 2008). In fact, the links between film and the city have always been very close. As an agent involved in the construction of imaginaries that affirm identities, Balibrea (2005) pointed out how cinema was also involved in the inception of the Barcelona brand.

### **The structural consequences of an industrial model: the militant documentary against Spanish capitalism**

The link between audio-visual production and social movements has a long history in the Spanish context, and has been an active response to urban problems arising from the implementation of specific economic models. There have been a number of filmmakers and collectives working in the country's largest cities since the early 1960s. They have taken advantage of technological developments and legal loopholes to use film as a political tool, in collaboration with the struggles of self-organised neighbourhood movements, in factories' worker representation committees or, on a broader basis, in the waves of anti-Franco dissent. Much of the output of the militant Spanish cinema that emerged in the second half of the

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Ciutat Morta/Dead City 81

Franco dictatorship was organised around problems arising from the industrial boom that affected both the morphology of the working class and the urban morphology of the country's major cities. Consequently, the contemporary cases mentioned here are modern responses to the dismantling of the industrialist model, and the implementation of economic strategies rooted in post-Fordism.

The origins of the Spanish economic model, which collapsed after the burst of the housing bubble in 2008, are rooted in the modernisation programmes undertaken by the technocrats of the Franco dictatorship during the late 1950s (Stabilisation Plans and Development Plans), when the regime finally decided to embrace the development of mass tourism, due to the consequent inflow of foreign exchange that would nourish the country's infrastructure. The transformation brought about by the development of tourism led to an economy based on the tertiary sector and the promotion of ownership of land, as well as the proliferation of restaurant businesses and industries related to the hospitality sector, which in turn stimulated the other engine of the Spanish economy: construction. As well as the emergence of tourism, the period between 1960 and 1970 saw constant waves of migration from the countryside to the cities. The massive growth of cities where the industrial areas were concentrated – such as Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao – led to an aggressive development of the real estate industry, which was in turn dependent on the financial resources of the banking oligopoly. The shortcomings of the Franco regime's management of urban and housing policies and the lack of metropolitan plans led to a rapid sprawl in the form of slums or shanty towns on the outskirts of cities, forcing their inhabitants to organise themselves with no governmental support in order to resolve the problems which they suffered from. Networks of relationships such as Catholic workers' organisations, neighbourhood associations, social workers, regional associations, etc., were used to recreate a forum for social and political activism (Domènech 2003). The conquest of the public space also took the form of the organisation of film-viewing sessions in parish churches and cultural associations, in discussions at neighbourhood associations, and in debates on cinema and urban planning convened by militant groups of architects and engineers as such as Equipo Urbano (Borja 2003). As a result, the film projects presented a challenge to the regime's mechanisms of censorship and its syndicated structures. Thanks to the sale of Super 8 film – not subject to censorship – and of lightweight cameras, these networks were given increased mobility and capacity for action when producing and disseminating counter-hegemonic audio-visual content. We can mention here documentary films such as Llorenç Soler's films *52 domingos* (1966) and *Será tu tierra* (1966), and *Largo viaje hacia la ira* (1969); those by the Cine de Clase collective (Helena Lumbreras and Mariano Lisa), and *La ciudad es nuestra* (1975) by Tino Calabuig.

After what had been the most extensive mobilisation in the twentieth century, in the early years of democracy, taking in the first right wing UCD government and the first Socialist government (1982–1996), the legacy of the Spanish capitalist model continued, based on agreements between the reformers of the Franco regime and the political left (López and Rodríguez 2010). This Transition on the

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

82 Ana Rodríguez Granell

basis of the negotiations at the top – the Moncloa Pacts of 1977 – together with Spain’s deindustrialisation, defused the social conflict, and with it the opportunities for participatory democracy that had been created in factories and neighbourhoods during the dictatorship (López and Rodríguez 2010). The Spanish economic model, which remained unchanged and was ultimately based on a strategy of accumulation centred on income from finances and real estate, together with the development of cognitive capitalism, had its counterpart in the urban development discussed below.

