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**An Urban Political Ecology of Place-Making and  
Displacement in la Cañada Real Galiana (Madrid)**

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## **Abstract**

This paper is centred on la Cañada Real Galiana, an informal settlement in the southeast periphery of Madrid. For two years, sectors 5 and 6 of Cañada Real have had no electricity due to a yet unsolved electricity outage on October the 2nd 2020. In its aftermath, the pertinent administrations have prioritised the continuation of pre-existing policy for the progressive dismantlement and re-housing of Cañada, without directly addressing the outage; residents have consistently mobilised not only for the restoration of the electricity supply - but for the regularisation of Cañada and its recognition as a neighbourhood like any other in Madrid. Drawing from recent contributions in Urban Political Ecology, this paper argues that the current conflict over the electricity outage is best understood within a broader struggle of place-making and displacement in Cañada Real, closely embedded in the processes of suburbanization of nature that have unfurled in Southeast Madrid. This argument is supported through a combination of interpretive policy analysis, discourse analysis, and qualitative interviewing; most prominently, Bacchi's *What's the Problem Represented to be?* approach to policy analysis is employed as the guiding thread structuring the text. We first investigate how constructions of place in/of Cañada have been scripted and addressed in media and policy discourse over the last decades, and how they have enabled specific representations and interventions upon the settlement. Followingly, and seeking to develop a situated understanding of the current conflict, the paper investigates the everyday practices of encroachment on the ordinary through which residents of Cañada have progressively created a neighbourhood of their own. Lastly, we evaluate the everyday, embodied, affective and differentiated experiences of displacement that have been engendered by the re-housing programmes - and, more prominently, by the everyday, accumulated burdens of energy deprivation.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Informal settlements have often entailed a sort of necessary antithesis in urban development: foremost, their interpretation as 'shameful', 'uncivilised' or 'illegal' spaces have legitimised calls to modernise the city: to renew the urban landscape, improve hygiene, widen roads... As such, informal settlements are a common target of the creative destruction entailed by growth-oriented urban development, whereby the city is constantly expanded, transformed, and modernised. Today, urban development is being refashioned through a selective appropriation of environmental concerns, seeking to legitimise urban development as a solution (rather than a cause) of ecological problems. Such logics of sustainable urban development and green growth are increasingly employed to bolster the 'modernisation' of the urban periphery and to legitimise disruptive processes of dismantlement in informal settlements.

The case investigated in this paper, that of la Cañada Real Galiana, refers to a community that was originally excluded from these processes of urban development, and which secured their own ‘toehold’ in the city through the self-construction of urban space and the encroachment on the city’s infrastructure. Today, Cañada is subject to a prolonged process of dismantlement and displacement, ultimately seeking to make way for the urban developments currently encroaching the area, including various interventions of green infrastructure development and private-led carbon sink initiatives. The relevance of this paper lies in its situated, place-centred understanding of the current conflict in Cañada Real, as it elucidates how these processes of urban development (particularly its more novel iterations of sustainable urban development and green growth) are experienced and resisted within the settlement. Furthermore, and investigating how Cañada has been represented through public consciousness and policy discourse, the paper elucidates how urban space is materially and discursively constructed throughout the processes of creative destruction whereby the city is developed and ‘modernised’.

## **Keywords**

Urban Political Ecology, la Cañada Real Galiana, Madrid, place-making, displacement, informal settlement, suburbanization, infrastructure, urban policy.

# 1. Introduction

A mere 13 kilometres from Madrid's city centre lies the largest informal settlement in Europe (Morado Castresana, 2021). La Cañada Real Galiana (henceforth Cañada Real or Cañada), named after the abandoned transhumance trail it is built upon, is a 'linear' city traversing Southeast Madrid. It runs 16 km along the old transhumance trail, yet only spans over 75 m in width, and houses over 8.000 people divided in 6 sectors (Monreal, 2016; Álvarez Agüí, 2017). Cañada Real occupies a prominent space within Madrid's urban imaginary. Starting in the 2000s, several waves of sensationalistic media coverage and political intervention have portrayed Cañada as a 'lawless land' separated from state responsibility, undeserving of basic services and amenities, and destined for erasure (Gonick, 2015; Morado Castresana, 2021). The settlement - and, by extension, its residents - have been associated with dirtiness, chaos, illegality and marginality; with illegal waste dumping, slum-like housing and, most prominently, drug commerce (Monreal, 2014). While reflecting small, localised realities within the settlement, this has nevertheless become the sole image of an incredibly diverse neighbourhood (Monreal, 2016).

For two years, sectors 5 and 6 of Cañada Real have had no electricity due to an electricity outage on October the 2nd 2020. These two sectors (understood to be the most socio-economically vulnerable and comprising over 4,000 people, almost half of them children) have endured almost two whole years with no access to light, heating, or refrigeration (DCI et al, 2022). To all the difficulties that this already entails, one must add the difficulties related to Storm Filomena in January 2021 - reaching temperatures as low as -10 °C and breaking the record for Madrid's heaviest snowfall in 50 years - and to the intermittent heat waves of the past two summers, throughout which temperatures have often neared 40°C (Jones, 2021; Espejo Público, 2021). Despite growing demands to restore the electricity supply (from Cañada's residents, the Spanish Ombudsman, the Council of Europe, UN Special Rapporteurs), the pertinent administrations have maintained their previous line of action towards Cañada, accelerating the dismantlement of sector 6 (the most precarious one, though most of sectors 3-5 will expectedly follow), as well as the relocation of families in situations of vulnerability of sectors 4, 5, and 6 (Comunidad de Madrid, 2022a; DCI et al, 2022; ERSC, 2022).

Cañada's exposure and vulnerability to these events is enmeshed in a longer history of institutional abandonment, stigmatisation, and displacement. In October 2021 Houda Akríkez, leader of the Tabadol cultural association and one of the residents spearheading the mobilisation in Cañada Real, described the significance and injustice of this situation as follows:

"Today marks a year since they turned us off. This gear of constructing companies, electricity companies, and other entities that do not understand life as something to live, but to consume, focused on our houses. Suddenly, we were a nuisance, we stopped them from

advancing the voracity of their synergies. Sweeping and building their world, denying our lives, denying us as subjects with human rights (...)

It is very macabre that those moving under speculative interests have the capacity to decide so much over our lives. It is sinister that they want to annihilate our neighbourhood - where so many lives happen, each with their stories - to sell housing at an exorbitant market price.

The most disappointing thing is the attitude of the Community of Madrid, who should guarantee the rights of the neighbours who they instead insult and criminalise (...)

I ask for comprehension and to understand that this is not just a problem affecting us. Because of this, I find it necessary to explain what our struggle is and why it is just. The struggle in Cañada is a struggle for the right to housing, to the environment, to equality between men and women, for the rights of children and adolescents” [Translated by author] (Akrikez, 2021)

As denounced by Akrikez, the administrations tasked with the ‘problem’ of Cañada Real have delved into a prolonged and intermittent process of slum clearance and urban displacement, seeking to dismantle the settlement and, ultimately, making way for the urban development that are currently encroaching the area (Álvarez Agüí, 2017). It has been a prolonged political process, spanning three decades and characterised by a complicated interplay of neglect and social intervention, collaboration, ambivalence, and animosity towards the settlement (Álvarez de Andrés, 2020). Thus, many consider the aftermath of the electricity outage to be the latest manifestation of a longer process of displacement in Cañada. Throughout this intermittent process of demolition and dismantlement, now accelerated to an unprecedented extent, residents are displaced from their home, their neighbourhood, and the relationships they have fostered within it.

Yet at the same time, the residents of Cañada Real have engaged in a prolonged struggle to defend their neighbourhood against almost-constant attempts of demolition, dismantlement, and erasure (Gonick, 2015; Akrikez, 2015). With particular fervour in the aftermath of the 2007-2012 demolition campaigns, the residents of Cañada Real have mobilised in collaboration with an ever-changing network of urban activists, artistic collectives, legal experts, and leftwing religious associations (Gonick, 2015). They have occupied public spaces, contested demolition through legal means, appealed to international institutions... they have also formed cultural organisations, built common spaces, organised and managed the infrastructure sustaining their everyday lives. Throughout this prolonged struggle, Cañada Real has been vindicated as a place where demolition is not the sole possibility - and it has proven to be more than a space ‘under siege’ by Madrid’s urban metabolism. It has been repeatedly constructed and defended as a lived environment where people build community and make place - a *neighbourhood* where agency, autonomy, and creativity has flourished.

Within this prolonged and multifaceted struggle, Cañada Real should not be understood as an objectively-present urban landscape, but as an amalgamation of ‘places’: of sites constructed

through socio-spatial processes of social interaction, discursive narration, infrastructural configuration, embodied experience, and relations of power and change; ‘places’ which are sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting, ever-changing (Lombard, 2014). Furthermore, we must also understand that these ‘place-making’ processes have unfurled from beyond as well as within Cañada Real, in everyday life and throughout the cumulative passage of time.

In this paper, I study the struggles of Cañada Real through a place-making analytical lens. Thus, I seek to explore how Cañada Real has been discursively and materially (re)produced throughout the years, and the ways in which these socio-spatial processes and relations have enabled certain representations, interventions, and lived realities in Cañada - while foreclosing other urban possibilities. This has led me to the following research question: *In what ways have the processes of place-making in Cañada shaped, veiled, enabled or foreclosed the urban possibilities of this settlement?* Throughout the paper, I will argue that the current conflict over the electricity outage is best understood within a broader struggle of place-making and displacement in Cañada Real, closely embedded in the processes of suburbanization of nature that have unfurled in Southeast Madrid.

This paper is grounded on Urban Political Ecology (henceforth UPE) - and also emphasises the interdisciplinary character of this scholarship by integrating literature on informality, place-making and displacement, and urban policy. Even prior to the electricity outage, infrastructure (its production, management, access) played a central role in the conundrums surrounding Cañada Real, and is deeply embedded in the everyday experiences of adaptation and place-making of the neighbourhood-settlement. Drawing from UPE, I emphasise the significance of (informal) infrastructure as the tangible sites and channels of political struggle, urban governance, place-making and displacement in Cañada Real. Other important features in the conflict of Cañada have also brought us to consider UPE: namely, the (discursive and material) role of Cañada in the (sub)urbanisation of nature currently unfolding across Southeast Madrid.

The methodology of this paper consists of a combination of interpretive policy analysis, critical discourse analysis, and qualitative interviewing. These methods are integrated within Carol Bacchi’s *What’s the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) approach to policy analysis, whose framework of inquiry will serve as the guiding thread through which to structure the paper’s analysis and discussion. The WPR approach investigates how specific issues are constructed as ‘problems’ through the policymaking process, and the implications of this problematization in enabling specific views, interventions, and effects related to the issue at hand (Bacchi, 2015; Bletsas and Beasley, 2012). Importantly, the approach also integrates an analysis of the political contradictions, resistances, and tensions - as well the lived implications and material effects - that are entailed in the (re)production of these problematizations (Bacchi, 2009).

The paper proceeds as follows. The following chapter provides some necessary background information on Cañada Real. In Chapter 3 we turn to the literature review, which is centred on

Urban Political Ecology; Chapter 4 follows suit and delineates the theoretical framework. Chapter 5 explains and justifies the paper's methodology, and discusses some limitations. After discussing current policy responses to the electricity outage, Chapter 6 delves into a longitudinal analysis of policy and media discourse, as we observe how different problematizations of Cañada Real have been reproduced throughout the years, and elucidate the different ways in which place has been scripted and addressed within these representations. Chapter 7 shifts our attention into the place-making processes unfurling within Cañada: particularly, to the development of (informal) infrastructure configurations, as well as to the socio-spatial tactics through which neighbours have contested the stigmatisation of Cañada and constructed alternative representations and realities of their neighbourhood. Chapter 8 then discusses the processes of *displacement* currently unfurling in Cañada Real, evaluating their impact on the constructed places and infrastructural configurations that we discussed in the previous chapters.

## 2. La Cañada Real Galiana

Cañada Real refers to a peri-urban informal settlement built upon a transhumance trail, and named after it: the Cañada Real Galiana, emerging south of La Rioja and traversing over 400km until Ciudad Real (Echave-Sustaeta Abella *et al*, 2021). 'Royal cañadas' were created under the ordinance of Alfonso X the Wise in 1273, and henceforth maintained as public property, regulated and protected from residential and urban use (LCTB 2/2011, of March 15th). Thus, Cañada Real was as an informal settlement occupying protected territory until 2011, when it was legally reclassified as a patrimonial asset property of the Comunidad de Madrid (regional government) (Echave-Sustaeta Abella *et al*, 2021; DCI *et al*, 2022).

The settlement is a 'linear city' of 16km, spanning the jurisdiction of three municipalities within the autonomous community of Madrid: Coslada, Rivas-Vaciamadrid, and Madrid. Originating in the late 1950s (one of many across Madrid at the time, resulting from the rural exodus of the post-war years), it grew exponentially in the 1990s, leading to its current label as Europe's largest informal settlement (Castresana, 2021; Echave-Sustaeta Abella *et al*, 2021). Throughout the following decades, Cañada absorbed (a) the incoming flux of migrants to Madrid prior to the financial crisis, particularly of Moroccan and Eastern European Roma origin, attracted by the booming construction sector, and (b) the populations from surrounding slums (Los Focos, Las Barranquillas, etc.), displaced by Madrid's slum-dismantlement programmes, which seldom provided re-housing (FS Gitano and ACCEM, 2010; Pastor Hernández, 2020). Most of this population settled in sectors 5 and 6 - the main focus of this paper.

No official data on Cañada has been collected and published since 2017 (DCI *et al*, 2022). Furthermore, Cañada's cultural, socioeconomic, urban, and housing diversity has manifested in various forms and extents throughout its 16km. Foremost, Sector 6 is significantly more rural and

isolated, while Sector 5 closely borders the Rivas municipality (Appendix A1). Its socioeconomic composition is highly varied, though Sector 6 is characterised by high unemployment and reliance on the Integration Minimum Income (RMI); as well as by the predominance of the construction sector, domestic jobs, and more informal livelihoods - street-market selling, scrap dealing, and drug trafficking<sup>1</sup> (Álvarez Agüí, 2017). Sector 5 is predominantly inhabited by families of North African origin, particularly Moroccan migrant families; while Sector 6 is predominantly inhabited by Spanish Roma families (Figure 1). The latter sector is significantly larger, comprising 40.6% of Cañada’s total population as of 2017 (DCI *et al*, 2022). Importantly, Cañada is the area with the youngest population of Madrid, with an average age of 26 years old (compared to the 37 average of neighbouring districts); 45% of Sector 6’s population are children (DCI *et al*, 2022).

Table 1. Population of sectors 5 and 6 as of 2017. (DCI *et al*, 2022).

	Sector 5	Sector 6
Buildings	414	1,027
Families	412	824
Population	1,601	2,953
Children	601	1,211
Integration minimum income (“RMI”) beneficiaries	75	299

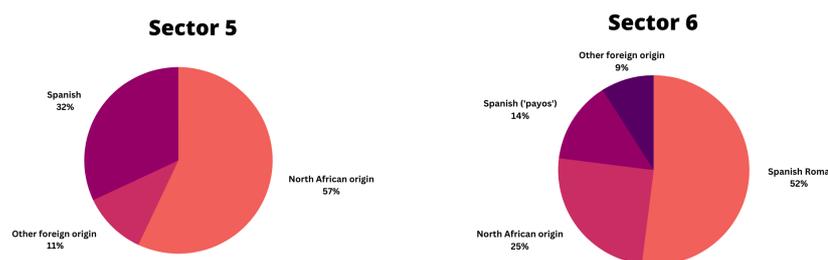


Figure 1. Demographic composition of sectors 5 and 6 of la Cañada Real Galiana, based on (Echave-Sustaeta Abella *et al*, 2021).

Over the years, Cañada Real has experienced an array of pressures, disruptions, and grievances - which have manifested very differently throughout the diverse territory of this linear city. Among them, we may note the demolition campaign led by Madrid city council between 2007-2012, resulting in the demolition of 250 dwellings, without providing habitational alternatives to those affected (Álvarez Agüí, 2017). The aftermath of this campaign, which was strongly resisted by Cañada’s residents, set forth a long-winded process of dialogue and cooperation among Madrid’s public administrations, seeking to jointly address the ‘complex problematique’ of this irregular settlement (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017: 15) Within this process (of which the

<sup>1</sup> Drug trafficking pertains to roughly one kilometre of sector 6, though dispersed marijuana warehouses can be found across sectors 3-5 (Interview, October 2022). Those involved generally engage in small-scale selling within Cañada or guard the marijuana warehouses, whose owners do not generally reside in Cañada (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022).

2/2011 Law on the Cañada Real Galiana is the first milestone), we must note the creation in 2017 of the Regional Pact on the Cañada Real, on whose premise the current-rehousing programs are established.

The Regional Pact bolstered a differentiated process of intervention across Cañada's sectors, seeking to: (a) regularise sector 1, integrating it into Coslada's municipality; (b) dismantle sector 6, due to its "exceptional circumstances of lacking minimum habitability conditions"; and (c) find a solution to sectors 2-5, whose future pended on future investigation on their environmental and urban conditions, as well as on judicial conditions and economic viability (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017: 31-32).

## **2.1 The electricity outage**

Sector 6 suffered an electricity outage on October the 2nd 2022; sector 5 followed suit a month later. Such disruptions were not infrequent, as these sectors relied on illegal connections to water and electricity - yet this time, the electricity was never restored. UFD-Naturgy, the company authorised as the 'area distributor', promptly blamed this outage on a disproportionate increase in demand since August 2020, which was associated with illegal cannabis cultivation (DCI *et al*, 2022). A subsequent expert report concluded that the outage was actually due to Naturgy installing current limiters in the power-line branches entering Sectors 5 and 6, to alleviate risks related to this rising demand (EuropaPress, 2022). Sector 5 has been able to organise itself within the subsequently limited capacity of the electricity network. Sector 6's electricity network - double in extension and dwellings, yet whose limitation in electricity consumption is barely a third higher than 5 - remains inoperable. Nargurgy attempted to restore its electricity daily until March 2021 (Markel, personal interview, October 2022).

In these two years, no measure has been taken by the administrations to address the power outage itself. The emphasis is on accelerating the pre-existing dismantlement and re-housing process (DCI *et al*, 2022). Several police operations have been undertaken since October 2020 to dismantle marijuana plantations - though an unclear number remains, many plantations have also left on their own (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022).

