INDUSTRIAL TOURISM
When the industry becomes a chance for tourism

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Abstract
During the XIX th century there is an important growth of the industrial activity in Catalonia (specially in Barcelona, Sabadell and Terrassa). This configures a new order in some cities. When the factories shut up we find a new reality and the city has to decide about the future. The paper try to enlighten how a city with old factories has an opportunity to the city in order to transform itself into a city of services. We explain the advantages of the city that looks to the value of the factories, not only as an industrial heritage, but as touristic chance. Because its industrial history, we compare Sabadell and Terrassa.

Keywords: transformation, industry, tourism, Sabadell, Terrassa

The same history

Sabadell and Terrassa share a similar story. They are relatively close to Barcelona and in the way of the railway linking the coast with Zaragoza. Besides, industrialization finds a breeding ground for the start and further development. This is due not only to the enterprising character of its inhabitants, but also to the tradition of textile work.

With the industrial revolution, both cities grow steadily and account the largest concentration of textile mills in the Iberian Peninsula, reaching 80% of wool production.

The factory will occupy land currently located in the city’s central areas. In addition, with the factories, we find houses, libraries, cultural and economical buildings, etc. that configure the modern city.

If we delve into the origins of industrialization in both cities, we see something that distinguishes them: preparing for change in the textile industry. The mechanization of the traditional textile manufacturing systems bumped into the existing regulations of the trade organization. Until then the work had a clear process and trained people pre-approved by the union concerned. This generated a regulation of activities that entered in conflict with the mentality of the entrepreneur, with the modern processes of industrialization and a different training requirements. In Sabadell the guild structure makes the process slow down. On the other hand, Terrassa industrial adventure begins with a certain advantage because the initiative of new entrepreneurs does not find significant opposition to his plans for structuring the new industrial processes.

Nevertheless, the industrial growth process runs parallel in both cities, both of them grow in population and, consequently, housing, equipment and, therefore, in occupation of land.
In other respects their challenges are similar: the problem of substandard housing, social and economic problems.

Alongside them, there is a point not overlooked: the size of the factories. Terrassa has larger factories. This means that there are entrepreneurs with greater economic power. Sabadell has some factories of great dimension, but is more common the existence of small ones or factories shared by more than one company. In addition to the possible consequences in the economics (more or less flexibility in times of crisis, etc.), at the moment is important to note two consequences of the differences mentioned: the size of industrial areas and investment opportunities therein.

From the urban point of view we must stress the importance of planning in the phases of generation of both cities that give us clues of what they are today. Both are pioneers in the establishment of a plan, on the other hand required to meet changes in the city (in the 1850's).

The industrial zoning comes into the 1930's when most factories are already in the central area of the city. The plan accepts the inclusion of factories in the center but in future they should be settled in the periphery. Along with the zoning, the plans propose a hygienist residential types and we can say that the city is mostly horizontal in terms of scale (hence the low presence of buildings over three storeys).

Two different flights (1950-2007) of both cities where is shown the factory occupation on the central area (source: drawings from the author)

The impact on urban development in both cities is clear. Cities respond to the needs of the economy through the development of workers' housing, schools, parks, landmarks, new employer organizations, banks...

The industrial development has the factories as protagonists, but we also find other buildings that depict the period: workers' housing (affordable homes), swimming pools, markets, schools and more spectacular (in the Noucentist or modernist catalan style) with the cooperation of major architects in close relationship with the main businessman of both cities. It is in this type of construction where it appears a distinction between the two cities: in Terrassa this architecture is rich and spectacular; instead, in Sabadell has a more discreet style. This is due to three causes: the differing economic power of the promoters, the function of such buildings (public or private) and the authors of the works. In this last point, the presence of Moncunill excels in Terrassa (author of the Masia Freixa or Vapor Aymerich, Amat i Jover, both modernist) whose wealth is matched only timely in Sabadell (with Jeroni Martorell in Building La Caixa d'Estalvis Sabadell and Josep Renom in the Central Market).
By the early 1950's, the industry still carries weight in the activity of the city, but service activities and the transformation of both cities in local centers of attraction gain ground.

With new urban plans (1930's), starts the process of emptying the industries. This vacancy has two origins. On one hand, the modern city zoning that points the place where the industry should be established: housing must have a central space in the city along with the main equipment, while industrial activity must be located on the periphery. On the other hand, the old industry located in the central areas of the city is being emptied by the cessation of the activity and the impossibility to adapt the old enclosures to a new use.

In a sense, the industrial city leaves some "gaps" and a "way of making city" that make the city peculiar. The second point is as important as the first because it allows a complete understanding of the lifestyle of an industrial city. We include in the second group, not only the representative buildings but the housing typology and his correspondence with the plot of land, that has an urban hygienist background in the origin of this implementation.