### **Towards the city-brand model: urban problems of the Barcelona brand and the new political economy of culture**

Turning now to the specific case of post-industrial cities, such as the contemporary Barcelona, we should focus on how, during the 1990s, urban policies began to adopt new measures and strategies for urban revitalisation and regeneration, based on the creation of cultural and educational facilities. This was due to the introduction of new management models, and increasing competitive pressure to position post-industrialised cities on the international map. This leads us to paradigmatic examples such as post-Olympic Barcelona (1992–1999), in which the transformations in the city created a style of planning and management policies that came to be known as the Barcelona Model (Marshall 2000, 299–319). These dynamics involve economic growth based heavily on the real estate business and on the creative economy. Although culture is not a sector with a high percentage of workers or a very large direct impact on the city’s economy, the creative economy generates large positive externalities (Harvey 2005) from which sectors such as real estate and tourism can benefit.

And so we come to a phase in 1999–2007 characterised by a discourse based on the promotion of the creative economy and urban planning policies defined by this concept of a brand. In a decentralised state, local government bodies such as the City Council play a role in facilitating the various interests of private investors, in which market-driven development priorities determine decision-making processes (Borja 2010). Groups of cultural workers, who are now employed by cultural management companies, temporary employment agencies or large multi-service groups, have been affected by the loss of public control over issues relating to management and recruitment, so that minimum working conditions are not always guaranteed, and sometimes irregular or illegal situations arise.

Numerous critical texts analyse how cultural workers, artists, hackers, designers and those linked to the creative and knowledge industry, and the implementation of labour relations based on the regulation, end up creating vulnerability and *instability* (Lazzarato 1996; Terranova 2000; Lorey 2008).

The relationship between urbanism and culture in the new operating framework of public policy and private intervention thus places us before a state of elements that constitute modern ways of living and working that go far beyond those of Florida’s (2002) *creative class*, forming a new majority social class marked by vulnerability, the

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Ciutat Morta/Dead City 83

*precariat*. This is a heterogeneous group made of growing immigration, overqualified or under qualified workers, single mothers, and young people from deprived areas and the long-term unemployed (Standing 2011).

### **The story of a *Dead City*: the political agency of culture in the digital age**

In addition to the deterioration in living conditions of the *precariat* and even of the middle class after the crisis of 2008, all these processes of public dispossession led to the areas of action and the political challenges that make up the agenda of the broad range of protests of the last twenty years, which eventually converged in the 15-M movement. In the Catalan context, the conflict arising from the Forum of Cultures 2004<sup>1</sup> can be considered a turning point, and an example of one of the milestones in the renewed visibility and reorganisation of the critical movements. A well-known militant and low-cost mockumentary such as *El taxista ful* (Jo Sol 2005) (Rodríguez Granell 2015) emerged from the atmosphere that was created after the anti-Forum mobilisations.

Metromuster, the production company of *Ciutat Morta*, was established precisely as a critical response to the modern framework of urban policies and the model of local creative industries. In 2009, the director and the staff involved decided to establish themselves as a limited company, with the consequent entry in the Catalan Register of Companies, in order to produce *No Res. Vida y mort d'un espai en tres actes* (Xavier Artigas 2012), a documentary financed collectively and collaboratively that portrayed the eviction and demolition of one of the last workers' colonies in Barcelona to be replaced by housing blocks.<sup>2</sup>

What emerged from this experience was a number of achievements at the level of political agency: the production of a documentary with a high aesthetic level that would be broadcast beyond militant circles, moving beyond the idea of low cost, which adopted crowdsourcing and crowdfunding formulas and used social networks, while respecting two key ethical points: the use of free licences and the rejection of forms of precarious employment (voluntary work). *No Res* received the National Award for the Best Feature Film at the 9th edition of the well-known Documenta festival in Madrid in 2012, enabling a freely licensed film to compete for the first time. In its relationships with public institutions, Metromuster succeeded in gaining TV3's participation with a co-production contract and a première respecting the Creative Commons licence.

After the emergence of the 15-M movement in 2011, the protests in the streets changed the course of events. Metromuster assumed another dimension after the collapse of the project, with Artigas' full personal involvement with the anti-austerity movement. However, the audio-visual project was subsequently reinforced by the cooperative spirit that was created as a result of the work in the streets, and which later fuelled the Metromuster project after *No Res* had ceased to be viable. While it was possible to produce *No Res* thanks to the creation of a community of kindred spirits and followers involved in the 15-M movement, Metromuster became

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

84 Ana Rodríguez Granell

diluted within it and specialised in providing audio-visual services free of charge, while acting as a documentary filmmaker of all the events that took place over three years in its role as a member of the 15-M Audio-visual Committee. An entire network of collaboration that would give new significance to the production company was thereby created. Working with the new recruit Xapo Ortega, Xavier Artigas began working voluntarily on the filming and documenting of a movement that, among other work, strengthened the existing network of activists at local and national levels (Rodríguez Granell 2015).