On the outage's one-year anniversary, the Civic Platform (henceforth Plataforma Luz) was created by Cañada's neighbourhood associations, NGOs, social entities, political parties and supporting individuals (DCI *et al*, 2022). Its demands - 'light, contracts, and a monitoring table' - contextualises the electricity outage within the longer struggle to regularise Cañada, establish regular supply, and ensure residents' participation in the negotiation of Cañada Real as a neighbourhood of Madrid.

### 3. Literature Review

Since the late 1990s, we have seen a rapidly growing literature seeking to apply the premises of Political Ecology - a field of study generally described as combining “the interests of ecology and a broadly-defined political economy” (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987: 17) - to the analysis of urban environments and of the urbanisation of nature (Gabriel, 2014). The resultant field - though it is better described as a critical lens, or as “as a network of ideas, scholars, activists, and research practices” (Gandy, 2022: 35) - is that of Urban Political Ecology (henceforth UPE).

The field has often been categorised within two ‘waves’ - a distinction that is analytically useful, even if such a linear evolution is not discernible in this messy, constantly-dialoguing literature (Gandy, 2022; Tzaninis *et al*, 2021). The first wave is thought to ‘culminate’ into an explicit theoretical agenda with Heynen, Swyngedouw, and Kaika’s *In the Nature of Cities* (2006), and is often characterised by the influence of neo-Marxian urban geography and structuralist thought (Lawhon *et al*, 2014; Gandy, 2022; Cornea *et al*, 2017). It is in relation to this literature that UPE describes urban natures as socially (re)produced through the metabolic processes of capitalist social relations (Gabriel, 2014; Swyngedouw, 2015; Heynen *et al*, 2006). Following this historical-materialist lens of analysis, capital accumulation is interpreted as a process of socio-natural transformation, and ‘the city’ as a socio-natural artefact resulting from the urbanisation of nature:

“through urbanisation, water, cement, copper and other stuff is brought into the making and remaking of the city, thus providing for the critical scholar a site for unpacking power relations” (Lawhorn *et al*, 2014: 500)

UPE has always been characterised by its attention to urban infrastructure. Water, in particular, is an ‘emblematic entry’ in the study of socio-ecological flows: “the multiple circulatory and relational dynamics underlying the construction of the built environment” (Gandy, 2022: 22; Silver, 2015). Within a historical-materialist perspective, infrastructure is conceptualised as the ‘metabolic vehicles’ - “conduits, circuits, and sites” (Silver, 2015: 986) - through which power is materially expressed and channelled in the city (Heynen *et al*, 2006; Swyngedouw, 2015; Lawhorn *et al*, 2014). This has developed into a more multifaceted interpretation of infrastructure as socially constructed, seeking to complicate our understanding of how it is produced, managed, and assigned meaning politically and in everyday life (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008; Gabriel, 2014). Encouraging further consideration to southern and subaltern urbanism, recent contributions have also expanded our attention to infrastructure by bringing our attention to (inter alia) socio-technical aspects in infrastructure, such as embodied practices, micro-strategies of survival, and multiple and overlapping infrastructural networks (Lawhon *et al*, 2014; Loftus, 2012; Gandy, 2022).

The ‘second wave’ is understood to critically expand from this historical-materialist frame of analysis, and to follow the diversity in theoretical approaches that has characterised Political Ecology more broadly, and which increasingly integrates debates on race, gender, postcolonial, indigenous, and queer theory (Gabriel, 2014; Tzaninis *et al*, 2021). There is also a closer engagement with post-structuralist and posthumanist scholars - “while leaving the underlying epistemology of capital accumulation as the generative process intact” (Lawhorn *et al*, 2014: 501; Cornea *et al*, 2017). The literature in this context has advanced towards a more antiessentialist political ecology, one which acknowledges the ‘constructedness’ of urban landscapes and the myriad of meanings, practices, discourses, identities, actors... that enable some urban metabolisms while foreclosing others (Gabriel, 2014). Throughout this ‘wave, UPE has also opened some conceptual black boxes related to “urban imaginaries, urban environmental governance, and an engagement with post-humanist insights about the nature of social activity and the agency of non-human actors” (Gabriel, 2014: 45; Cornea *et al*, 2017). Importantly, this shift from structuralist has also included a newfound attention to micropolitics, everyday governance, and everyday practices of city-making (Lawhorn *et al*, 2014; Loftus, 2012; Cornea *et al*, 2017).

Evidently, UPE has also expanded into a myriad of other matters: “air, food, waste, disease, noise, parks, lawns, and many other facets of the urban environment” (Gandy, 2022: 22). In recent years, contributions have not only extended the objects of study addressed through UPE, but also advanced into novel theoretical terrain (see Gandy, 2022). Due to space limitations, we may only discuss some of these contributions. A prominent one pertains to a newfound interest on expanded interpretations of agency and subjectivity, as well as to multi-species and more/other-than-human geographies: e.g., the integration of non-human agencies into our understanding of socio-ecological flows and capitalist urbanisation, as well as the study of urban epidemiology and the corporeal and zoonotic dimensions that comprise urban life (Gabriel, 2014; Gandy, 2022; Lawhorn *et al*, 2014). Another budding line of inquiry pertains to matters of aesthetics, landscape, and place-making; we may note Millington’s (2013) work on the post-industrial aesthetics of urban ruins and their contrast with the embodied experience of marginal urban spaces - or, in the related field of environmental injustice, Angelovski’s (2014, 2017) work on place-making tactics among neighbourhoods suffering from environmental degradation and long-term abandonment.

Recent UPE is also advancing novel engagements with environmental policy/politics, governance, ecological imaginaries and subjectivity (Gabriel, 2014; Gandy, 2022). Many respond to emerging challenges derived from contemporary climatic and environmental phenomena - often through a critique of UPE’s ‘methodological city-ism’ and the need for a more planetary understanding of contemporary urbanisation (Tzaninis *et al*, 2021; Gandy, 2022). New attention is given to environmental government experiments and policy-making seeking to address climate change (Tzaninis *et al*, 2021). This is applied, for instance, in the study of ‘eco-scalar fixes’, through which urban governance displaces (or integrates) socio-environmental externalities through the

creation of (e.g.) bioregions, green infrastructure, and other adaptation policy (Tzaninis *et al*, 2021).

## 4. Theoretical framework

As aforementioned, Urban Political Ecology (UPE) is a critical lens used to explore the socio-ecological phenomena of urban life (Gandy, 2022). To understand how this critical lens is employed in this paper, I consider theoretical debates associated with ‘situated’ Urban Political Ecology, and recent debates regarding the political ecology of suburbanization (Lawhon et al, 2014; Loftus, 2012; Tzaninis et al, 2020). This is complemented by specific theoretical inputs from current literature on informality and infrastructure, to address some specificities of Cañada Real (Lombard, 2014, Kovacic, 2022). Ultimately, this broadly-defined theoretical framework seeks to ground an analysis of how ‘informal’ urban environments are socio-spatially (re)produced, politicised, and contested, particularly in moments of crisis.

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Cañada Real is considered a peri-urban settlement in the southeastern periphery of Madrid, and thus a part of the capital’s suburb (Tzaninis et al, 2020). Hitherto, analyses of suburbanization within UPE have overemphasised the periphery’s passive role in the urbanisation of nature, as a “dumping ground of functions or people undesirable to a perceived lively, healthy, desirable core: from factories, nuclear plants, and garbage dumps to retirement homes and revalidation centers” (Tzaninis et al, 2020: 240; de Souza, 2021). Within existing literature, Cañada Real has often been characterised in a similar manner, albeit from a different theoretical perspective. Nogués Sáez (2010) provides a detailed example of such interpretations.

“The result [of political inaction, intentionally or not] has been a place fulfilling a function for specific interests present in the city. Being a space where the Rule of Law is suspended, [Cañada] becomes an escape valve for the development of illegal activities, slum construction, transfer of public lands, drug dealing, arms traffic, etc., a concrete space, controlled and far from the urban and social traffic. This functionality joined with the complexity that entails providing an alternative, has resulted in the inhibition of the competent Administrations” [translated by author] (Nogués Sáez, 2010: 367)

Tzaninis *et al* (2020) help expand this interpretation of the suburb as more than a dumping ground. They propose ‘an integrated political ecology of *suburbanization*’, understanding the urban core-periphery as a socio-environmental continuum: the periphery is more than a passive recipient of ‘core’ processes and expansion, and its role in the urbanisation of nature is acknowledged (Tzaninis *et al*, 2020). In doing so, they point to the conceptual and methodological opportunities available to UPE if we shift our attention to “[the] new urban forms and processes of extended urbanization that we have witnessed since the last quarter of the 20th century” (2020:

230). This points our attention to other socio-ecological suburbanization processes visible in Cañada: “both a place of unsustainable sprawl and a space of innovative responses to ecological problems” (Tzaninis *et al*, 2020: 241). Over the last two decades, Cañada has become enmeshed in the various, often overlapping forms and processes of extended urbanisation of Madrid’s southeast periphery: notably, that of (a) private urban expansion, as exemplified in the five Urban Action Plans (PAUs) that currently border Cañada (Appendix A2); and (b) the development of green infrastructure, as the dismantlement of Sector 6 - whose relation with conservation is conflictive, moreso as it borders the Regional Park of the Southeast, a protected area - will expectedly make space for Madrid’s Metropolitan Forest, a green infrastructure project of 75 km encircling Madrid (Echave-Sustaeta Abella *et al*, 2021). Among these socio-ecological suburbanization processes, we must also include the urban space self-construction that is entailed by an informal settlement such as Cañada Real (Álvarez-de Andrés, 2020).



Figure 2. Aerial view of Sector 5, bordered by Covibar on the right (a large-scale, workers-cooperative residential development) and the Cerro del Olivar park (‘Olive Grove Hill’) on the left (Source: Comunidad de Madrid, 2017: 25).

Thus, we understand Cañada Real as more than a ‘dumping ground’ or ‘escape valve’ in Madrid’s periphery. We should then consider the ways in which Cañada Real has shaped (and has been shaped) these varied, conflicting, or overlapping processes of suburbanization. Cañada Real is thus conceived not as an objectively-present urban landscape, but as a complex amalgamation of places which have been socio-spatially constructed through said processes. ‘Place’, importantly, refers to the following:

“Place is understood broadly as spaces that people are attached to, or ‘meaningful location’ (Cresswell, 2004: 7). In recent years, human geographers have suggested that ‘it has become axiomatic . . . that as people construct places, places construct people’ (Holloway & Hubbard,

2001: 7). (...) Different groups imbue space and place with different meanings, uses and values" (Lombard, 2014; 11)

Place-making, then, is a starting point and the guiding thread of this theoretical framework: ie., that 'place' is something constructed, "by a variety of different actors and means, which may be discursive and political, but also small-scale, spatial, social and cultural" (Lombard, 2014: 5). These processes, importantly, are understood to originate *from beyond as well as within* the settlement, through discourses and political intervention - but also through the collective and individual everyday practices of its residents.

A starting point would be to investigate the material and discursive construction of place in/of Cañada over time. As aforementioned, UPE includes a body of work examining the role of environmental discourse on "the collective imagining and material conditions of urban spaces, through the construction of particular types of landscapes, subjects, and practices" (Gabriel, 2014: 40). Drawing from this work on urban environmental imaginaries - "conceptual framings and systems of meaning related to urban environments, including assumptions about the nature of the city and the nature of nature" - we can investigate how meanings and practices are assigned to specific urban natures, producing particular urban subjects and relations between the human and the non-human - and, ultimately, enabling some urban metabolisms while foreclosing others (Gabriel, 2014: 39). Chapter 6 investigates how place in/of Cañada has been scripted and addressed in policy and media discourse: how specific representations of Cañada have gained dominance over others, the interventions, practices, and processes that have been subsequently enabled, and the ways in which Cañada has been socio-spatially shaped through them.

Yet we also seek to investigate how the spaces of Cañada are produced and assigned meaning through the everyday practices that make place in this 'settlement'. Indeed, literature on informal settlements encourages analysis on how these urban spaces are discursively and materially produced "*from beyond as well as within the neighbourhood*" (Lombard, 2014: 10). Many within UPE highlight everyday urban practice as the fundamental locus through which urban environments are shaped, politicised, contested, and transformed (Lawhon *et al*, 2014; Loftus, 2012; Tzaninis *et al*, 2020):

"Pieterse (2008:131) (...) suggests that attention to everyday practices shifts our gaze towards the "infinite array of opportunities to refuse, undermine, subvert, frustrate and erode that power" (...) Further studies are needed into those everyday modalities through which ordinary people link together to provide for their urban lives and livelihoods and the limitations they face." (Lawhon *et al*, 2014: 511-512)

This emphasis on the everyday helps us investigate how place in/of Cañada is constructed through everyday practices and relations - and their potential in enabling alternative futures and pathways of gradual change, such as the remaking of Cañada as a legal neighbourhood. But what

specific practices and processes may we look into? In the case of Cañada, the development and management of infrastructure is a necessary point of attention. We may note its role in the meaningful transformation of material place (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017). Informal settlements are transformative places: made through the constant, cumulative, and improvised interventions into the socio-natural circulations of the urban metabolism - thus enabling alternative metabolic flows and ensuring urban dwellers a 'toehold' in their city (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017: 280). Through the incremental development of infrastructure, informal settlements are materially and socially reproduced as places where urban dwellers can live healthier, safer, and more satisfying lives (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017). Particularly in such contexts of informality, the development and management of infrastructure also enables new social relations and practices through which place and place attachment is (re)produced (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017).

Previously, we discussed infrastructure as a site and conduit of socio-natural transformation, and a produced socio-natural entity in itself - thus constitutive and constituted through the (sub)urbanisation of nature (Gabriel, 2014; Silver, 2016). Additionally, this paper's emphasis on place-making and the everyday includes two interrelated factors in the analysis of informal infrastructure: heterogeneity and temporality. Heterogeneity is acknowledged through Lawhon *et al*'s interpretation of infrastructure as 'heterogeneous infrastructure configurations' (HICs): "geographically spread socio-technological configurations: configurations which might involve many different kinds of technologies, relations, capacities and operations, entailing different risks and power relationships" (2018: 720). We understand Cañada's infrastructure not as a system-developed-from-outside, but as a network of situated users adapting to everyday circumstances through infrastructural artefacts and social relationships (Lawhon *et al*, 2018). Secondly, in acknowledging their temporality, we understand infrastructural configurations "as in-the-making, undergoing constant adjustment and intervention, and in a permanent state of flux" (Silver, 2014: 788).

Lastly - and as we have now developed a certain understanding of infrastructure, place-making, and the everyday - we need to build a nuanced perception of how these concepts relate to our research aims, in elucidating the role of place-making in the creation of various possibilities for Cañada's future. This is enabled through the introduction of two concepts dealing with the evaluation of urban agency and the transformative potential of everyday practice: Bayat's 'quiet encroachment on the ordinary' and Lawhon *et al*'s 'radical incrementalism'.

Foremost, one should avoid overstating the transformative potential of everyday practices, particularly in context of place-making. This is key when researching the political agency of urban dwellers - whose behaviour is often under/overstated as either passive or revolutionary, thus neglecting "the dynamics of their micro-existence and everyday politics" (Bayat, 1997, in Gillespie, 2017: 977). A useful concept in studying urban dwellers' agency and survival, Asef Bayat's 'quiet encroachment on the ordinary' refers to the "non-collective but prolonged direct action by

individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives” (Bayat, 2000: 536). ‘Encroachment’ is used in relation to (inter alia): (a) the incremental development of informal infrastructure and other forms of collective consumption (“land, shelter, piped water, electricity”); as well as (b) the appropriation of space for the creation of urban commons<sup>2</sup>, which include urban spaces like community centres, green spaces, playgrounds, or even the street itself (Bayat, 2002: 20; Silver, 2016; Colding et al, 2022). Thus, it is relevant in the analysis of place-making, as these elements are crucial to enhance the material conditions of Cañada and, through the process and management of encroachment, to also foster place-based social relations and place attachment (Angelovski, 2014; Jiusto and McCauley, 2017).

Encroachment is a ‘social non-movement’ - composed of everyday practices, which are not self-described as conscious political acts - and can be understood as the incremental, accumulated intervention of urban dwellers into the socio-environmental relations and energy metabolisms of the city (Bayat, 2002; Silver, 2016). However, it can evolve into different, more ‘political’ forms - e.g., ‘bold’ or ‘negotiated’ encroachment, which will be discussed later. In understanding how encroachment evolves through time, we also evaluate whether these practices of encroachment, although originally non-political, have progressively contributed to the creation of place and alternatives for Cañada. Lawhon *et al*’s ‘radical incrementalism’ concept is proposed as a reinterpretation of individualist practices (“including the ‘quiet encroachment’”) that evaluates their role in the incremental, cumulative reclaiming of power and creation of urban alternatives (2014: 511). Importantly, its ‘radical’ facet depends on the integration of said practices within broader processes of resistance and empowerment - so that incremental efforts can be institutionalised (Lawhon *et al*, 2014). Because of this clarification, ‘radical incrementalism’ is a useful conceptual tool to evaluate the transformative potential of place-making.

## 5. Methodology, Limitations, and Ethics

We require a methodology that allows us to re-trace the socio-spatial processes of place-making that have unfurled around Cañada Real over the last decades. This paper employs a combination of interpretive policy analysis, critical discourse analysis, and qualitative interviewing. While not the ‘main’ method in importance, I have selected Bacchi’s *What’s the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) approach of interpretive policy analysis as the guiding thread that structures our analysis and discussion.

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<sup>2</sup> “key institutions (including rules and norms) that regulate natural and societal resources in urban areas that are accessible to all members of a group that use, share, and/or manage resources together (Ostrom, 1990). Active common participation, social mobilization, and democratic influence are key features of urban commons” (Colding *et al*, 2022: 104).

Bacchi's interpretive approach investigates how specific 'problems' have been constituted through the policymaking process, given form and assigned meaning through historical and cultural production (Bacchi, 2015; Browne et al, 2019). Starting with an analysis of Cañada's re-housing programme, the WPR approach allows us to critically evaluate how representations of Cañada have evolved through a reiterative process of problematization in the policy-making process, and how the successive interventions into Cañada have brought a complex interplay of effects onto the settlement. The WPR approach calls for a deep engagement with the resistances, agencies, and contradictions that feature in public policy and across state-society relations at large: including, notably, a critical evaluation of the gaps and silences in problem representations, as well as the conflicts and resistances through which specific problem representations gain dominance over others (Bacchi, 2009) Another key advantage pertains to its attention to the symbolic and material effects of problem representations: discursive, subjectification, and *lived* effects - this latter point being particularly important to the paper's emphasis on materiality and everyday urban life (Bacchi, 2009; Bletsas and Beasley, 2012).