Between 1950 and 1960, major changes are linked to the progressive increase in population, the relocation of industry to the suburbs and housing needs. The housing model is rethinks and housing patterns in height are chosen instead the hygienist. The first housing estates are located on the periphery and, only in rare occasions, we can find residential patterns in height at the center of cities.

The crisis of 1973 marks the decline of the industry. The emergence of other markets and the loss of competitiveness, lead to the gradual evacuation of the old factory workshops, and leave behind a "ghost town".

Thus, in the central city areas, we continue finding large industrial sites with no activity or an activity that is languishing.

**The weight of the past and institutional concern.**

Both cities face an unprecedented economic crisis and seek for alternative solutions to the textile tradition (through technological upgrading, for example) and many of them cause a delay in the emptiness of the center.

In the years 70-80, the city has other problems because of the urban growth: to improve connectivity within the city itself, the aspiration to become a center of services in the region requires more efforts and equipment. At the end, the consolidation of a city that is fast populated and poorly developed.

Already in 1970, Terrassa faces the need to take up again an old aspiration. Sponsored by the Association of Mechanical Engineers, whose college is located in the city, appear the need to publicize
the process of industrialization in Catalonia through the creation of a Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia.

Terrassa: the Engineering School and the monument to the industry placed in 1968 as a recognition of the steam engine (a Marcinillé Coullet Belgium machine from 1886) (source: photos from Cuyas found in the ICC)

In the early 1980s, both cities are thinking about a way of answer to the first disappearance of the textile heritage. The initiative comes from social sectors that are sensitive to the history that are aware that something of great value is about to disappear. The alarm of heritage destruction comes from small groups of intellectuals, literary culture, from various media reports that attempt to persuade the administration of the advisability of taking action on the matter.

The realization of these concerns is reflected in the development of a catalog of assets (Sabadell 1982, Terrassa 1983).

Catalogs are the ones who initiate local awareness for the preservation of the history of the city and that will make more or less attractive to these cities in the future.

The next step in urban regulation comes from the hand of sectorial plans, special plans heritage are born years later (1986 to 1988 in Terrassa and Sabadell) which represent a development of the concept of heritage and establish mechanisms to preserve it. Both transcend the concept of catalog items.

These catalogs are reviewed in subsequent years and it is possible to see the different ambition maintained over time.

It is interesting the process of realization of the plans. When describing the industrial heritage, each one highlights the industrial value to the city and the need to preserve it for future generations. In contrast, when defining conservation policies the differences are quite noticeable. We can say that both are born with great courage and integrity and that, yielding to various pressures, the initial aspiration is diluted. They do it at different magnitude.

For example, in Terrassa, referring to the period 1850-1950 (century of industrialization), states that in addition to the conservation of architectural elements, urban environments must be retained. In addition, the planning tool intended for the protection of heritage is entitled: Special Heritage-Historic-Architectural and Environmental Plan of Terrassa (PEPPHAA). According to the Industrial Landscape concept of Francaviglia as "places-or depictions of them - that contain buildings, sites and other features associated with history". And also tell us about the value of it that "is not based on its artistic importance, but rather on its value as a witness of an industrial process which has changed society" (EDWARDS AND LLURDÉS, 1996).

Sabadell in 1988 states that it's going only to keep some buildings and explicitly excludes fronts, street and sets. That is, it poses a major cut in the ambitions of retaining its industrial past. Surely for a more
possible result, but clearly affecting the future of the city. The work is titled: Special Architectural Heritage Plan of Sabadell (PEPPAS).

From the above, can be summarized that there is an initial concern of the same level but quickly (in just 6 years), the criteria varies in the case of Sabadell and opts for a more restrictive asset valuation.

The heritage protection plans will be reviewed sometime. For example the Sabadell Plan reviewed in 2007 (PEPPAS) adopt a similar criteria to protect its Industrial Landascape of the Terrassa's 1986 Plan (PEPPHAA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Heritage Plan</th>
<th>Plan on Heritage (Industrial Landscape)</th>
<th>Urban Plan (Industrial Heritage)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Catalogue of assets (Industrial Heritage)</td>
<td>Urban plan (Heritage plan to do)</td>
<td>Urban Plan (Cultural-Industrial Heritage linked)</td>
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The new occupation: services and tourism.

The realization of a catalog is the starting point in both cities for the recognition of its past, its set on value and the beginning of a long process of adaptation to the new city.

Along with listing plans and special plans first, we must mention the announcement of the celebration of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. They provide a boost for both cities that lead them to modernize in many ways: improving equipment, communications, building neighborhoods…an also the introduction of a touristic view on the city’s own approach.

The announcement of the Olympics is in 1986, causing further changes in these cities. These occur mainly in the periphery of their centers, leaving intact somewhat industrial sites.

The more permissive in Sabadell, makes real changes occur in the center of town, but they are rather specific and are made without a sense of heritage preservation. The main operations are changes of industrial land (former industrial site) to housing of different types (sometimes in blocks of flats and others, the less, at home in a row).