This already existing community and the digital environment gave a strong boost to the media profile of what would become *Ciutat Morta*.<sup>3</sup> The film is a documentary about police and institutional corruption in Barcelona, arising from the need for restoration and gentrification of the city's old quarter. *Ciutat Morta* is a paradigmatic case in this study since it involves various levels: agency; institutional corruption with police abuse and repression and political complicity; the influence of public mobilisation after the 15-M protests; the role of government bodies in the city's process of marketing and gentrification; the problems of cultural labour and the use of ICTs and collaborative work in militant documentary films.

In late 2011 the opportunity to focus on the events of the 4-F case arose, due to a news story published by *La Directa* and contact with a stable community: individuals close to the case and relatives of the accused. A collaborative network for the project was established including the lawyers working on the case, journalists from *La Directa*, the 4-F support platform ([www.desmontaje4f.org](http://www.desmontaje4f.org)), journalists in charge of research and designers responsible for creating promotional material.

The possibility of access to a co-production with the Catalan public television company (TV3) with a more personal project focusing on the figure of Patricia Heras as a poet was initially considered. In Catalonia, TV3 acts as a guarantor of legitimacy in access to grants for television documentaries (ICEC and ICUB grants if a prior co-production agreement is obtained). This is a requirement imposed by the European MEDIA programme. Grants from the ICEC for innovative documentaries were refused, and TV3's refusal led to some exhaustion.

The creative process continued voluntarily. In short, the high level of commitment led to a project with a high human cost becoming unsustainable, since it emerged as a result of a context involving unpaid collaborative work, which reduced the personnel to two people (Xavi Artigas and Xapo Ortega), which on a largely unplanned basis initially raised 5,000 euros (only 5 per cent of the project's total cost) through a Verkami crowdfunding initiative. It is only thanks to the film's many awards and presentations – fourteen to date – that the investments in production are retroactively making a profit. The use of Twitter and informal WhatsApp and Facebook groups acted as improvised platforms for appeals like those for access to equipment, subtitling in English and Blue-ray editing, which were based on the militant networks of trust in the 15-M movement and a community that was committed to the project. That community, the political interest in the case and the unconditional nature of the audio-visual work on 15-M by Metromuster made it possible to produce *Ciutat Morta*, which premièred on June

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Ciutat Morta/Dead City 85

8, 2013, and led to a commitment to release the film on February 4, 2015. With this release, TV3 had an excuse to not show it on television, and the film thereby lost the high profile that a broadcast on a public channel would have provided.

The media and social impact strategies for *Ciutat Morta* began at that point. The première (under the title *4F: Ni oblit ni perdó*) took place during the squatting of a movie theatre in central Barcelona, in which 800 participated. The authors refer to that time as the materialisation of the 15-M protests, when the strategy of squatting helped and created plural collectives that would probably not have come together under other circumstances. *Ciutat Morta* was thereby an actor which thus made the multifaceted nature of 15-M possible, e.g., among anti-capitalist left-wing groups, the lack of identification with any political group, the pro-independence Catalan left, anarchist groups, the Podemos movement, artists, etc. The news channel covered it that night. The film began to be shown at alternative venues and in civic centres, as well as on both Catalan and Spanish mainstream film platforms. According to Artigas (personal communication), '[with] this documentary we wanted to shatter the Barcelona brand, and we are very excited about presenting it at the cultural centre CCCB because it is a way to begin to destroy it from within'. *Ciutat Morta* began to be seen and to win awards at major festivals in Spain, including the prize for the best documentary at the Málaga Festival, with the consequent press impact.

The strategy, based on this visibility in the mainstream media, was to send a public tweet to TV3 asking about the possibility of showing what was now an award-winning film, free of charge. At this point the MP David Fernández interceded in the Parliament of Catalonia when, during the proceedings of the supervisory committee of the Catalan Audio-visual Media Corporation (CCMA), he asked about whether the documentary would be shown, leading to the consequent social pressure and media attention. Finally, the documentary was shown on TV3's secondary channel Canal 33, with a few seconds censored by court order, and which Artigas and Ortega strategically lengthened to five minutes. This created a Streisand effect,<sup>4</sup> and the extensive public excitement that was generated led to a record audience for the channel, with 569,000 viewers and a 19 per cent share (*El País* 2015). According to the directors, 'the media blockade ended at that point' (Artigas and Ortega, personal communication).