As "an open-ended mode of critical engagement", WPR proposes six questions (Figure 3) that can be broadly addressed throughout one's research rather than one-by-one (Bletsas and Beasley, 2012: 23). The policy sample includes a wide range of documents from the different administrations involved in Cañada: policy proposals, legislative documents, ministerial pronouncements, media statements, and national and regional official journals (Appendix B).

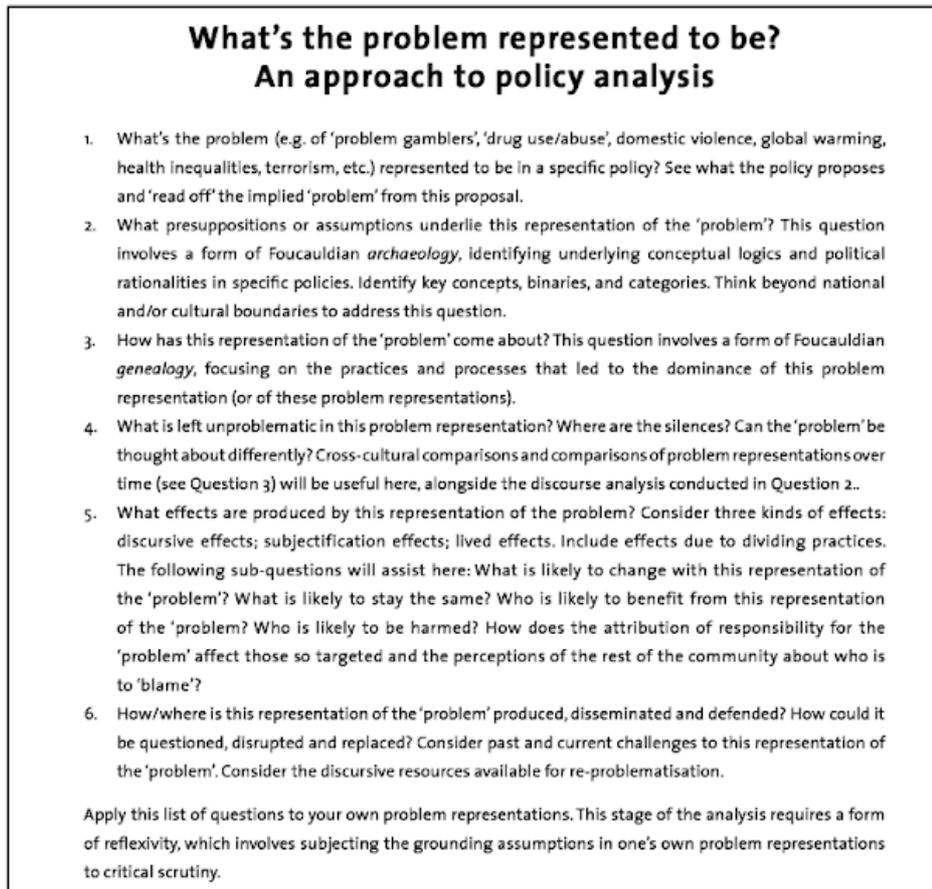


Figure 3. *What's the problem represented to be? An approach to policy analysis* (Bacchi, 2009: 48)

Two other methods have been included. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen due to its compatibility with the epistemological premises of the WPR approach, as it elucidates how media discourse constitutes and is constituted by the socio-material processes and practices through which reality is constructed (Reynolds, 2019). I employ Reynold's (2019) coding method (Figure 4). The second-cycle coding methods included in this process help synthesise the dominant discursive formations surrounding Cañada (*pattern coding*), and to demonstrate trends - moments of instability, shifts, relevant junctures - in these formations throughout the studied period of time (*longitudinal coding*) (Reynolds, 2019). The coding method is summarised in Figure 2. The sample comprises 232 media articles from the two most-read newspapers in Madrid and Spain (El Mundo and El País), published between 1994 (when the first news on Cañada was featured) and 2022 (Appendix C).

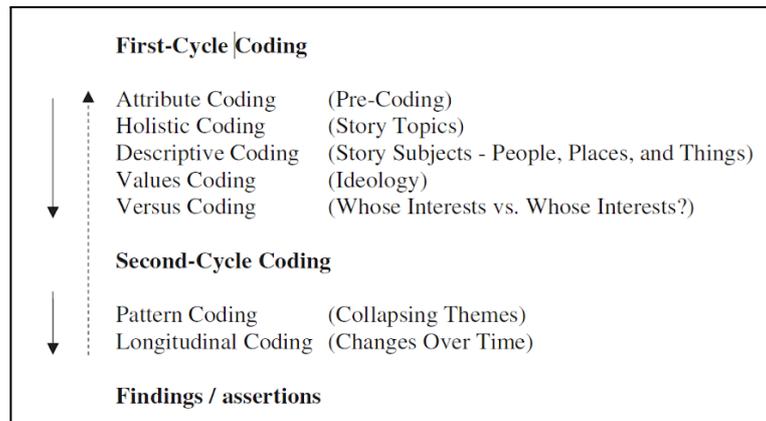


Figure 4. Critical discourse analysis coding for media discourse (Reynolds, 2019: 51)

Qualitative interviewing was undertaken between August and October 2022. Interviewees were selected through homogeneous sampling of those involved in specific social interventions, projects, and political processes in Cañada Real. The sample includes, firstly, four semi-structured Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) conducted online, lasting an average of 45 minutes, and conducted in Spanish. Furthermore, it also includes three ‘walking’ interviews undertaken in Cañada in October 2022. All interviews were transcribed, coded thematically through Atlas.ti 22 (also used separately for CDA), and analysed thematically and comparatively. The interview sample is in Appendix D.

The paper employs participant-driven forms of walking interviewing. This is a place-based qualitative method whereby the researcher walks with the interviewee (‘guide’), who decides the particular route for the interview (Kinney, 2017). The direct engagement with the surrounding environment can more naturally prompt place-based stories, memories, and perceptions; this is particularly useful when researching the everyday (re)production of connections between community, self, and place (Kinney, 2017). By pointing out different details or describing the same spaces differently, we see how different actors constructed the same spaces of Cañada and associated them with different macro-discourses of stigma, development, and relocation/resettlement.

The ‘walking’ sample includes an interview each with the Commissioners for Cañada Real of Madrid’s City Council and the Regional Government; and one with a member of Plataforma Luz, who had previously worked as the commissioner for Cañada Real of Madrid’s City Council. Due to the location and length of Cañada, a significant part of the interviews were undertaken while driving. Interview guides were prepared to prompt conversation in moments of silence and to maximise the interview time. The interviews lasted an average of 4 hours, and often included informal conversations with residents and people working in Cañada. A map of each visit is provided in the Appendix E.

The interview sample is admittedly limited due to difficulties accessing the site and its community. It showcases undeniable limitations in showing us the lived, everyday effects of place-making and displacement in Cañada. According to several contacted organisations, the outstanding amount of media attention received over the last two years has left residents with very limited logistical or emotional capacity to participate in research and journalistic interviewing. Fortunately, our walking interviews provided many opportunities to engage in informal conversations with residents. I have also tried to compensate this limitation through the extensive review of secondary documents published by the residents and resident-based organisations of Cañada (speeches, manifestos, media statements, etc).

These limitations also entail specific ethical considerations. I was deeply aware of my positionality as one of the many researchers investigating recent events in Cañada Real, and tried to address the ‘intrusiveness’ of my presence as much as possible, by (*inter alia*): always clarifying my presence as a researcher, only recording conversations with me personally (not just the guides) and with explicit permission, and avoiding photographing details of people’s personal life or themselves, with the exception of infrastructure pointed out to me by the guides. Other photos employed are sourced from community projects and media posts, thus published by residents and related organisations.

## **6. The ‘problem’ of Cañada**

### **6.1 The problematization of the electricity outage**

*What’s the problem represented to be in a specific policy? What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?*

WPR starts by examining specific policies and ‘working backwards’ to understand how the problem has been constituted (Bacchi, 2009). Re-housing is the principal solution provided to Cañada Real following the electricity outage. It entails, foremost, a continuation of the dismantlement of Sector 6, as delineated within the policy objectives of the 2017 Regional Pact of the Cañada Real Galiana (henceforth Regional Pact, more later). This dismantlement process began in 2018 through a re-housing agreement signed between the Madrid City Council and the Region of Madrid, which resulted in the ‘resettlement and social integration’ of 125 families residing in ‘the unpaved area’ of sector 6 - generally known as Cañada’s most precarious zone (Comunidad de Madrid, 2018). After the outage, this dismantlement and rehousing process has been drastically accelerated. The 2021 re-housing programme is similar to the 2018 one, but with a doubled budget (€34M, compared to the first programme’s €18M) and targeting a maximum 160 families for re-housing, as well as 13 additional families who were not included in the first

programme due to budgetary constraints (Comunidad de Madrid, 2022a). Jointly, these two-rehousing programmes are dismantling Cañada from its southern end (Appendix A3). This is complemented by the only state-level policy intervention in Cañada following the outage: a direct grant (€5M) for a re-housing programme implemented by the Madrid and Rivas-Vaciamadrid city councils, aiming to resettle families in situations of ‘extreme social vulnerability’ from sectors 4-6 (RD 1058/2021, November the 30th).

Originally, the Regional Pact proposed to re-house residents in newly-built dwellings *within* Cañada - or in territories adjacent to Cañada, as the future of sectors 2-5 were not decided by then (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017). However, both re-housing agreements state the same clarification: that the technical research necessary to ascertain the urban-environmental conditions and viability for residential use of sectors 2-5 would require “a period of time that cannot be made compatible with the pressing needs of the sector 6 population” (Comunidad de Madrid, 2018: 69).<sup>3</sup> Currently, 40% of re-housings will be within the city of Madrid, the rest will be dispersed across the region (Comunidad de Madrid, 2022a).

Overall, the ‘problem’ in the aftermath of the electricity outage is identified as the concern over a socially-vulnerable population in urgent crisis, living in a place that is not habitable - or that cannot be ensured as such. Arguably, this draws from several pre-assumptions which are common in policy-making related to informal settlements: foremost, to the problematization of uncertainty and lack of expert/technical knowledge and, relatedly, the understatement of social concerns - particularly the dislocations in social networks and everyday life that are entailed by dismantlement and re-housing programmes (Kovacic, 2022). Followingly, we contextualise this problematization of Cañada within a genealogical analysis.

## 6.2 A genealogical view into representations of Cañada

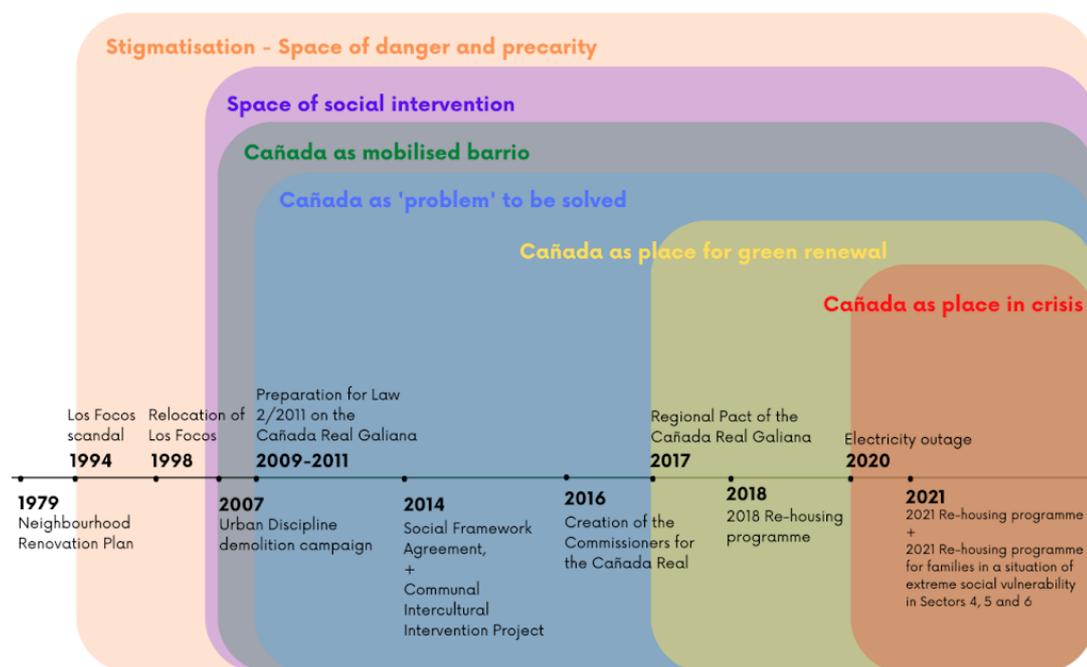
*How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about? How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated, and defended?*

As aforementioned, place refers to a space under constant construction through and by multiple, simultaneous, and often conflicting power relations and social practices - whereby the same place can be assigned different entities and meanings through time and space (Cresswell, 2004, in

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<sup>3</sup> Currently, it is estimated that Sector 2 will be regularised alongside Sector 1; Sector 3 will be completely dismantled due to unsolvable urban-environmental issues (e.g., the high-velocity train crossing the sector); Sector 5 may be partly dismantled and its most “urban” part may be regularised within Rivas - however, it currently depends on the municipality’s decision (Enrique, personal interview,, October 2022), making it as much (if not more) a problem of administrative impasse than one of technical knowledge on urban-environmental conditions.

Lombard, 2014: 11). This chapter conducts a genealogy of the current problem representation of Cañada Real. In combining Bacchi's third and sixth questions, we look at the power-laden system of discursive and non-discursive practices whereby specific problematizations of Cañada have taken shape and gained dominance over others; we see how they have been (re)produced through media and policy discourse, as well as through the specific interventions and processes exerted upon Cañada over time (Bacchi, 2009). We pay particular attention to how constructions of place in/of Cañada are embedded in this process, and how they draw from different (sub)urban environmental imaginaries. The broad 'timeline' of this genealogy is summarised in Figure 5.



**Figure 5.** Representations of Cañada through media and policy discourse (1994-2022).

By the late-1950s, *chabolismo*<sup>4</sup> comprised 16'6% of Madrid's residential land (Morado, 2021: 61). Francoist policies against *chabolismo* framed the problem as one of lacking appropriate housing; the 1963 General Urban Development Plan (PGOU) and its subsequent interventions bolstered a new urban development model geared towards capital accumulation through the mass-scale, private suburbanization of Madrid's periphery:

“Under the General Plan, developers built hundreds of thousands of flats in compact blocks in the middle of the Castilian plain (...) there were no services, paved roads, lighting or transport (...) The result was a new Madrid formed by housing complexes, immensely dense and of great height, where the main problem was the lack of all elements fitting urban life” [translated by author] (Nogués, 2010: 95)

<sup>4</sup> “Squatted informal housing construction” (Gonick, 2015: 1225).

The evolution of Cañada (and Southeast Madrid, more broadly) is closely embedded within this model, whose logic remains today (Monreal, 2017). As argued by Nogués (2010), Cañada became an ‘escape valve’ for the externalities resulting from the suburbanization of Southeast Madrid. Foremost, it was consistently excluded from *chabolismo* policy between 1979-2015: deemed ‘too large to tackle holistically’, or reframed in policy circles as an ‘illegal settlement’ rather than a locus of *chabolismo* (Nogués, 2010). Yet from the 1990s, Cañada soon became encroached by the ‘suburban sprawl’ bolstered by the aforementioned model (Tzaninis *et al*, 2021): by the Southeast PAUs (announced under the 1997 PGOU and suffering similar scarcities in public services and infrastructure) and various infrastructural expansions (highways, municipal incinerator plants, High Speed train railways) which now hinder parts of Cañada from being legalised as apt for residential use (Monreal, 2017).

Cañada first entered public debate in 1994, following the municipality’s controversial decision to resettle families from another dismantled settlement to the vicinity of the Valdemingómez landfill. The socio-environmental conditions of this suburban sprawl were framed by media to discursively construct Cañada and its vicinity as an uninhabitable place - a ‘dumping ground’ as we previously discussed:

“...the place ‘is some kind of open gas chamber due to the accumulation of newly-built landfills’ (...) it’s a space away from schools, markets, and health centres, needed for the normal development of any citizen’s everyday life” [translated by author] (Aguirre, 1994)

Yet after the municipality re-relocated *some* families in 1998 (and with media attention now directed to residents living in Cañada ‘on their own volition’), a rapid discursive shift took place in the late-1990s - early 2000s. Foremost, there is a growing problematization of Cañada as the illegal ‘invasion’ of a transhumance trail, espousing concerns over Cañada’s historic past and environmental value that were hitherto not mobilised, and are now evoked to delegitimize its current use:

“[Cañada] is not Royal because it keeps no relation with royalty nor is the appearance of this space very noble, and it’s also not royal because, actually, it long stopped being a *cañada* to become a gully overflowing with illegal housing” [translated by author] (Encinas, 1999)

Cañada’s rapid growth during this period was met with rising social alarm, particularly after the import of drug trafficking from the Las Barranquillas slum - whose population had been displaced by two urban developments: a privately-developed highway and the La Gavia park (a green space for the PAU of Vallecas). Throughout this stigmatisation process, Cañada was problematised as a *lawless, dangerous place* where delinquency, precarity, and marginalisation prevailed. Added to rising concerns over its representation as Madrid’s ‘drug supermarket’, as well as racism towards Cañada’s migrant population, Cañada’s ‘uncontrolled’ encroachment on informal infrastructure (an unauthorised connection into Madrid’s urban metabolism) was embedded in this stigmatising problematization:

“...those living inside the cañada - who of course buy, go to the doctor, and their children use our schools but don't pay taxes - work like a small kingdom of *taifas*<sup>5</sup>, organised by a neighbourhood association and in some parts, especially near the landfill, electricity and water hookups are organised by small mafias, who profit from it. Some parts not even police dares enter” [translated by author] (El País, 2004)

More prominently since the late-2000s, media discourse also constructs *places of social intervention* within Cañada, reproducing a common problematization of informal settlements as manifestations of the spillovers of urban growth - “a symptom of dysfunctional urban societies where inequalities are not only tolerated, but allowed to fester” (UN-Habitat, 2006, in Lombard, 2014: 3). Through various dividing practices<sup>6</sup>, as well as the differentiated ways whereby Cañada's socio-environmental conditions are discursively associated with different residents (Gabriel, 2014), the construction of ‘dangerous’ places within Cañada is contrasted with nearby or overlapping places of precarity and helplessness.