Terrassa will be somewhat the same but the limitation is larger municipal and rarely find high-rise buildings in the old industrial sites.

Both cities are consolidated as poles of attraction of service to the region. The old manufacturing activities is converted and repositioned in the city. The weight of the old industrial economic activity shifts to service sector. This economic diversification is the ideal setting for the projection of industrial tourism development because, as Edwards and Llurrdés recognize, they alone would be insufficient.
Sabadell: different flights (1950-2007) show the evolution in the city transformation to postindustrial. (source: ICC and Bing and the author)

It is possible to say that the industry starts looking like tourist business after the Olympics. Terrassa project consolidates his former Museum of Science and Technology in 1990.

Terrassa's industrial emptying saw immediately an opportunity in the long term development of industrial tourism. In 1996, in addition to tourist guide in these areas, defines a plan to give it content. Instead, Sabadell has not included its industrial heritage in tourism until 2003. Along with the various reasons we have discussed, it is clear that the delay also makes a difference.

The concern of Terrasa by its own history and the need to leave to future generations a knowledge of how the industry ’built’ his city has given us valuable examples of technical ingenuity and a brilliant industrial city structure. The fact that we can read the industrial city makes it an object of interest.

Following English and French tradition, Terrassa is interested in forming a network of industrial tourism, and in 2006 found the XATIC (Industrial Tourism Network of Catalonia). The network proposes a visit to factory buildings in different towns in Catalonia and play activities to help identify processes of production of the old factories. The town has a tourism project that helps to consolidate the conservation of their heritage.

The introduction of industrial tourism in Sabadell has been more recent and, although it has more industrial heritage from other populations, it is not within the network XATIC. Today, there is no tourist service that shows any of the old textile production processes.
Terrassa: different flights (1950-2007) show the evolution in the city transformation to postindustrial. (source: ICC and Bing and the author) Can be appreciated the remains of the industry.

Yet both cities are present in local (Sabadell and Terrassa), autonomic (Diputació de Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya) and international programs (European routes, EC sponsored) in recognizing their role in the tourism and industrial heritage.

When it comes to tourism, industrial tourism, it is important the economic context. In both cases we are dealing with city services, with similar potential (economic, demographic, etc.) but from a touristic perspective, the difference in attention to the industrial past, are distinguished.

We have seen the main difference in the treatment of the heritage that has made each city. The main point is the City's initiative, that bet differently in each case: in one case, by reducing to a minimum the concept of equity, and in the other case by being more generous and courageous in their interest in the urban set. Terrassa has already incorporated the past into the city's structure giving it the image of the future; Sabadell is delayed in the process and the lack of attention to the past is an issue for the future. Traveling through both cities, we conclude that the current differences in heritage conservation are mainly about taking the things in advance and also the complicity new city-post industry. The conclusion is that Terrassa integrated the industrial heritage to the city of services (mainly through cultural initiatives) while Sabadell attempted that its heritage coexist to the city and with a certain delay.

We can say that an ambitious catalog promotes the implementation of tourism and, simultaneously, it is just nurturing and building bridges with industrial environments, first closer and then remote and require an attractive offer from the city.
Today former industrial sites are in process of transformation. In Sabadell transformation are heterogeneous: we can find conversions (factory-museum or school store) along with major demolition or replacement of flooring, which is the same, far-reaching economic operations. The inclusion of the word ‘environment’ in Terrassa protection plan, makes it more resistant to operations outside the industrial past such as Sabadell. Obviously, by the way have been lost opportunities to preserve industrial elements in the two cities.

If something is shown to tourists is that of which we are proud of and, ultimately, is what we are. Terrassa can be shown as it was the industrial city as a whole, while Sabadell will be content to show any equipment that was industrial. Terrassa has clearly opted for the value of tourism and this is a clear advance in the city: the presence of Museums, old industrial sites, access to ancient dwellings of the entrepreneurs ‘factories’. Therefore it can be reread as an industrial city and is easy to reconstruct his past and, more importantly, know a great extent. In Sabadell, recognition is partial and sometimes impossible.

![Terrassa: touristic guide from Tourist office of La Diputació where one can find many options to discover the industrial heritage; Sabadell has not a guide but the option of a guided tour of payment](image)

Tourism is a key element in self-perception for both cities. If the heritage alone can represent the value given by a people to their past, it exposure to the outside world, the tourist's view, reaffirms and may consolidate the audacity of the plans and environment protection of elements of their past.

Running in the opposite direction through history, tourism is an important element in a city of services under postindustrial development, allowing new ways in urban transformation of the now industrialized cities. Different paths in the two cities have reached us to the conclusion that the incorporation of tourism concepts in urban planning can reinforce and give value to the heritage of a city.

Clearly, must be added to this discourse the peculiar physical and qualitative characteristics of the place and not fall into the patrimonial indiscriminately. Although we can say that the fit between tourism and heritage take place in difficult conditions of degradation, where there is no industrial heritage tourism.

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