Soon after, Barcelona City Council asked the Office of the Prosecutor to include the documentary as possible new evidence. The Parliament of Catalonia unanimously approved an institutional statement calling on the Office of the Prosecutor to reopen the case and on the Ombudsman to compile all the reports by the authorities involved in the case of 4-F, although the Office of the Prosecutor has made it clear that it has no intention of reopening the investigation. Nonetheless, *Ciutat Morta* has succeeded in creating a discourse in which the casuistry of the facts is transcended and structural issues are considered. The documentary has been effective in highlighting what the city brand needs to conceal giving its narrative credibility. In this regard, urban marketing also involves sanitation. According to its directors (Artigas and Ortega, personal communication), *Ciutat Morta* is

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

86 Ana Rodríguez Granell

yet another story of police impunity, accompanied by a heavy dose of racism, class prejudice and the violation of basic rights, all protected by a judicial system that is a legacy of the Franco regime and politicians obsessed with the real estate business provided by the Barcelona brand at the expense of the citizens.

Finally, *Ciutat Morta* received the Ciutat de Barcelona prize from the ICUB, in another media landmark that included a refusal to collect the award from the mayor.

In terms of an organisational model, the *Ciutat Morta* experience has reshaped the significance of Metromuster, making it into a production company that provides audio-visual communication projects focusing on political corporate video. To some extent, the production company has maintained its original philosophy based on the three cornerstones of its political project: aesthetic quality, free licences and a work ethic, by taking advantage of a market niche including foundations, NGOs and associations, with communication needs and political objectives that Metromuster is able to meet with professionalism, and making the production company a sustainable business as well as formalising the initial cooperative model thanks to its contact with the collaborative network that emerged in the wake of the 15-M movement. This community generates an ecosystem that defines the limits of the production company – such as by refusing to work with some clients that do not share its aims.

As a result, by aiming to end ‘the vice of believing that everything is free in movements’ and doing ‘pedagogy of creative work’ (a rejection of self-exploitation), Metromuster is reshaping its production model while maintaining its own political agenda.

The commercial Creative Commons licence will allow it to engage in trade while restricting exclusivity, so that conventional distributors can provide more widespread showings and the benefit does not merely remain in the company. For example, bookshops and publishers with politically related aims have arranged a contract of 30 per cent of DVD sales without exclusivity arrangements (as is the case with conventional distributors). As for the cultural industries, their openness to new paradigms is becoming apparent. For example, the platform VOD Filmin has included the documentary in its catalogue despite its release on the Internet, while respecting its non-exclusive licence.

### Conclusions

We have seen how, in terms of their agenda, the documentaries analysed still focus on urban issues as their central subject matter, highlighting the processes that determine the reorganisation and configuration of the city. Today these are processes linked to global capitalism, which cut across the national policies inherited from the Franco system. We have been able to trace an entire cinematic tradition dedicated to highlighting the problems for urban planning and life arising from certain economic models. In the 1960s and 1970s, the political emphasis fell on the organisational models of film production itself, and on the creation of participatory communities that challenged the hierarchical models of the mainstream industry.



## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Ciutat Morta/Dead City 87

However, it is necessary to wait for a development and stabilisation of the Free Culture and the use of ICTs and an increased capacity for agency on the part of social movements. While free culture depends to a large extent on the development of digital tools, it is also true that demands including the equitable distribution of profits, participatory creation, greater control by creators over their works and an understanding of culture as a common good are crucial factors in social and economic transformation that transcend the purely technological sphere. In the early 2000s, collaborative and non-hierarchical work and self-financing were obviously inseparable from activist media, but if we consider political agency, it is possible to appreciate a wider scope since the rise of Free Culture, and greater self-awareness of their status as cultural workers on the part of activists. In this case, Metromuster resolves this dual contradiction that once was known as outsider cinema. As agents involved in social movements and as cultural agents, the members of Metromuster have reflexively developed their role in the coordinates of the new economy, so that as a political and cultural project it consciously includes the challenge of precarious conditions and transforming economic models. The use of digital tools has driven processes that were already under way, and which without the existence of a community would not have been subject to conditions of emergency and impact. Metromuster's capacity for agency operates on several levels ranging from legal protocols, such as the use of free licences, to the sustainability of the project through cooperative models, and therefore the rejection of voluntary forms of work. According to its members (as said by Xavier Artigas during an interview with the author), the capacity for agency is working for social movements 'without having to work at McDonalds'. The political significance of Metromuster once again involves the design of its production model, but, perhaps most acutely, it is its transcending of the cycle of activism through its inclusion in conventional media.