Children are a recurring figure in these socio-environmental imaginaries of Cañada - particularly in El Gallinero (‘The Henhouse’) a small slum bordering Cañada, housing over 700 Rumanian Roma migrants. Descriptions of ‘wild’ children - running barefoot and naked across broken needles and demolition rubble, missing school, playing with rats and garbage... - are used to contrast with (and stigmatise) the adults: those in active use (described as ‘wild-eyed addicts’ compared with zombies) or their parents (associated with copper theft, begging, drug-dealing), whose urban marginality is framed as a ‘cursed inheritance’ across generations in Cañada. Rats are evoked repeatedly, as an ‘invading’ force occupying Cañada (‘roaming freely across the garbage’, ‘as big as rabbits’) and signifying the area's dirtiness:

“The city council's operations against illegal housing are occasional, and shanties are assembled almost as fast as the shovel throws them down, so El Gallinero stays the same. Isolated next to the highway to Valencia. Inhabited by rats and by people living in misery. With the men at the door of their shanties peeling the copper pipes that they steal to sell. With their dirty children.” [translated by author] (de Llanon and Borasteros, 2010)

The stigmatisation of Cañada culminated - but was also irreversibly altered - by the 2007-2012 forced eviction and demolition campaign. It also drew unprecedented attention to residents' agency and their resistance to demolition: clashing with police, blocking demolition machinery, collectively rebuilding houses... In this context, neighbourhood demands became unprecedentedly loud, and a new image of *Cañada as a self-proclaimed neighbourhood (barrio)* started to be constructed. While still co-existing with the aforementioned stigma, the mobilisation post-2007 and the increase in social organisations active in the settlement - from 10 to 23 between

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<sup>5</sup> The Muslim principalities of medieval Al-Andalus - thus pejoratively referencing Cañada's Moroccan population.

<sup>6</sup> “Problem representations within policies often set groups of people in opposition to each other- a dynamic Foucault (1982, p. 208) calls 'dividing practices” (Bacchi, 2009: 16).

2007-2010 (Gonick, 2015) - increased the mediatic attention to ‘insider’ views into Cañada, describing the conviviality and solidarity that *also* characterises life in the settlement, and attempting to dispel the image of Cañada as solely a place of illegality and marginality:

“We’re sick of that pitiful image that is made of us, of the rats, of the poor dirty children, of the misery. Journalists come looking for morbidity, like this is a theme park (...) We want to give a positive view. Here children learn, people are given solutions, people smile too” [translated by author] (Alsedo, 2009)

Furthermore, the demolitions sparked a newfound pressure for administrations to ‘solve’ Cañada. Law 2/2011 withdrew Cañada’s status as a livestock trail [Article 2] and initiated a process of urban regulation whereby Cañada turned into patrimonial assets managed by the Comunidad [Article 3] (LCTB 2/2011, of March 15th). This urban regulation process enabled a new understanding of Cañada Real *as a space to be intervened upon*. Through the policymaking process enabled by Cañada’s legal declassification, the administrations started to re-frame Cañada in reference to its possible futures - enabling some possibilities and foreclosing others. Furthermore, as the first census was undertaken in 2011, the production of ‘technical’ and expert knowledge on Cañada enabled a more differentiated construction of its sectors: particularly between sector 6 - ‘the most complicated and populated’, a ‘human-sized jigsaw with innumerable hotspots of conflict that encompass delinquency’ - and the rest...

“...with their low-roofed houses, some chalets, its small-town atmosphere, their small stores, mosques, stables, Spanish flags and small business, seem easily assimilable for the municipalities” [translated by author] (Gil, 2018)

Importantly, Law 2/2011 set an urgent commitment to establish a social framework addressing the ‘social problem’ of Cañada - ie., ensuring dignified living conditions for a population characterised by poverty and urban marginality. Prior to the Regional Pact, a thread of controversial and non-conclusive interventions were unsuccessfully proposed, and which entailed various forms of market-oriented urban renewal which often excluded Cañada’s most complex or resource-demanding population: Most notably, the 2014 Social Framework Agreement, whereby residents and private investors in 1-5 could buy their lots, profits going to Cañada’s regularisation and infrastructural development (Proyecto de Intervención Comunitaria Intercultural, 2016 Annex VII). It failed due to lacking demand and purchasing power; furthermore, it was critiqued for offloading Sector 6 to a separate, unspecified intervention due to its ‘social complexity’ (Álvarez Agüí, 2017). Throughout these years, Cañada Real was intensely intervened upon through (a) programmes emphasising ‘social integration’ and (b) timely interventions seeking to ‘improve the living conditions of Cañada without insinuating the settlement’s consolidation’ (Proyecto de Intervención Comunitaria Intercultural, 2016 Annex VII; Bécares, 2015). The 2016 introduction of the regional and municipal Commissioners for the Cañada Real established a direct line of communication between neighbours and residents, aiming to coordinate “the implementation of

intervention plans in social, urban, housing and legal matters that must be carried out in the area to normalise and reorganise it” (D 243/2015, December the 29th)

Thus, and particularly through the Regional Pact (already discussed), there was significant momentum towards the normalisation of Cañada. This was highly differentiated across the sectors, due to their aforementioned problematizations. The Pact set forth commitments to safeguard and improve the living conditions of Cañada’s residents throughout this process, including the “[r]ehabilitation of the electricity supply” (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017: 47; DCI et al, 2022): the pavement and improvement of roads, the regularisation and legalisation of the water supply in sector 2, the regularisation of mail services in sectors 1-5, and the development of bus services across Cañada since 2017 (Comunidad de Madrid, 2022b). The socio-community centre in Sector 5, a removable structure financed in 2019 by Madrid’s city council, was among the most visible contributions to a representation of Cañada as a place with future - a place for living and not just surviving:

“Today there’s happiness: children play around, neighbours watch the construction and volunteers help build the new socio-community centre in la Cañada Real (...) which was often described as drug supermarket, underworld of slums (...) There’s a bit of that, but above all there’s people, neighbours” [translated by author] (Fanjul, 2019)

Conversely, Sector 6 was problematised as a ‘temporal’ or ‘liminal’ place that would eventually be dismantled, thus relativising its ‘present’ socio-environmental conditions (e.g., its unreliable and often unsafe electrical network). Its dismantlement was framed positively by shifting our attention to a representation of Cañada as a *place of opportunity through green renewal*. The Pact stated:

“The opportunity to make city entailed by the dismantlement of this sector must be seized (...) a good urban design, adequate paths, public spaces and green areas, good accessibility and, ultimately, thus contributing to the wellbeing of all Society” [translated by author] (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017: 32)

Following this representation, Sector 6 was promptly integrated into novel experiments in green policy-making through which Madrid’s suburb is transformed into a ‘eco-scalar fix’ absorbing the socio-environmental externalities of urban life: bolstering biodiversity, mitigating heat island effect, and absorbing emissions (Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2022: 5; Tzaninis *et al*, 2020). One pertains to the aforementioned Bosque Metropolitano. Furthermore, the area of the first dismantlement programme (Appendix A3) is now being prepared for two reforestation projects - one being a carbon sink in collaboration with the Red Cross, advancing the organisation’s bid to reach carbon neutrality (Markel, personal interview, October 2022; Cruz Roja, 2021).

The Covid-19 pandemic and the electricity outage drastically disrupted these hopeful representations of Cañada. Media attention in late-2020 and 2021 was intensive, emphasising the

dire circumstances of the outage and the mobilisation of residents to regain electricity. This resulted in a rebound of representations of Cañada as a ‘helpless place’ and, simultaneously, as a mobilising neighbourhood. The stigmatisation related to marijuana cultivation also intensified considerably. As the normalisation of Cañada was drastically disrupted, the most notable discursive shift is one of absence - namely, of framings of Cañada as a place with future. Arguably, current policy problematization of Cañada (a population in urgent crisis, in a territory that is not habitable or cannot be ensured as such) imply a intensification of the aforementioned representation of Sector 6 as a ‘temporal’ or ‘liminal’ place whose residents will be progressively re-housed, thus relativising the current circumstances of the outage.

## ***7. Barrio en construcción***

*What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?*

It is from this question onwards that Bacchi’s (2009) approach truly maximises its critical potential for policy analysis. Here, we consider the limits and omissions of policy problematizations, and shed light on how problems can be framed - constituted - differently (Bacchi, 2009). As aforementioned, public consciousness and urban policy-making often presume a certain understanding of informal settlements as places of informality, uncertainty, and uncontrollability, in ways that normalise and legitimise policy solutions geared towards displacement, demolition, and eviction (Lombard, 2014; Kovacic, 2022). There is a growing literature arguing that such problematizations tend to understate the micro-political processes through which these urban spaces are constructed, thus overlooking what is at stake in the everyday life of their residents: ultimately, informal settlements “are not perceived as “real” neighborhoods with a recognized history that could provide its inhabitants with an identity” (Rao, 2013: 766). Nevertheless, and as we were starting to see through the previous chapter, such problematizations of Cañada Real had been increasingly contested throughout recent years, as residents have mobilised to create an alternative representation *and reality* of Cañada “as a neighbourhood like any other in Madrid” (M<sup>a</sup>Jose, personal interview, October 2022). Prior to the outage, there had been a considerable shift in representations of Cañada, led by the incipient (and differentiated) normalisation bolstered by the Regional Pact - as well as the numerous mobilisations, events, and projects undertaken within Cañada over the years.

This chapter discusses the construction of Cañada as an encroachment on the ordinary: an accumulation of incremental actions whereby (sub)urban actors incrementally expand their acquisition of collective consumption (“land, shelter, piped water, electricity”) and their access to suburban space - including the creation of urban commons such as community centres, green spaces, playgrounds, or even the street itself (Bayat, 2022: 20; Colding et al, 2022). Thus, we critically discuss how place in/of Cañada has been socially and materially constructed through the years, evaluate the ‘radical incrementalism’ of place-making in this neighbourhood-settlement.

## 7.1 Infrastructural configurations of Cañada: an (incremental) encroachment on the ordinary

The artistic collective *Todo Por la Praxis* (All For the Praxis - TXP) was brought to Cañada by the conflict derived from the evictions and demolitions campaigns of 2007. As told by one of its founding members, the socio-spatial organisation of Cañada at the time was starkly different to what we find today:

“[the neighbourhood associations] were not places of socialisation for a long time, they were simply functional in terms of organisation so that they could have their own issues solved. (...) in those first moments there was no... The communities are like, very fragmented, Cañada also has like this thing, a linear course and then, the houses, with very low density, there was not much connection among the [urban] fabric either. There was also no public space, no places for socialisation. So no, there weren't many... many elements a bit to like, articulate anything” [Translated by author] (Diego, personal interview, October 2022)

Prior to the aforementioned mobilisation against demolition, the neighbourhood associations of Cañada mainly worked as ‘informal administrative organs’, whereby to collectively organise the development and management of service infrastructure - including, of course, the instalment of water and electricity hooks, as well as the collection of fees for the expenses related to said instalment and their upkeep (Diego, personal interview, October 2022). Similarly to the previous quote, we observe that the self-organisation and management of Cañada’s infrastructure has developed to very different extents and in different forms. We find a complex, heterogeneous infrastructure configuration (HIC) across sectors as well as through time (particularly within the process set forth by the Regional Pact), which involves various (sometimes overlapping) technologies and capacities, relations of collaboration, conflict, and improvisation (Lawhon *et al*, 2018).

The different levels of neighbourhood organisation across sectors is a causal factor in the diversity of Cañada’s HIC. Sectors 2-5 are noted as more organised. Notably, there are three neighbourhood associations in Cañada: one for sectors 2 and 3, one in sector 4, and one in sector 5; Sector 6, significantly larger, had a neighbourhood association that was not representative of the whole sector (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022). Across sectors 2-5, we observe that electricity connections are quite professionally developed, relatively safe, and managed in a more organised manner; the neighbourhood associations responsible throughout these areas have developed quite consolidated systems of repair and infrastructure upkeep. Purchasing capacity is also causal in the technologies available across the HIC (Lawhon *et al*, 2018). Throughout our

visits, we stop by one of the power transformers supplying Sector 5: they were installed by the neighbours circa 1992, each paying around €3,600 for its instalment and henceforth paying a monthly fee for their upkeep (EuropaPress, 2007). One of these transformers and the transmission tower it is illegally connected to are shown in Figure 6.

Conversely, the electricity infrastructure in sector 6 is significantly more varied and informal - it is generally without a power transformer<sup>7</sup> and relying on individual cables connected to the surrounding high-tension towers. Prior to the electricity cut, there was in fact a 'service' of hookup instalment and upkeep, albeit less reliant on a concise neighbourhood association - instead, one individual resident would charge a monthly fee to contact the electricians and manage the hookups (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022). Thus, the instalments are more individual and *ad hoc* than in other sectors, without responding to some overarching organisation. In this sense, its development can be deemed closer to Bayat's original conceptualisation of the encroachment on the ordinary - as a cluster of incremental, largely individual direct actions seeking to ensure the basic necessities of urban life (Bayat, 2002). As seen in Figure 3, these cables are installed significantly lower and often in close proximity to the house walls and fences - with the consequently high risk of electrocution, though there is no precise data on the exact frequency of these occurrences aside from personal anecdotes (Markel, personal interview, October 2022).

As noted by Lawhon *et al* (2018), infrastructural configurations do not operate seamlessly, nor are the relations between different, often overlapping forms of access to resources free of conflict or frictions. This is most visible in Cañada's waterscape. From sector 3 onwards, Cañada obtains water illegally from the general pipelines of the Isabel II water canal - more precisely, from a specific point in a neighbouring pipeline with a malfunction that was never fixed (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022). Many informants noted issues with water distribution across Cañada, recalling unnecessary/'wasteful' everyday practices of water consumption (e.g., leaving the hose turned on for hours, using drinking water from the canal to water their garden). These practices were pointed out when driving through the southern area of sector 5 - where one of our guides broadly pointed us to where the pipeline plug is - and the north of sector 6, where issues with water become visible in the streams running down the sides of the road. Informants noted that this fragmented distribution results in a reduced water flow to the southern parts of sector 6 and a certain extent of water scarcity at times - particularly during summer, when demand is greater. This differentiated access to infrastructure and resources entails, firstly, a significant limitation of supply in Cañada's most precarious areas. Furthermore, it entails a significant burden on the everyday reproduction of these households, as they often have to collect more water during the night in

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<sup>7</sup> We are told of one power transformer which was installed in a resident's backyard, nearing the drug-trafficking area of sector 6. Said resident would charge neighbouring households for electricity until he was eventually detained and sent to jail for resisting his eviction in April 2022 (Markel, personal interview, October 2022)

order to ‘get by’ during the day when these shortages are more likely to happen (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022). This illustrates how situated users within Cañada’s HIC adapt to the settlement’s uneven resource flows through particular everyday practices (Lawhon *et al*, 2018)



**Figure 6.** (1) Sector 5 - Illegal connection (red plastic tube) into an electrical transmission tower; the tube goes underground and connects with... (2) Electricity transformer in sector 5. (3) Illegal plugs into the electricity current, sector 6. (4) Leftover cables near a demolished lot. (Source: fieldwork, Madrid, 18 October 2022).

Through the development and management of these infrastructural configurations, the residents of Cañada Real intervene in the energy metabolisms and other resource flows that sustain urban life (Silver, 2014). Water to grow gardens, electricity to warm their homes, a road paved by the neighbours to connect with the rest of Madrid... This demonstrates the relevance of infrastructure in materially and socially reproducing the ‘conditions of possibility’ through which a viable urban future in Cañada is created - as a place, a neighbourhood, where people can live

healthier, safer, and more satisfying lives (though to different extents and forms) (Silver, 2014; Jiusto and McCauley, 2017).

As aforementioned, we are evaluating the development of these infrastructures as an encroachment on the ordinary - and, thus, as an incremental achievement of change in the everyday lives of urban dwellers. This incremental encroachment ultimately creates a reality in the urban landscape that political authorities are pressured to address (Bayat, 2002). Indeed, encroachment often serves to strengthen the demands of informal dwellers for the regularisation of their place and its infrastructure (Bayat, 2002; Rao, 2013). In Cañada, the demands for infrastructural extension and regularisation date back to 1992; while originally exercised through individual action, these demands adapted to the different channels made available through the years:

“Before the... the [electricity] cuts (in which there has been much more unity for mobilisation), each neighbour did what they could. So what there was was individual requests and then what I told you of those boards of the Regional Pact (...) demands have been made [there] as well, and there have been entities which have fomented those demands, so there is a lot of people working in Cañada [since] many years ago who were trying - well, that, to request that they have [electricity] supply, that they have water, that they have paving (...) to build a neighbourhood, to get the idea, that a neighbourhood has been under construction for a long time now. So, of course, the actions taken have been very diverse... through the structures that existed in actual Cañada Real and then on an individual basis, neighbours trying to solve [the situation]. (...) And the administrations have been noticeable due to their absence, because in the end they have achieved very little and the things that have been achieved were thanks to the neighbours’ self-management” [translated by author] (M<sup>a</sup>Jose, personal interview, October 2022)

The Commissioners for Cañada Real enabled a more coherent form of urban governance in Cañada, exercised through everyday dialogue, negotiation, and intervention between the administrations, residents, and organisations. Embedded within the Regional Pact process (which was never without critique or scepticism), this enabled the encroachment in Cañada to be integrated into what was felt at the time as an incipient process of change and incremental (even if not radical) empowerment (Lawhon *et al*, 2014). Importantly, various responsibilities related to the management of infrastructure were eventually placed onto the commissions - who, according to the Regional Pact, were responsible for the upkeep (*and improvement*) of services and infrastructure of Cañada. As the municipal commissioner between 2015-2019 tells us:

“When the Pact was signed, the truth is that [the neighbours] relaxed a bit, because then the commissioners were there to solve problems, each time there was a power outage for whatever reason, the commissioners would... would deal with speaking to Naturgy and for them to restore the electricity, right? And that is how we have done it for the four years that I was there, I had to intervene in... well, I don’t know how many times, but I have spoken to the Naturgy managers - ‘hey, the light is out, it broke down’ - and Naturgy would say ‘yeah, a lever broke,

which does... and we cannot put it ourselves. If the neighbours buy it and put it, we can cut the power off so that they can put the lever and then we re-establish the electricity’, that’s how it worked, at that level, however now it seems like everything is impossible to do” [translated by author] (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022)

Thus, the informality (and illegality) of services in Cañada was not only acknowledged by Madrid’s political authorities and service companies - but tolerated to some extent. This demonstrates an important evolution in the infrastructural configurations hitherto discussed, as the commissioners become one of the HICs’ nodes “connecting people and things in socio-material relations that sustain urban life” (Lawhon *et al*, 2018: 725). This ‘tolerated encroachment’, as Rao describes it, also supports a frequent insight in the analysis of slum policy - that in/formality is not a clear-cut binary, but “a complex process of renegotiating the divide between licit/illicit forms of urban habitation”, characterised by numerous slippages, disjunctions, and blurriness in the implementation of policy (2013: 775). Throughout the Regional Pact process (differentiated across sectors, lengthy in time, mostly uncertain), authorities were compromised to safeguard the integrity, health, and integration of Cañada’s population (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017). Thus, the temporality of the Regional Pact process and subsequent policies implied a certain ‘tolerance’ for Cañada’s informality, and required a series of lowkey, improvised, and everyday practices (e.g., the previous quote) which ultimately entailed an ongoing negotiation over what lives and urban spaces were permitted in the city - and until when (Rao, 2013).

Thus, encroachment in Cañada was not fully apolitical: indeed, it was always deeply interconnected with the demands to regularise Cañada and recognise it as a legitimate neighbourhood. In regards to ‘radical incrementalism’, it can be argued that encroachment did entail an incremental reclaiming of agency through the self-production of suburban space (Álvarez-de Andrés, 2020; Lawhon *et al*, 2014). However, a more substantive ‘radical incrementalism’ would require the eventual creation (*and consolidation*) of a more drastic alternative to “the totalizing logic of the centre” from which resources and legitimacy originated” (Lawhon *et al*, 2014: 511). Importantly, one informant notes that, in terms of infrastructure and material resources, the mobilisation of Cañada Real is not preoccupied with the achievement of a ‘radical’, autonomous urban alternative:

“[Cañada] is still trying to regularise their electricity contracts, their electricity supply and then later they will start to understand that about democratisation and self-management (...) They’re kind of in the previous phase of being recognised like consumer citizens (...) first [the authorities] have to recognise their right as citizens to have electricity, to have access to a basic supply, and then to be considered consumers and then everything else may come” [translated by author] (M<sup>a</sup>Jose, personal interview, October 2022)

Indeed, current demands for the regularisation of Cañada put significant emphasis on its integration as a neighbourhood of Madrid; its isolation and exclusion from vital urban resources

makes Cañada's *recognition* within this 'totalizing logic of the centre' a priority. Additionally, and while radical incrementalism implies some form of progressive change in the creation of urban possibility, it does not imply that this progress is linear or irreversible. HICs shift over time: its artefacts and social relations may become unavailable at points (Lawhon *et al*, 2018). In Cañada, the disruption entailed by the electricity outage proved the tenuous character of tolerated encroachment within this HIC. Before delving into this, however, we should continue into other forms of encroachment contributing to place-making in Cañada.

## 7.2 Defending the barrio: Socio-spatial tactics and urban commons

While not political in its original aims, the encroachment on the ordinary can acquire significant political potential "when the gains of quiet encroachers (for instance their informal settlements) become threatened by the powerful" (Bartels, 2020: 528). It can develop into a '*bold encroachment*': an expansion of Bayat's quiet encroachment, encompassing the loud and collective practices that 'encroachers' adopt to defend their claims to urban space or their practices within it, including the contestation - and negotiation - with city and state authorities (Gillespie, 2017; Bartels, 2020). As aforementioned, the 2007-2012 demolition campaigns led to the development of more politicised forms of organisation in Cañada, including the already existing neighbourhood organisations (Diego, personal interview, October 2022). This sparked a powerful period of place-based mobilisation in Cañada, bolstered through the formation of broad coalitions between the residents of Cañada and an ever-changing array of "activists, planning and design professionals, legal experts, and potent leftist religious organisations" (Gonick, 2015: 1236).

Within this 'bold encroachment', we may note the deployment of direct and confrontational tactics such as lawsuits, mobilisation in public spaces, or direct denunciation and shaming (Anguelovski, 2014; Gonick, 2015). Following the outage, residents peacefully demonstrated in front of public institutions, denounced to national and international bodies, the children of Cañada also organised demonstrations and events (DCI *et al*, 2022). We may also note instances of spontaneous collective direct action (Gillespie, 2007) such as stone-throwing, setting fires, or engaging in conflicts with police to prevent demolitions; some were prominent during the 2007-2012 demolition campaigns (Gonick, 2015; Álvarez Agüí, 2017); none have been reported during the current dismantlement process, but the likelihood is deemed likely as dismantlement advances north throughout Cañada (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022).

I have skimmed through these tactics because I want to emphasise other forms of 'bold' encroachment which are more explicitly related to place-making in Cañada. Particularly throughout 2009-2019, Cañada's ever-changing coalition of residents and organisations has engaged in various *socio-spatial* tactics and practices: which have not only contested its

stigmatisation and attempted dismantlement, but also contributed to the incremental transformation of Cañada's physical and social spaces through which everyday life unfurls - and, ultimately, to the creation of "meaningful and autonomous images of place and community" in Cañada, which can be considered closer to 'radical incrementalism' (Anguelovski, 2014: 50; Burley, 2010). Drawing from Anguelovski's (2014) work on socio-spatial tactics and place-making, I now delineate some common themes that prove the importance of these projects and tactics in the construction of Cañada.

'Bricolage tactics' are a fundamental element, whereby residents assemble material (emptied lots, demolition rubble, construction materials) and non-material sources (construction skills, technical expertise) available within their urban environment in order to address the material implications of institutional neglect and displacement, as well as to achieve tangible environmental transformations within their place (Anguelovski, 2017). The coalitions developed in Cañada are a fundamental source for the material and non-material resources necessary for bricolage tactics; they provided the technical expertise not only of the artistic and architectural collectives involved, but also that of the neighbours, many of whom were highly skilled due to the amount of Cañada residents employed in the construction sector. One of the earlier examples of this in Cañada is Sector 5's *Plaza Cañada* ('Cañada Square'): a 2011 collaborative project between the artistic collective *Todo Por la Praxis* (All For the Praxis - TXP) and the Al-Shorok neighbourhood association (sector 5), to recover a demolished lot and transform it into a public meeting space and playground through the reutilization of recycled and donated resources (TXP, 2011).



**Figure 7.** Photos from the Plaza Cañada Real project (Source: TODO POR LA PRAXIS TXP, 2011).

As already exemplified by Cañada Square, the creation of urban commons is a recurrent demand among the residents of Cañada. While green spaces are plentiful due to its peripheral location, Cañada’s characterisation as a linear city had traditionally hindered the flow of information and the development of gathering spaces (Diego, personal interview, October 2022). In this context, many of the projects were not exclusively centred on the physical construction of space - but also emphasised the creation of self-managed commons that would enable neighbourhood planning, participation, and decision-making. One notable example pertains to the *casita para el pueblo* (‘cottage for the village’) made in 2013, a collaborative project between the Al-Shorok neighbourhood organisation and two collaborating organisations (Al-shorok, 2013).

Aiming towards the collective and participatory creation of a self-managed meeting space in sector V, the *casita*...

“came from [the neighbours’] will to keep united and make neighbourhood, to demonstrate that they’re maintaining their own environment, [and] to gather around a collaborative project to demonstrate their capacity to undertake a project together” [translated by author] (Al-shorok, 2013).

Sector 5’s socio-community centre originated from the municipality’s consultation of neighbours, who asked for a public space for meetings, assemblies, and joint decision-making. As explained by a municipality official involved in this project: “[residents] did not demand a space solely to consume social and community activities, but rather one where they would produce, as well, a space to produce socio-communal activity” [translated by author] (PERMITIDO EL PASO, 2021: 5:55). The clarification of what residents did and did not demand is pertinent, particularly in its mention of consumption. The way residents of Cañada interpret these constructions of space - particularly, their significance as urban commons - is exemplified in the *casita para el pueblo*’s sudden end:

“They felt deceived by [Architects Without Borders, involved in project], because what was going to be an open space, educational, of a city, a small cottage [...] eventually turned into a manipulation and even charged entrance for some activities, so part of the Moroccan community, they also say this openly, set it on fire” [translated by author] (Santiago, personal interview, October 2022)

It is worth noting that the *casita* was eventually replaced through the mediation of the municipal commissioner, who improvised a solution by transferring a mobile Tourism Office unit, hitherto located in the Queen Sofia museum, to the *casita*’s location (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022). This is insightful not only as an example of material reutilisation, but also as another example of the aforementioned relations of ‘tolerated encroachment’ (Rao, 2013).

Overall, such projects contribute to enacting an alternative socio-spatial construction of Cañada, distinct from the reality of demolition and stigmatisation, and instead constructing as a space of urban autonomy and community-making (Angelovski, 2014). In the documentary made a year after the socio-community centre’s construction, neighbours of Cañada state:

“[The centre] gives a sense of belonging to the community centre, that people assimilate because they know they can go there. In their leisure time they can go to the centre, get involved in some activity, collaborate on something” [translated by author] ([PERMITIDO EL PASO](#), 2021: 6:50)

“This is for the benefit of the children, of all of us... for sharing information. This is very good for the neighbourhood, it gives us a lot of strength” [translated by author] ([PERMITIDO EL PASO](#), 2021: 7:46)

Visiting Sector 5’s socio-community centre, and through an informal conversation with the centre’s custodian, we find that even after the electricity outage the centre remains open on most afternoons, and is full of children due to the various programmes organised within it (social events, tutoring and anti-truancy programmes). The significance of creating such spaces for Cañada’s children should not be understated - not only due to its particularly young demographic but, more generally, due to the place-making significance of creating recreational, outdoors, and meeting spaces. As noted by Anguelovski (2014), children in dense and/or marginalised neighbourhoods often lack safe recreational opportunities; the creation of such spaces to safely socialise and spend time together enables the development of a more dynamic outdoor street life, contributing to a sense of safety in the street and strengthening the social relations that base everyday life in Cañada Real.

One final point: while we broadly speak of place-making in Cañada, this does not imply that all neighbours engage in such place-making practices in the same forms (Anguelovski, 2014). Indeed, all informants note that the Moroccan population of Cañada - which resides predominantly in sector 5 and some distinct parts of sector 6 - is the most active and engaging in these projects, as well as in the mobilisations that have resulted from the electricity outage. When discussing these matters, cultural difference is often brought up as an important factor by various informants. The limited scope of this paper’s methodology refrain us from jumping to conclusions in this regard, but it is nevertheless important to note this difference to avoid the homogenisation of Cañada Real.

## **8. The displacement of Cañada Real**

*What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?*

Bacchi’s (2009) fifth question prompts us to consider the lived, discursive, and subjectification effects entailed by specific problematizations. In this chapter, the effects of Cañada’s problematization as a ‘temporal place’ are understood within an overarching process of displacement. Cañada Real has been subject to various forms of displacement over the years. Álvarez Agüí (2017) describes the 2007-2012 demolition campaigns as a forced and *in-situ* displacement affecting the poorest dwellers of Cañada, often belonging to ethnic minorities. He also points to the Regional Pact as a possible continuation of this displacement process, which could now include...

“...forced evictions of the non-rehoused dwellers, and the re-housing of poor dwellers out for Cañada due to economic reasons (not being able to pay for their lots) or for residing in Sector 6. There could also be forced evictions of residents not registered before December 2011” [translated by author] (2017: 234)

After the electricity outage, this is expressly relevant. This refers to the intentional and organised process of dismantlement accelerated through the re-housing programmes - but also to the displacement derived from the everyday, accumulated burdens of energy deprivation. This chapter focuses on the *displacement* of Cañada, thus considering the role and significance of ‘place’, place-making, and unmaking in this process (Adey *et al.*, 2020). Also drawing from (Urban) Feminist Political Ecology (FPE), we therefore conceptualise displacement not only as the experience/sense of geographical dislocation, but also as the (sense of) loss of place: ie., of the social relations that are embedded in those places, as well as of one’s claims and capacity to *make* place. This emphasises the micropolitical, differentiated, embodied and affective dimensions of displacement (Doshi, 2012; Vaz-Jones, 2018; Elmhirst, 2020). The chapter explores the effects of this displacement on the spaces and infrastructural configurations that were discussed in previous chapters - as well as their role in creating differentiated everyday experiences and adaptations to displacement in Cañada. Importantly, none of this implies the end of Cañada or some similarly defeatist assumption, as the struggle continues and is expected to do so throughout the near future.

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Previously, we discussed how Cañada’s HIC adapted to the political interventions in Cañada, particularly through the introduction of the Commissioners. The electricity outage proved the ‘tenuous character’ of this tolerated encroachment, as the momentum of progress through which the neighbourhood had been supported was promptly collapsed (Rao, 2013: 775; Loftus, 2012). Foremost, the network of relations between administrations, residents, and organisations in Cañada has suffered irreparable damage. After 6 years of ‘visible changes’, many of our interviewees now share a feeling of ‘killed’ progress and even regression in the progress to consolidate Cañada as a neighbourhood of Madrid - or, at least, to secure residents’ living conditions while the Pact was implemented (Laura, personal interview, September 2022). Importantly, Madrid’s municipal and regional commissioners were already experiencing significant volatility since 2019, repeatedly changing incumbents until mid-2021 (Moreno, 2019; de Vega, 2021). The most notable disruption pertains to the maintenance of the electricity supply - hitherto through the aforementioned forms of tolerated encroachment. Authorities assert that the outage is ‘no longer ongoing’ in Sector 5, and that electricity in Sector 6 cannot be restored due to the networks’ overload-protection mechanisms (ie., the current limiters installed by Naturgy) (ECSR, 2022).

The burden of suturing the ‘fractured metabolic relationship’ of Cañada’s infrastructure has mainly relied on the neighbours of Cañada, through the improvised re-arrangement of the

infrastructure hitherto sustaining their everyday life (Loftus, 2012). Continuing our interpretation of Cañada's infrastructure as HICs - and through its focus on infrastructure through situated-users, rather than as a system-developed-from-outside - we observe how the outage has resulted in the incremental adaptation and integration of new socio-technical artefacts, as previous infrastructural options are now unavailable (Lawhon *et al*, 2018).

The adaptations to the outage follow the same variations that were described in the previous chapter regarding sectors 5 and 6. The high level of organisation in sector 5, combined with the more advanced development of its energy infrastructure, has to some extent facilitated the continuation of neighbourhood self-management. Sector 5 currently has electricity supply a few days a week, although outages are still frequent and can last several days (DCI *et al*, 2022). Starting from an estimation of how much electricity they can consume before suffering another outage, the neighbours of sector 5 have organised themselves in order to keep their energy consumption within the threshold set by Naturgy's current limiter: the supply often alternates between the sectors' two transformers, meaning that neighbours have electricity in turns and those without it adapt through whatever auxiliary system they have at their disposal: solar panels, power generators, candles and firewood (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022).

Conversely, the situation in sector 6 is much more varied and complex along its 6 kilometres. In general terms, households have adapted as was previously mentioned: through solar panels (significantly less common in this sector) as well as petrol-based generators and wood stoves (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022). A significant amount of marijuana warehouses have remained by connecting electricity hookups to more faraway access points, though their exact location is unknown (Markel, personal interview, October 2022). It is not known whether/how many private households are also installing alternative accesses to the current; however, an informant tells us that the electricity obtained in sector 6 is generally not enough to sustain household appliances such as fridges (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022).

While seemingly trivial, the preservation of food entails a significant burden: with nowhere to store most products, and groceries not being easily accessible in Sector 6, the neighbours of Cañada (generally women) need to leave the house for groceries almost daily (M<sup>a</sup>Jose, personal interview, October 2022). This is one of the many burdens borne by the girls and women of Cañada: to which we can also include cooking and doing laundry without electricity (which become complicated and drawn-out tasks), as well as keeping their children and themselves clean - importantly, the difficulty in maintaining hygiene without electricity has become a source of stigma and bullying for the children of Cañada (DCI *et al*, 2022).

As we have repeatedly noted, infrastructure is a fundamental component in the material and social reproduction of Cañada as a place - a neighbourhood - where people can live healthier, safer, and more satisfying lives (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017). Now, in such dire circumstances, we

observe that the everyday practices through which this place is maintained and reproduced are deeply differentiated - and particularly gendered (Doshi, 2012; Anand et al, 2018). Establishing a linkage with women elsewhere in similar conditions of vulnerability, the women of Cañada have noted their increased domestic and care-related burdens in their role as “providers of security, healthy eating, health and the care for relatives and themselves”, which is situated within the unequal, gendered distribution of labour in their households (Plataforma Luz, 2022a). The burden doubles as they are the ones leading the struggle for electricity, “occupying a political space in defence of Human Rights” - which contrasts with their access to public spaces in Cañada, as men maintain their meeting spaces while women “are at home working, with little time to have meeting spaces with other women” (Plataforma Luz, 2022a). From a FPE perspective, this exemplifies the forms of dispossession that are experienced through incremental displacement, as the daily burdens required to reproduce Cañada imply the loss of socio-cultural practices and everyday interactions which are crucial to the maintenance of one’s affective well-being and attachment to place (Elmhirst, 2020). Yet at the same time, the mobilisation in defence of Cañada has also entailed a certain escape from these embodied and affective experiences of displacement within Cañada, as expressed in the following anecdotes from women from Cañada:

“As much as we have struggled so much, we have suffered, we have cried... but when we remember details we laugh about all the silly things we’ve done.

You know we started alone, before no one from Madrid would come... up there we were 80 women and there were so many children. Well suddenly the police don’t let us pass to block the road and we’re there, and Kenza comes over and says ‘what, are you gonna be scared of them?’ And I go... no. WELL THEN LET’S CUT THE ROAD. She picks her kid, stands in front of the police and says GET OUTTA HEREEEE... listen, she threw the kid at the police. So many laughs... (...) And then Kenza says WHAT NOW, AM I WORTH IT OR NOT?