In the absence of public resources, the ICTs have fostered decentralised initiatives that facilitate audio-visual production, and social networks and the free circulation of content have created an unprecedented social impact. However, by maintaining its ethical lines, Metromuster also includes this social cross-cooperation in the need to create fissures in a public sphere dominated by traditional media such as public television and the daily newspapers, and platforms for cultural legitimacy such as art centres and established festivals. Without these media, the issue of police impunity in cases of torture would not have formed part of the local political agenda. By understanding the need to negotiate with public and private institutions, and focusing on a model for a transformational economy, outsiders thus become a central agent in the processes of social action.

### Notes

- 1 The 2004 Forum, a large-scale event designed to mobilise public and private resources for a major urban regeneration project and based on 'Multiculturalism and Human Rights', which was paradoxically sponsored by multinational corporations repeatedly condemned for attacks on the environment and indigenous peoples by consumers and workers, which were committed to the war economy and neo-imperialism (Delgado 2004).

## T&F PROOFS NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

88 Ana Rodríguez Granell

- 2 The Colonia Castells was built in 1920 and condemned to demolition in 2003 to make way for the construction of apartment blocks on the site, dismantling the residents' community network in central Barcelona. In its wake, the demolition left tenants who had a rental or ownership agreement going beyond 2001, who had no right to re-housing or compensation (for more information see Rodríguez Granell 2015)
- 3 The film can be seen on various online platforms, e.g., at <https://vimeo.com/118697248>
- 4 As one can read on Wikipedia: 'The Streisand effect is a phenomenon whereby an attempt to hide, remove, or censor a piece of information has the unintended consequence of publicizing the information more widely, usually facilitated by the internet' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Streisand\\_effect](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Streisand_effect)

### References

- Balibrea, Mari Paz. 2001. 'Urbanism, Culture and The Post-Industrial City: Challenging the "Barcelona Model"'. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2 (2): 187–210.
- Balibrea, Mari Paz. 2005. 'Barcelona: Del Modelo a la Marca'. In *Desacuerdos 3. Sobre Arte, Políticas y Esfera Pública en el Estado Español* edited by Jesús Carrillo and Ignacio Estella Noriega, 263–267. Barcelona: Arteleku-MACBA-Universidad Internacional de Andalucía.
- Borja, Jordi. 2003. *La ciudad conquistada*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Borja, Jordi. 2010. *Luces y sobras del urbanismo de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Editorial UOC.
- Delgado, Manuel. 2004. *La otra cara del Fòrum de les cultures S. A.* Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra.
- Domènech, Xavier. 2003. 'La otra cara del milagro español. Clase obrera y movimiento obrero en los años del desarrollismo'. *Historia contemporánea* 26: 91–112.
- Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *Capital financiero, propiedad inmobiliaria y cultura*. Barcelona: MACBA-Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 1996. 'Immaterial Labor'. In *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* edited by Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, 133–147. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- López, Ignacio, and Emmanuel Rodríguez. 2010. *Fin de ciclo. Financiarización, territorio y sociedad de propietarios en la onda larga del capitalismo hispano (1959–2010)*. Madrid: Traficantes de sueños.
- Lorey, Isabel. 2008. 'Gubernamentalidad y precarización de sí. Sobre la normalización de los productores y las productoras culturales'. In *Producción cultural y prácticas instituyentes. Líneas de ruptura en la crítica institucional* edited by Boris Budenet, 57–78. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.
- Marshall, Tim. 2000. 'Urban Planning and Governance: Is there a Barcelona Model?' *International Planning Studies* 5 (3): 299–319.
- Pickvance, Chris. 2003. 'From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements: A Review and Introduction to a Symposium on Urban Movements'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (1): 102–109.
- Rodríguez Granell, Ana. 2015. 'De agencias y dispositivos. El vídeo militante actual: de *El taxista ful* a *No Res* en el contexto histórico de los movimientos sociales'. In *Videactivismo y movimientos sociales. Teoría y praxis de las multitudes conectadas* edited by Francisco Sierra and David Montero, 257–279. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Standing, Guy. 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Terranova, Tiziana. 2000. 'Free Labor: Producing Culture for the Digital Economy'. *Social Text*, 18 (2): 33–58.