For me I’ve really liked the demonstrations we’ve done... hahaha... because the level of boredom being at home with the candles... we don’t have wifi, we don’t have coverage, or television, it’s also cold... so, come on! Let’s go demonstrate!” [translated by author] (Plataforma Luz, 2022b)

The spaces discussed in previous chapters are also important in this regard. Notably, Sector 5’s socio-community centre remains in use for educational-support courses, community events... a new mural was added this year, stating ‘Lighting Dignity’, thus marking this space with the neighbourhood experience of the outage (Figure 8). The furniture factory provides children with a heated, illuminated space to keep up with homework and play; for women, the factory meets more personal than formative needs, providing a separation and escape from their increased domestic burdens (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022). Thus, these practices and spaces are a crucial respite from the everyday experience of the outage. Yet after two years, the wait, hardship, and uncertainty become heavy burdens.



Figure 8. Mural of Sector 5's socio-community centre (Source: fieldwork, Madrid, October 18th 2022).

While displacement is often associated with instances of intense violence and conflict, it often also entails prolonged periods of inaction and waiting (Tyner, 2020). When I ask the municipal guide about their 1.5 years as the municipal commissioner for Cañada, they talk of a receding sense of emergency: after a first tumultuous year without electricity, they find that things have started to ‘quiet down’ in Cañada. The focus now is “to work on the solution that we consider... that is viable and which dignifies the life of people, which is resettlement” [translated by author] (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022). Specific interventions have sought to alleviate the outage’s consequences: namely the free distribution of firewood, butane gas cylinders and butane, as well as gasoline checks for those with a power generator at home; a laundry service for families in situations of vulnerability and the instalment of a WiFi access point (Markel, personal interview, October 2022). Yet without an effective solution to the outage, residents still bear most of the burden of energy deprivation while waiting for re-housing. In similar cases of informality, such large-scale re-housing programmes are critiqued as “too slow, dislocating, disruptive to social networks, ineffective in generating healthy communities, and disempowering by encouraging people to wait for government to “solve” their problems” (Jiusto and McCauley, 2017: 281; Kovacic, 2022). A similar argument is made by those demanding the return of electricity in Cañada, as it would expectedly take 7-10 years to relocate the almost 1,000 families affected - “And meanwhile? Meanwhile, do we go on without light?” [translated by author] (M<sup>a</sup>Jose, personal interview, October 2022).

Previously, we discussed how this problematization of the outage constructs Cañada as a ‘temporal place’ which cannot be ensured as habitable, and is therefore subjected to a prolonged process of dismantlement. Yet speaking of the everyday effects of this problematization, we may speak of Cañada as a *place of waiting*, whereby particular relations of power and inequality become embedded (and reproduced) in the spatio-temporalities of the re-housing process (Tyner, 2020). Indeed, waiting is a power-laden phenomenon: those waiting, being thus prevented from engaging in other activities, become subject to the subjective effects of bureaucratic processes, negotiations, and delays... “waiting hopefully and then frustratedly for others to make decisions, and in effect surrendering to the authority of others” (Tyner, 2020: 82).

Waiting entails particular affective experiences - “powerful, anxious, and sometimes contradictory feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and hope” - derived from the prolonged, uncertain re-housing process (Raiño-Alcalá, 2008, in Griffiths, 2020: 102). When visiting the area of the second relocation programme (Appendix A3), the commissioners are repeatedly stopped by neighbours asking about their resettlement. Most are left waiting at different stages of the process: looking for required documents, waiting for the notice, the contract for the new apartment, the keys or the approval to start moving... Many wait excitedly, but there are also significant concerns over acquaintances being re-housed before them and, more prominently, of living through the land-reclamation process making space for the new green areas - waiting while their street is left empty and they are ‘surrounded by earth’ (as one resident describes it). Notably, one guide tells us:

“There’s many people who have left voluntarily (...) In the end there is a moment where... it’s true that yes, generally, Cañada is hostile, if on top of that you’re in a process of land reclamation it is even more hostile because the Comunidad de Madrid is moving earth, demolitions are being done...” [translated by author] (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022)

Furthermore, one must also consider the ‘lived’ effects (Bacchi, 2009) derived from waiting for re-housing, as Cañada’s residents are locked into situations of everyday, cumulative harm derived from energy deprivation (Anand *et al*, 2022). In 2021, separate reports presented the impact on health resulting from a year without electricity. As many have noted, these effects refer to very differentiated experiences of the electricity outage: there are many forms and extents of vulnerability in Cañada, shaped by the neighbourhood’s socioeconomic and housing diversity as well as by Cañada varying socio-ecological conditions. These effects and conditions have been summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Effects of the electricity outage and pre-existing conditions in Cañada Real, based on (Arkenbout and Bouman, 2021; Interview, October 2022; Plataforma, 2021; DCI et al, 2022).

<b>Effects of energy deprivation</b>	Exposure to extreme temperatures ( <i>e.g.</i> , ulcers, superinfections, cold burns, aggravated dermatitis).
	Increase in respiratory infections and worsening of chronic respiratory diseases (50-60% increase in pathology since October 2020).
	Increase in incidences of Covid-19 pneumonia infection and complications.
	Increased risk of falls and domestic accidents.
	5 deaths associated with comorbidity complications due to exposure to cold.
<b>Effects derived from alternative sources of energy</b>	Increasing incidence of burns of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd degrees.
	80-90 cases of carbon monoxide poisoning; 20 of them requiring emergency care.
<b>Effects on mental health</b>	Rising incidence in anxiety and depression (2 self-harming attempts, rising demand for anxiolytic and antidepressant treatment).
	Chronification of mental health problems since October 2020 (post-traumatic stress from the first winter without electricity, ‘anticipatory anxiety’ over the next, as well as depression and ‘constant anxiety crises’ experienced by caretakers who are now struggling daily to keep their loved ones warm and safe, and to protect their houses from damp and infrastructural damage).
<b>Pre-existing socio-environmental conditions</b>	Prevalence of leaks, mould, and damp in Cañada’s more poorly-heated, poorly-insulated, and inadequately-ventilated homes (worsened without electricity).
	Exposure to Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) derived from Cañada’s proximity to the Valdemingómez waste-to-energy incinerator.
	Cañada’s ‘micro-climate’ - heightened exposure to extreme temperatures (lack of vegetation and shadow).
<b>Pre-existing medical conditions</b>	Electro-dependency for medical devices (insulin refrigeration, medical devices for oxygen therapy, mechanical ventilation devices).
	Pre-existing rheumatic conditions, chronic respiratory conditions, diabetes, and skin conditions.

Key here is to note that this differentiated exposure to the electricity outage often intersects with the differentiated eligibility of the re-housing programme. Within resettlement programmes, the categorisation of residents as (non)eligible for re-housing often relies on exclusionary technologies of differentiated displacement, intersecting with classed, gendered, and ethnicized subjectivities (Doshi, 2012). Cañada’s re-housing programme requires: a determinate income, identity documentation, and (most prominently) documentation proving the solicitant family unit’s residence in Cañada *prior* to December 31st 2011 - the year of Cañada’s first census

(Comunidad de Madrid, 2022). The programme's limited eligibility is recognised by the commissioners; those non-eligible for re-housing are expected to leave voluntarily "when they see there's not much to do here anymore" or, ultimately, be forcefully evicted through a Planning Discipline process [translated by author] (Enrique, personal interview, October 2022).

In a place characterised by informality and constant movement (sometimes forced, as with the 2007-2012 *in-situ* displacements), such criteria exclude a significant amount of population: for instance, lots 12b and 20, bordering Sector 6's drug-trafficking area and with a sizable shantytown in their backyards. Its dwellings are namely made of sheet plates, lacking running water and currently no electricity (Markel, personal interview, October 2022). Not much is known about its residents:

"M: ...How many people live there? No fucking idea. Do they meet any requirements? No one does. (...) This is a huge fucking problem. Because all of them [gesturing towards the main road] we have their phone (...) I know how much they earn...(...) But all these people... No idea, and behind closed doors all who live inside there I have no idea. But really no idea, of course, it's a problem" [Translated by author] (Markel, personal interview, October 2022)

This is key in our discussion of displacement. Throughout the years, the reduced eligibility of interventions in Cañada has led to a reiterative abandonment of specific populations, their living conditions staying the same or heavily deteriorating as they experience the dramatic disruptions entailed by dismantlement without being included in the aforementioned programmes (Álvarez Agüí, 2017). It is important, then, to note who inhabits the aforementioned lots, as a different guide tells us:

"One of the most miserable places in Cañada (...) They come from El Gallinero, but it is not El Gallinero. El Gallinero does not exist anymore (...) a lot of them came here and there were people that were resettled" [translated by author] (Pedro, personal interview, October 2022)

## 9. Conclusion

There is a wonderful duality entailed by the word 'matter'. It is a duality between substance and action - between recognising an ontological presence and granting some form of legitimacy to it. In this paper, the suburbanization of nature in Southeast Madrid has been placed as the overarching background of our analysis. However, it is the place-making practices and the adaptations to displacement in Cañada Real which have been placed at the paper's centre, thus seeking to advance a more situated understanding of the current struggle. Cañada Real has been encroached by private urban development for decades, and sector 6 is now being swiftly swept under the novel experiments of Madrid's green infrastructure development. Yet at the core of this conflict, there is a neighbourhood that has been built against the currents of these processes, and which has been

made to matter - in both meanings of the word - through the constant efforts of its residents and those supporting them.

This paper started from an understanding of Cañada as an amalgamation of places: of sites constructed through socio-spatial processes of social interaction, discursive narration, infrastructural configuration, embodied experience, and relations of power and change. In employing this place-making lens, I have argued that the electricity outage is best understood within a broader conflict of place-making and displacement in Cañada Real, closely embedded in the processes of suburbanization of nature that have unfurled in Southeast Madrid. Throughout this paper, we have explored how place in/of Cañada Real has been discursively and materially (re)produced throughout the years, and the ways in which these socio-spatial processes and relations have enabled certain representations, interventions, and lived realities in Cañada - while foreclosing other urban possibilities.

We started in Chapter 6, by investigating the different ways in which 'place' has been scripted and addressed in policy and media discourse on Cañada Real. Foremost, we contextualised the emergence and evolution of Cañada within a model of suburban development that is now expanding throughout Southeast Madrid in novel iterations of sustainable urban development. Indeed, and as has been often denounced by the residents of Cañada, we have illustrated how problematizations Cañada are closely interlinked with this model, which is most visibly characterised by the Urban Action Plans currently encroaching the settlement - and, more recently, by novel projects of green infrastructure seeking to integrate the emptied space of Cañada into the 'eco-scalar' fixes through which Madrid is now addressing ecological problems.

The declassification of Cañada as a transhumance trail by Law 2/2011 engendered a convoluted, differentiated political process, seeking to re-frame Cañada in reference to its possible futures. Our emphasis on said political process helped us contextualise how current policy has been constructed - but also, and by discussing the incipient normalisation of Cañada that was taking place prior to the electricity outage, to further demonstrate that dismantlement and displacement were never the only future considered for Cañada. This helped demonstrate the extent of disruption that has been entailed by the electricity outage.

The stigmatisation of Cañada and its resultant construction as a 'dumping ground' of illegality and urban marginality has been fiercely contested by the residents of Cañada over the years. Through their struggle against demolition and for regularisation, they have continuously defended an alternative representation *and reality* of Cañada as a legitimate neighbourhood and a place where people not only survive but actually *live* in community. Chapter 7 delved into how this alternative construction has been socio-spatially constructed within Cañada. Through a critical evaluation of practices in Cañada as an encroachment on the ordinary, we have assessed how a neighbourhood has been incrementally constructed through the (initially) quiet encroachment onto Madrid's urban metabolism.

Foremost, the development and management of Cañada's heterogeneous infrastructure configuration - an illegal intervention into Madrid's socio-ecological flows - has enabled the conditions of possibility through which a viable urban future in Cañada is created - as a place, a neighbourhood, where people can live healthier, safer, and more satisfying lives. Furthermore, the creation of self-managed commons through bricolage tactics has also been shown as an essential component of place-making in Cañada, whereby residents have created spaces for neighbourhood organisation, participation, and decision-making - as well as for socialising and spending time together, thus contributing to place identity and strengthening the social relations basing everyday life in Cañada Real. In evaluating these practices through an expanded understanding of quiet encroachment (including bold and negotiated forms of encroachment), as well as through Lawhon *et al's* (2014) concept of 'radical incrementalism', we have sought to ensure that the evaluation of these place-making practices retains some nuance, instead of simply presuming their transformative potential.

Chapter 8 delved into the everyday, embodied, affective and differentiated experiences of displacement that have been engendered by the re-housing programmes - and, more prominently, by the everyday, accumulated burdens of energy deprivation. We have shown how Cañada's heterogeneous infrastructure configuration has adapted to the outage, namely through an intensification of reproductive labour - thus demonstrating the role of the women of Cañada in restoring the fractured metabolic relationship hitherto sustaining urban life in Cañada. Understanding infrastructure as a network of situated users rather than a system-from-outside, we explored how Cañada's HIC has adapted through the absence of previous socio-technical afterfacts and the introduction of new ones - namely, that of the intensified reproductive labour of the women of Cañada. We considered how this heightened reproductive burden contributes to the embodied feeling of displacement, and noted the importance of mobilisation and the availability of Cañada's urban commons to alleviate said experiences of displacement.

As a last point into the displacement of Cañada, we noted how the construction of Cañada as a place of waiting engendered very differentiated experiences of the re-housing process. This referred, most notably, to the forms of displacement related to the everyday, affective experiences of dismantlement, as well as to how eligibility criteria within said programme entail longer and harsher periods of waiting for some residents, who risk being displaced without receiving an appropriate habitational alternative.

In regards to informal settlements of such a scale, dismantlement and rehousing policy has been critiqued as a prolonged, socially dislocating, and conflictive line of intervention. This is an argument which is often espoused in the analysis of slum policy, and which this paper has also demonstrated as pertinent to the case of Cañada Real. This critique to current policy is not novel: indeed, it has been presented to the authorities with increasing force over the last two years, and with the support of an increasing number of international institutions. Recently, on October the 19th 2022, the European Committee of Social Rights admitted a complaint against the Kingdom

of Spain in regards to current responses to the electricity outage, and unanimously declared the necessity to immediately ensure adequate access to electricity and heating to Cañada, or ensure appropriate alternative accommodation when not possible (ECSR, 2022: 11). What this paper has more aptly contributed is to de-naturalise the problematization of Cañada that frames this current policy, and to emphasise the *in-situ* alternatives that were being incipiently developed prior to the outage, from within and beyond Cañada. While not indefectible, *in-situ* interventions centred on the co-production of space through the active negotiation between residents and administrations are increasingly defended as a more just and less disruptive alternative, which entail a more nuanced engagement with the notion of in/formality. Much of this sentiment underlies current claims being made in Cañada: light, contracts, and a monitoring table.

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# Appendixes

## Appendix A

### Maps of Cañada Real

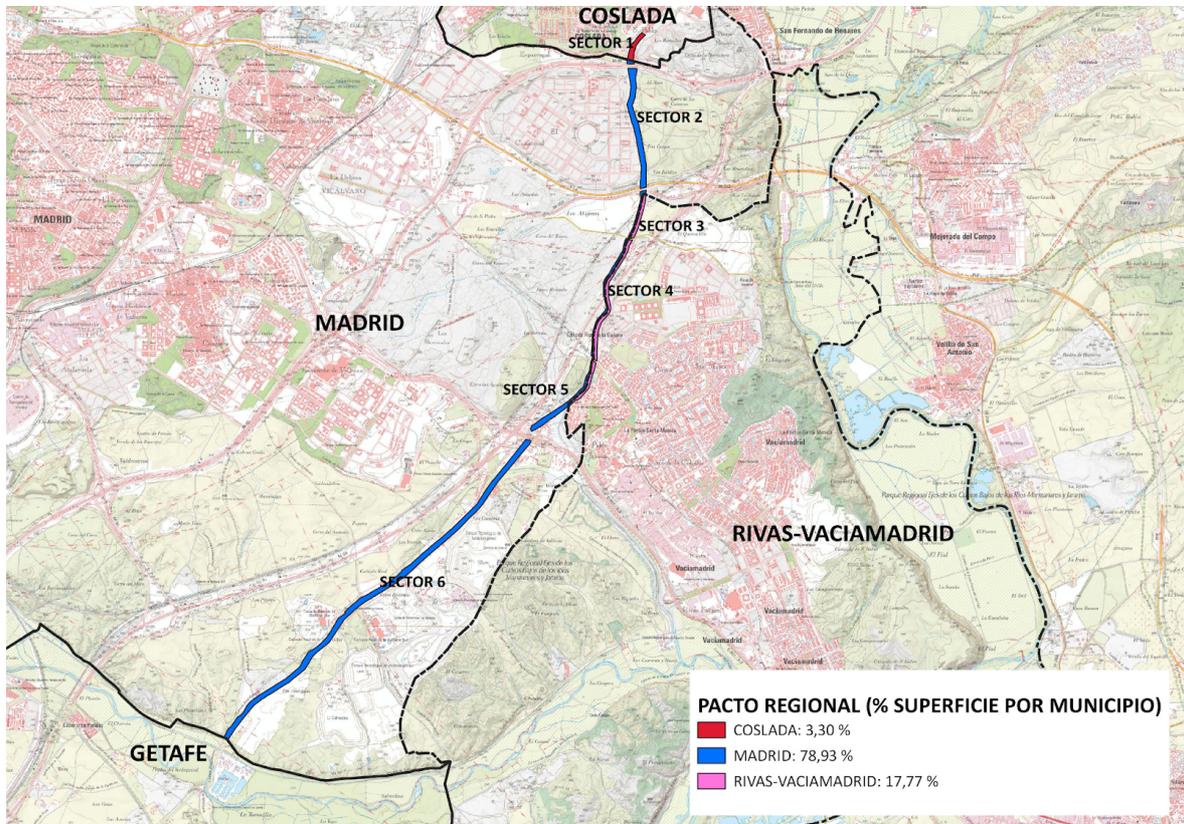


Figure A1. Map of la Cañada Real Galiana (Source: Comunidad de Madrid, 2022b).

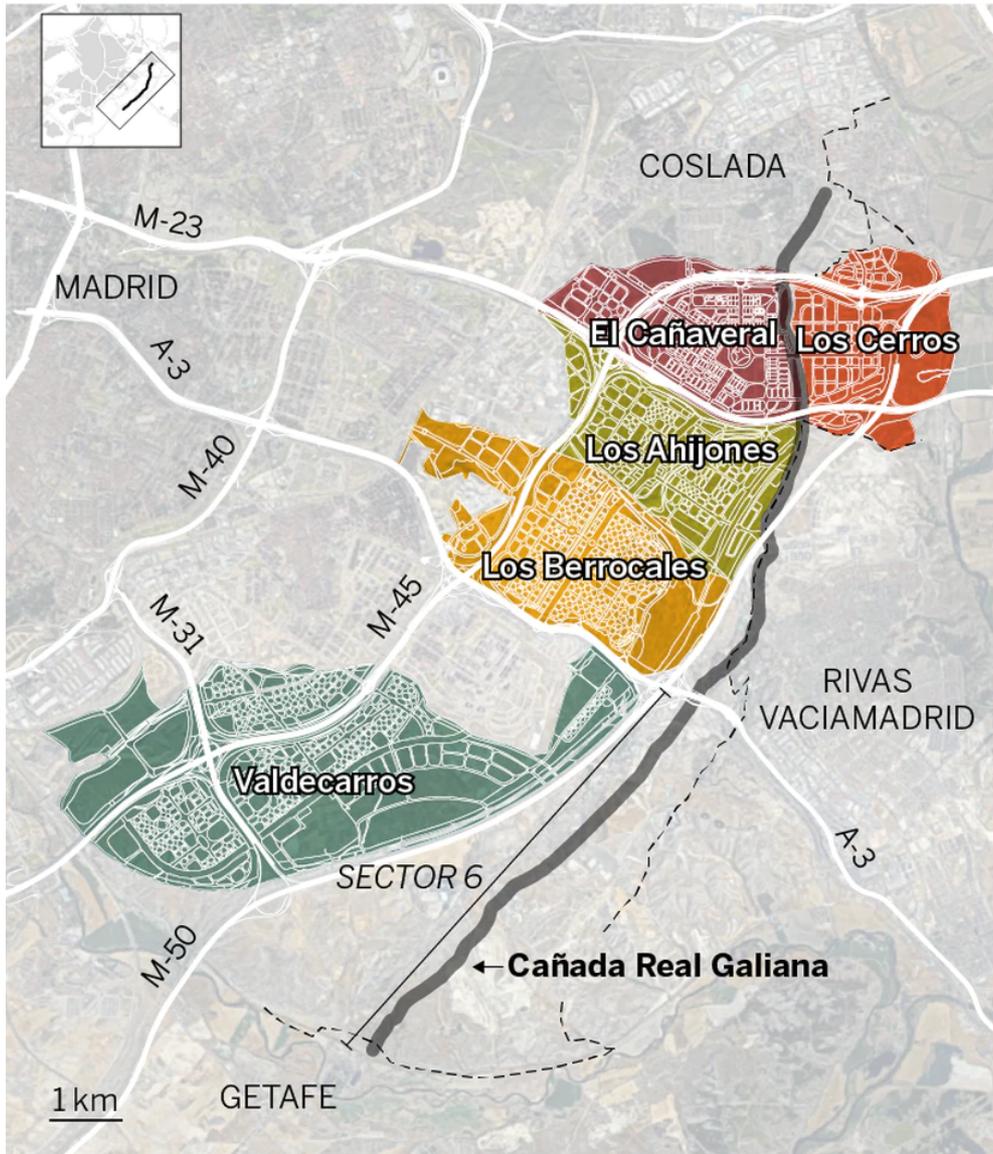


Figure A2. Map of the Urban Action Plans of Southeast Madrid. (Source: Ezquiaga Fernández, 2021).

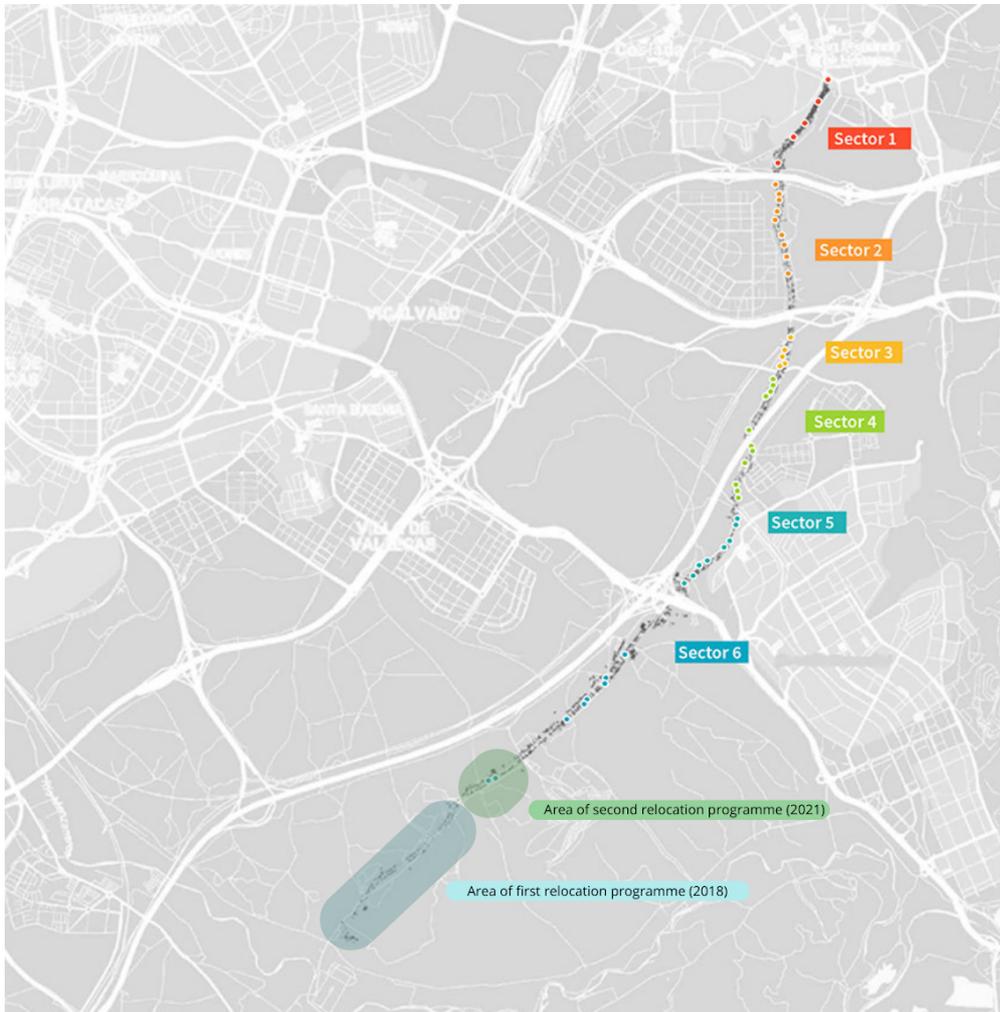


Figure A3. Map of the dismantlement and re-housing programmes realised in Cañada Real between 2018-2022. Based on (Comunidad de Madrid, 2018, 2021). (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author)

## Appendix B

### Sample for discursive policy analysis

Figure B1. Documents included in policy analysis.

Year	Title (with translation)	Administration
2011	Ley 2/2011, de 15 de Marzo, de la Cañada Real Galiana ('Law 2/2011, of March the 15th, of the Cañada Real Galiana')	Comunidad de Madrid
2014	Acuerdo Marco Social de la Cañada Real Galiana ('Social Framework Agreement for the Cañada Real Galiana')	Comunidad de Madrid, with the Madrid and Coslada city councils
<a href="#">2015</a>	Decreto 243/2015, de 29 de diciembre, del Consejo de Gobierno, por el que se crea el Comisionado del Gobierno de la Comunidad de Madrid para la Cañada Real Galiana ('Decree 243/3015, of December the 29th, by the Government COuncil, to create the Government Commission of the Comunidad de Madrid for the Cañada Real Galiana')	Comunidad de Madrid
2017	Pacto Regional por la Cañada Real Galiana ('Regional Pact for the Cañada Real Galiana')	Comunidad de Madrid, with the Madrid, Coslada, and Rivas city councils
2018	Convenio de colaboración de 11 de mayo de 2018, entre la Comunidad de Madrid, a través de la agencia de vivienda social de la Comunidad de Madrid y el Ayuntamiento de Madrid, para el realojamiento y la integración social de las familias de la Cañada Real Galiana, Sector 6, tramo entre la incineradora de Valdemingómez y el final del término municipal de Madrid con Getafe. ('Collaboration agreement of May the 11st 2018, between the Comunidad de Madrid and the Madrid City Council, for the relocation and social integration of the families of Cañada Real Galiana, Sector 6, the section between the Valdemingómez incinerator plant and the end of the municipality of Madrid with Getafe')	Comunidad de Madrid
2021	Real Decreto 1058/2021, de 30 de noviembre, por el que se regula la concesión directa de subvenciones a los ayuntamientos de Madrid y de Rivas-Vaciamadrid para la realización de programas de realojo para familias en situación de vulnerabilidad social extrema en los sectores cuatro, cinco y seis de la Cañada Real Galiana ('Royal Decree 1058/2021, of November the 30th, to regulate the direct concession of subsidies to the city councils of Madrid and Rivas-Vaciamadrid for the realisation of relocation programmes for families in circumstances of extreme social vulnerability in sectors four, five, and six of the Cañada Real Galiana')	Government of Spain

Year	Title (with translation)	Administration
<a href="#">2022</a>	<p>Convenio entre la Comunidad de Madrid a través de la Agencia de Vivienda Social y el Ayuntamiento de Rivas Vaciamadrid, para el realojo y la integración social de las familias del núcleo chabolista de la Cañada Real Galiana, sectores 4 y 5 del término municipal de Rivas Vaciamadrid ('Collaboration agreement between the Comunidad de Madrid through the Agencia de Vivienda Social and the Rivas Vaciamadrid city council, for the relocation and social integration of the families of the shantytown of Cañada Real Galiana, sectors 4 and 5 of the municipality of Rivas Vaciamadrid').</p>	<p>City councils of Madrid and Rivas-Vaciamadrid</p>

## Appendix C

### Sample for Critical Discourse Analysis

Table C1. Articles included in the CDA sample.<sup>8</sup>

#	Date	Title	Author	Newspaper Link
1	25/02/1994	<i>"Sí, un sitio más allá de La Jungla"</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
2	5/03/1994	<i>El PSOE critica al PP por querer trasladar Los Focos al "culo de Madrid"</i>	El País	<a href="#">El País</a>
3	12/03/1994	<i>Trabajadores del consorcio rechazan llevar Los Focos a la Cañada Real</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
4	22/03/1994	<i>Presencia Gitana califica el traslado de Los Focos de "cámara de gas"</i>	El País	<a href="#">El País</a>
5	15/04/1994	<i>La Comunidad rechaza trasladar Los Focos a la Cañada Real</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
6	10/05/1994	<i>El Ayuntamiento traslada a 70 chabolistas a un campo de trigo junto al vertedero</i>	Isabel Fernández and Lucía Enguita Mayo	<a href="#">El País</a>
7	10/05/1994	<i>Vecinos de Vallecas Villa ocupan 23 casas en protesta por el realojamiento de Los Focos</i>	LUCÍA ENGUITA MAYO	<a href="#">El País</a>
8	11/05/1994	<i>Los "ilegales" de Cañada Real vuelven a protestar por la llegada de 54 familias chabolistas de San Blas</i>	Isabel Fernández and Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
9	18/06/1994	<i>Un gueto en La Cañada</i>	MARIA PATROCINIO LAS HERAS PINILLA	<a href="#">El País</a>
10	19/06/1994	<i>El trigal de la batalla</i>	ANA ALFAGEME	<a href="#">El País</a>
11	19/06/1994	<i>Una casa entre los olores y el polvo</i>	ANA ALFAGEME	<a href="#">El País</a>
12	17/07/1994	<i>El viento hace volar las planchas que cubren las chabolas de la Cañada Real</i>	Isabel Fernández	<a href="#">El País</a>
13	21/08/1994	<i>El Ayuntamiento defiende las insalubres chabolas que promovió junto al vertedero de basuras</i>	ISABEL FERNÁNDEZ EFE	<a href="#">El País</a>
14	10/10/1994	<i>Un estudio revela la nauseabunda vida de las familias de la Cañada Real</i>	JOSÉ MANUEL ROMERO	<a href="#">El País</a>

<sup>8</sup> Overall, the sample includes a total of 232 articles, selected almost evenly across the two newspapers: 120 from El Mundo, and 112 from El País.

15	6/06/1996	<i>La consejera de Sanidad quiere dismantelar el poblado chabolista de la Cañada Real por insalubre</i>	El País	<a href="#">El País</a>
16	20/04/1997	<i>El Consejo de Europa investiga la miseria de las chabolas de Cañada Real</i>	José Antonio Hernández	<a href="#">El País</a>
17	10/02/1998	<i>El Consejo de Europa ve intolerable la situación de las familias de Cañada Real</i>	JOSÉ MANUEL ROMERO ANTONIO JIMÉNEZ BARCA	<a href="#">El País</a>
18	19/02/1998	<i>Comienzan los realojamientos de chabolistas de la Cañada Real</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
19	20/02/1998	<i>Las primeras seis familias chabolistas de Cañada Real están ya realojadas</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
20	2/08/1998	<i>El Defensor del Pueblo reprueba al alcalde por no dismantelar Cañada Real</i>	Jan Martínez Ahrens	<a href="#">El País</a>
21	7/09/1998	<i>La basura nos va a comer" Los chabolistas de Cañada Real piden su traslado ante la construcción de un nuevo vertedero en Valdemingómez</i>	Luis Fernando Durán	<a href="#">El País</a>
22	29/04/1999	<i>El Ayuntamiento denuncia a 19 familias de Cañada Real por vivir en chabolas</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
23	2/10/1999	<i>La Cañada es irreal</i>	Carmelo Encinas	<a href="#">El País</a>
24	2/04/2000	<i>El pueblo del vertedero 2.000 personas viven junto al basural de Valdemingómez en casas levantadas sin licencia en la Cañada Real Galiana</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
25	23/11/2000	<i>Desmantelado el barrio chabolista de Cañada Real tras años de denuncias</i>	Begoña Aguirre	<a href="#">El País</a>
26	11/06/2003	<i>Acceso a 'Valdemingómez</i>	Cartas al Director	<a href="#">El País</a>
27	23/06/2003	<i>El Ayuntamiento de Madrid realojará a 700 familias de tres poblados marginales</i>	Agencias	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
28	21/07/2003	<i>El tráfico de drogas de Las Barranquillas se extiende a Valdemingómez</i>	El País	<a href="#">El País</a>
29	3/06/2004	<i>De camino de ovejas a foco de marginalidad</i>	Jose Luis Martín	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
30	4/06/2004	<i>Desmantelan un complejo de venta de droga en la Cañada Real y detienen a ocho narcotraficantes</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

31	15/09/2004	<i>El Ayuntamiento de Rivas ordena el derribo de edificaciones ilegales en la zona de la Cañada Real Galiana</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
32	29/09/2004	<i>Rivas derribará las casas en obras del poblado ilegal de la Cañada Galiana</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
33	3/10/2004	<i>Indiferencia en Rivas</i>	Cartas al Director	<a href="#">El País</a>
34	21/11/2004	<i>REPORTAJE: LA INMIGRACIÓN POR DISTRITOS   VILLA DE VALLECAS Sobrevivir en tierra de nadie</i>	Michael Neudecker y María D, Alias	<a href="#">El País</a>
35	26/11/2004	<i>La Policía busca al conductor que atropelló a una niña de 11 años en Valdemingómez y se dio a la fuga</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
36	3/03/2005	<i>El PSOE acusa a Gallardón de hacer de Vallecas un 'distrito basura'</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
37	21/04/2005	<i>Los vertederos clandestinos acumulan cientos de toneladas de escombros depositados sin ningún control</i>	Mábel Galaz	<a href="#">El País</a>
38	22/04/2005	<i>Desmantelados cuatro vertederos ilegales con miles de toneladas de residuos cerca de Valdemingómez</i>	Europea Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
39	16/05/2005	<i>Una ciudad fantasma de 40.000 almas</i>	F. JAVIER BARROSO	<a href="#">El País</a>
40	19/05/2005	<i>Foco' contaminante</i>	Cartas al Director	<a href="#">El País</a>
41	20/05/2005	<i>El Consistorio construirá una carretera para llegar a Valdemingómez sin atravesar la Cañada Real</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
42	20/05/2005	<i>Heroína Real</i>	Vicente Molina Foix	<a href="#">El País</a>
43	23/12/2005	<i>Arrasadas por el fuego ocho chabolas de la Cañada Real de Galiana</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
44	29/10/2006	<i>(REPORTAJE - EL TERCER MUNDO INTERIOR) Los niños olvidados del vertedero</i>	Mónica Ceberio Belaza	<a href="#">El País</a>
45	22/02/2007	<i>El gueto de Cañada Real</i>	Josefa Izquierda	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
46	11/07/2007	<i>Huelga de basureros por falta de seguridad</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
47	12/07/2007	<i>Los basureros irán al vertedero de Valdemingómez escoltados por policías</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
48	13/07/2007	<i>Miedo en la cañada</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>

49	17/08/2007	<i>Gallardón propone la creación de un consorcio para gestionar el poblado de Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
50	20/08/2007	<i>¿Qué hacemos con los de la Cañada?</i>	Pedro González Pérez	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
51	3/09/2007	<i>Los camiones siguen pasando por la Cañada Real pese a la alternativa de acceso al vertedero</i>	Cristóbal Ramírez	<a href="#">El País</a>
52	7/09/2007	<i>Gallardón pasa de los vecinos de Valdemingómez</i>	Pablo Herráiz	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
53	10/10/2007	<i>Derribo en el Ramadán</i>	Pablo Herráiz	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
54	18/10/2007	<i>La Cañada Real, foco de delincuencia y venta de droga</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
55	18/10/2007	<i>Intifada en la Cañada Real</i>	Roberto Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
56	18/10/2007	<i>Desalojo a pedradas en la Cañada Real</i>	x	<a href="#">El País</a>
57	19/10/2007	<i>La jueza decide hoy si se derriban siete chabolas más de la Cañada Real</i>	<a href="#">ElMundo.es</a> - Agencias	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
58	19/10/2007	<i>Un problema enquistado que surgió hace 40 años</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
59	19/10/2007	<i>Paralizado el derribo de siete chabolas en Madrid tras la batalla campal de ayer</i>	Luis Fernando Durán and Roberto Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
60	19/10/2007	<i>Aguirre elude pronunciarse sobre la situación de la Cañada Real</i>	Agencias	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
61	19/10/2007	<i>Cañada Real, el conflicto anunciado</i>	Lucía Llanes	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
62	20/10/2007	<i>12 kilómetros a pie contra los derribos</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
63	22/10/2007	<i>La Policía realiza identificaciones entre los vecinos de la Cañada Real</i>	Agencias	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
64	22/10/2007	<i>Trabajar donde Madrid no quiere</i>	Yasmina Jiménez	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
65	24/10/2007	<i>El fiscal de Medio Ambiente da un tirón de orejas al Ayuntamiento por la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
66	27/10/2007	<i>Cerca de 300 vecinos de la Cañada Real se manifiestan en la Junta de Villa de Vallecas</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
67	9/11/2007	<i>Los vecinos que viven en la Cañada Real especulan con los terrenos ilegales</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
68	13/11/2007	<i>Forestales en el gueto</i>	Alvaro Corcuera	<a href="#">El País</a>
69	21/11/2007	<i>20.000 vecinos de la Cañada se quedan sin luz al explotar un transformador</i>	Europea Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

70	07/12/2007	<i>Los yonquis quieren tomar el templo</i>	Quico Alsedo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
71	7/01/2008	<i>Batucada en la Cañada Real para mostrar que el asentamiento tendrá 'larga vida'</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
72	27/01/2008	<i>Los vecinos de la Cañada protestan a ritmo de 'batucada' entre el barro</i>	x	<a href="#">El País</a>
73	12/02/2008	<i>SOS en la Cañada Real Galiana</i>	Yasmina Jiménez	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
74	23/04/2008	<i>Derriban tres casas de la Cañada Real pese a la oposición vecinal</i>	Roberto Bécares y Quico Alsedo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
75	23/04/2008	<i>Vecinos de la Cañada Real se concentran hoy en Cibeles</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
76	23/04/2008	<i>Los derribos en la Cañada podrían encubrir proyectos urbanísticos</i>	ElMundo.es - Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
77	24/04/2008	<i>La Cañada Real vive bajo amenaza de más derribos</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
78	26/04/2008	<i>Cientos de personas se manifiestan en la Cañada Real contra los derribos</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
79	27/04/2008	<i>Medio millar de personas protesta en la Cañada Real contra los derribos</i>	Elena Sevillano	<a href="#">El País</a>
80	1/09/2008	<i>Una plaga de ratas amenaza de nuevo a la zona chabolista de la Cañada Real</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
81	26/09/2008	<i>Alertan de epidemias en la zona de la Cañada Real anegada tras la tormenta</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
82	29/09/2008	<i>Abandonados en las lagunas del Gallinero</i>	Pablo Herráiz	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
83	29/09/2008	<i>200 niños del poblado chabolista de Gallinero, sin clase una semana después de las lluvias</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
84	2/10/2008	<i>Derribos en la Cañada Real en la fiesta del fin del ramadán</i>	Roberto Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
85	30/10/2008	<i>Aguirre y Gallardón excluyen a la Cañada Real de su plan 'antichabolismo'</i>	Jaime C Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
86	26/01/2009	<i>Decenas de personas denuncian la pésima situación de la Cañada Real</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
87	23/05/2009	<i>Una delegada en el infierno</i>	Daniel Borasteros	<a href="#">El País</a>
88	31/05/2009	<i>Ya no se puede vivir aquí</i>		<a href="#">El País</a>
89	4/06/2009	<i>Un 'camping-yonqui' junto a la iglesia</i>	Quico Alsedo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

90	8/07/2009	<i>Acuerdo histórico para desmantelar la Cañada Real</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
91	27/07/2009	<i>El Ayuntamiento no negociará la enajenación de suelo con 'ocupantes'</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
92	2/10/2009	<i>Continúan las manifestaciones contra los derribos en la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
93	18/11/2009	<i>Los niños del Gallinero y el abismo</i>	Quico Alsedo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
94	27/01/2010	<i>Piden a la Comunidad que el acuerdo social se inicie en la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
95	5/02/2010	<i>Paradojas en El Gallinero</i>	Marta Belver	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
96	16/03/2010	<i>La población de 'El Gallinero' ha aumentado un 35% en año y medio</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
97	28/07/2010	<i>Un asentamiento sin solución desde hace tres décadas</i>	Maria Martin	<a href="#">El País</a>
98	23/10/2010	<i>La 'macrorredada' en la Cañada Real desmonta una red de venta de droga</i>	Tono Calleja	<a href="#">El País</a>
99	26/10/2010	<i>Los mismos derribos, las mismas ratas</i>	Pablo de LLano y Daniel Borasteros	<a href="#">El País</a>
100	1/11/2010	<i>La risa de la miseria</i>	Pablo de Llano	<a href="#">El País</a>
101	16/11/2010	<i>La redada en El Gallinero desata la reacción vecinal</i>	Jaled Abdelrahim	<a href="#">El País</a>
102	27/11/2010	<i>Pocos hablan del cobre, todos temen a la policía</i>	Jaled Abdelrahim and Pablo de Llano	<a href="#">El País</a>
103	27/11/2010	<i>Los parias de la UE</i>	Jaled Abdelrahim and Pablo de Llano	<a href="#">El País</a>
104	9/12/2010	<i>La cuenta atrás de El Gallinero</i>	jaled abdelrahim and Pablo de Llano	<a href="#">El País</a>
105	28/01/2011	<i>Llamas en El Gallinero</i>	Juan Diego Quesada	<a href="#">El País</a>
106	20/02/2011	<i>Las familias de la Cañada Real piden que se paralice el derribo de sus casas</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
107	16/04/2011	<i>Versace vive entre ratas</i>	Pilar Alvarez and Juan Diego Quesada	<a href="#">El País</a>
108	19/05/2011	<i>Vecinos de la Cañada denuncian la existencia de ratas en 'El Gallinero'</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

109	21/06/2011	<i>Indignados' marroquíes paralizan un desabucio en la Cañada Real</i>	Quico Alsedo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
110	22/06/2011	<i>Sacar la Cañada Real del catastro es un fraude de ley'</i>	Maria Martin	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
111	27/06/2011	<i>"No creo que puedan matar a todas las ratas"</i>		<a href="#">El País</a>
112	13/07/2011	<i>Sólo 6.500 personas en Cañada Real</i>	Jaime G Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
113	31/07/2011	<i>El Defensor del Pueblo pide una mayor coordinación para la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
114	1/08/2011	<i>Primeros contactos para el desarrollo de la Ley de la Cañada Real Galiana</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
115	24/10/2011	<i>El Ayuntamiento creará una red de viviendas solidarias para luchar contra la exclusión</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
116	22/02/2012	<i>"Queremos ser como cualquier otro vecino de Madrid, sentirnos uno más"</i>	Jose Marcos	<a href="#">El País</a>
117	6/03/2012	<i>El primer censo de la Cañada Real revela que hay 5.666 habitantes en la zona</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
118	15/03/2012	<i>Viaje en 'kunda' al mercado de la droga y la miseria en la Cañada Real</i>	Quico Alsedo and Giulio Piantadosi	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
119	27/03/2012	<i>La delegada visita el sector VI de la Cañada, el epicentro de la venta de droga</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
120	30/03/2012	<i>Botella rechaza un plan integral para el Gallinero</i>	El Pais	<a href="#">El País</a>
121	12/04/2012	<i>El Ayuntamiento pone en marcha un plan para integrar a familias de El Gallinero</i>	Jaime G Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
122	31/07/2012	<i>La Comunidad presentará en septiembre el plan de desarrollo para la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
123	21/09/2012	<i>Una 'ecociudad' sostenible en lugar del Gallinero</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
124	22/01/2013	<i>En Ayuntamiento planta a la Comunidad por filtrar su plan para la Cañada Real</i>	Jaime G Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
125	25/01/2013	<i>La futuras viviendas de la hoy degradada Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
126	30/01/2013	<i>La oposición ataca el plan de la Cañada por 'no atender a los más vulnerables'</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

127	5/02/2013	<i>Los 'puntos limpios' de la Cañada Real</i>	Luis Nuñez-Villaveirán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
128	14/01/2014	<i>La Cañada Real ya tiene su plan</i>	Jose Marcos and Bruno G. Gallo	<a href="#">El País</a>
129	23/04/2014	<i>Llega la luz al túnel de la Cañada Real</i>	Jaime G Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
130	26/04/2014	<i>Una solución a medias para la Cañada</i>	Bruno García Callo, Pilar Alvarez, and Jose Marcos	<a href="#">El País</a>
131	30/04/2014	<i>Los vecinos de la Cañada Real celebran el acuerdo con cierto escepticismo</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
132	30/04/2014	<i>Las administraciones no tendrán obligación de cumplir el acuerdo de la Cañada Real</i>	Jaime G Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
133	9/12/2014	<i>“En El Gallinero hay 298 niños que malviven como en Nigeria o Etiopía”</i>	Luis Javier Gonzalez	<a href="#">El País</a>
134	11/02/2015	<i>Firmado un convenio para evitar la exclusión social en La Cañada</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El País</a>
135	11/02/2015	<i>La Comunidad y La Caixa apuestan en educación para los niños de Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
136	25/03/2015	<i>Vecinos de Rivas piden a la Comunidad mayor seguridad en Valdemingómez</i>		<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
137	18/05/2015	<i>Dos candidatos en la 'ciudad prohibida'</i>	M Gasparet	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
138	19/05/2015	<i>Ciudadanos en el inframundo</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
139	7/07/2015	<i>Madrid removerá seis hectáreas de basuras para apagar el vertedero</i>	f Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
140	7/07/2015	<i>La Policía Municipal lleva cuatro años pidiendo cerrar el vertedero</i>	Pablo Herraiz	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
141	13/07/2015	<i>Las autoridades se muestran incapaces de controlar los vertederos ilegales</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
142	22/07/2015	<i>Un nuevo poblado chabolista sobre el túnel del Ave</i>	Daniel J Ollero	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
143	2/08/2015	<i>Verano a prueba de exclusión</i>	Esther Alvarado and Immaculada Cobo	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
144	19/08/2015	<i>El Ayuntamiento impulsa desahucios en el Ensanche</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>

145	6/09/2015	<i>Los vertidos ilegales aumentan un 40% en el último año en la región</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
146	12/11/2015	<i>Carmena y Sara Hernández acuerdan prolongar Madrid Río hasta Getafe</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
147	21/11/2015	<i>La capital tiene solo 568 chabolas repartidas en 10 núcleos distantes</i>	F Javier Barroso	<a href="#">El País</a>
148	12/05/2015	<i>El Gallinero sale del Tercer Mundo</i>	Berto Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
149	17/01/2016	<i>Un oasis en la Cañada Real</i>	Ray Sanchez	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
150	6/07/2016	<i>Derriban 11 chabolas del poblado El Gallinero</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
151	6/08/2016	<i>Guarderías, carriles bici, narcosalas y pistas deportivas para la Cañada Real</i>	Jaime G. Treceño	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
152	7/08/2016	<i>Rivas rechaza la propuesta de urbanizar y dar servicios a la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El País</a>
153	9/08/2016	<i>La Comunidad pide "colaboración" al alcalde de Rivas para el Pacto Regional por la Cañada Real</i>	Noelia Marín	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
154	31/08/2016	<i>La Cañada Real estrena festival de cine</i>	Rosa Santiago	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
155	3/09/2016	<i>La Cañada Real se inventa un festival de cine</i>	Belen Kayser	<a href="#">El País</a>
156	13/10/2016	<i>Madrid y Rivas se alían en el Manzanares</i>	E.M.	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
157	17/10/2016	<i>El Colegio de Arquitectos denuncia el incremento de urbanizaciones ilegales</i>	Daniel Martín	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
158	16/11&2016	<i>El Gallinero pierde la paciencia con el Ayuntamiento de Madrid</i>	Roberto Bécares and Marta Belver	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
159	17/11/2016	<i>Vecinos de la Cañada Real levantan una barricada para evitar el derribo de sus casas</i>	Pelayo Escandon	<a href="#">El País</a>
160	17/11/2016	<i>Vecinos de la Cañada Real montan una barricada ante la sospecha de derribos de chabolas</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
161	16/12/2016	<i>Un 75 % de las viviendas de la Cañada Real podrían ser derribadas</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
162	13/01/2017	<i>Una mesa técnica de Comunidad y vecinos decidirá los desalojos de la Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
163	1/03/2017	<i>El Pacto por la Cañada preve tirar la zona mas conflictiva</i>	Esther Sanchez	<a href="#">El País</a>

164	4/03/2017	<i>La ciudad de los escombros</i>	Fran Serrato	<a href="#">El País</a>
165	14/03/2017	<i>El pacto por la Cañada Real contempla desmantelar el conflictivo sector 6, donde viven 3.000 personas</i>	Roberto Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
166	5/04/2017	<i>Policías Municipales de Madrid y Rivas colaborarán contra la ilegalidad en La Cañada Real</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
167	2/05/2017	<i>La Virgen del Rocío y de la Cañada Real</i>	J.A. Unión	<a href="#">El País</a>
168	17/05/2017	<i>Las administraciones firman el plan para solucionar los problemas de la Cañada Real</i>	Carlos Frías Cruz	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
169	28/05/2017	<i>La cena es gratis los viernes en la Cañada Real</i>	Antonia Laborde	<a href="#">El País</a>
170	21/05/2017	<i>Comienza el desmantelamiento parcial de la Cañada Real</i>	Marta Belver	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
171	4/07/2017	<i>Palabras nuevas para la Cañada</i>	J.A. Unión	<a href="#">El País</a>
172	12/07/2017	<i>Cañada Real: así se formó durante más de 40 años el mayor asentamiento irregular de España</i>	J.A. Unión	<a href="#">El País</a>
173	14/09/2017	<i>La Cañada Real, un escenario de 16 kilómetros</i>	Alba Moraleda	<a href="#">El País</a>
174	11/09/2017	<i>El II Festival de Cine de Cañada Real '16 kilómetros' vuelve para acabar con estereotipos</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
175	11/02/2018	<i>Así es el día a día en el Sector 6 de la Cañada Real: "Vivimos como el último perro"</i>	Pablo Gil	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
176	12/03/2018	<i>Costura para crear lazos en la Cañada Real</i>	Fátima Elidrissi	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
177	23/07/2018	<i>De las chabolas al alquiler social</i>	Alberto G. Palomo	<a href="#">El País</a>
178	14/08/2018	<i>Los realojados de la Cañada Real recibirán un curso de preparación a la nueva vivienda</i>	Marta Belver	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
179	7/04/2019	<i>Un oasis en la Cañada Real</i>	Ana del Barrio	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
180	9/04/2019	<i>Los vecinos de la Cañada se construyen su propio centro sociocomunitario</i>	Sergio C Fanjul	<a href="#">El País</a>
181	18/11/2019	<i>Los 14 kilómetros olvidados de Madrid</i>	Isabel Valdés	<a href="#">El País</a>
182	18/04/2020	<i>El virus excluye más todavía al asentamiento ilegal de La Cañada Real: tener 50 años dentro son 70 fuera</i>	Luis de Vega and Berta Ferrero	<a href="#">El País</a>
183	11/06/2020	<i>Cada sociedad se retrata en su espacio público</i>	Mar Toharia	<a href="#">El País</a>

184	14/10/2020	<i>Disturbios y barricadas en la Cañada Real por los cortes de luz en un centenar de infraviviendas</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
185	15/10/2020	<i>Macrorredada en la Cañada Real contra las plantaciones ilegales de marihuana que provocan los cortes de luz</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
186	15/10/2020	<i>Doce detenidos en una redada contra el cultivo de marihuana en la Cañada Real</i>	El País	<a href="#">El País</a>
187	23/10/2020	<i>Sucios, sin comida caliente y sin cole: la vida de los niños de la Cañada Real tras tres semanas sin luz</i>	Berta Ferrero and Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
188	23/10/2020	<i>La marihuana deja sin luz a 4.000 vecinos de la Cañada Real</i>	Berta Ferrero and Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
189	4/11/2020	<i>Nueva manifestación en la Cañada Real para pedir que se restablezca el servicio eléctrico</i>	R Bécares	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
190	5/12/2020	<i>Los postes de la luz de la discordia en la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega and Berta Ferrero	<a href="#">El País</a>
191	10/12/2020	<i>Choque de Administraciones por el apagón en la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega and Berta Ferrero	<a href="#">El País</a>
192	15/12/2020	<i>Localizados 60 enganches de luz ilegales con consumo industrial en la Cañada Real para cultivos de marihuana</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
193	16/12/2020	<i>Los vecinos de la Cañada Real denuncian al Gobierno de Madrid y a Naturgy por los cortes de luz</i>	Lucía Franco	<a href="#">El País</a>
194	17/12/2020	<i>La Cañada Real, un pacto por cumplir</i>	Pilar Sanchez Acera	<a href="#">El País</a>
195	17/12/2020	<i>El Ayuntamiento y la Delegación del Gobierno muestran de nuevo sus diferencias por la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
196	19/12/2020	<i>Cañada Real y Agenda 2030</i>	Pedro del Cura	<a href="#">El País</a>
197	22/12/2020	<i>La ONU pide al Gobierno que “restablezca de inmediato” la luz en la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
198	1/01/2021	<i>Nochevieja en la Cañada Real: “sin luz pierdes las ganas de todo porque el frío paraliza”</i>	Miguel Ezquiaga Fernandez	<a href="#">El País</a>
199	5/01/2021	<i>Un escándalo real</i>	David Trueba	<a href="#">El País</a>
200	6/01/2021	<i>Electrifiquen la Cañada</i>	Sergio C Fanjul	<a href="#">El País</a>

201	7/01/2021	<i>La Cañada Real despierta la conciencia de los políticos a última hora</i>	Juan Diego Quesada and Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
202	8/01/2021	<i>Las prisas recientes por atender a la Cañada Real no impiden que la guerra política siga abierta</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
203	9/01/2021	<i>“No queremos un albergue, queremos luz”</i>	Juan Diego Quesada and Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
204	9/01/2021	<i>Encerrados en la Cañada Real: “Aquí va a pasar una desgracia”</i>	Miguel Ezquiaga Fernandez	<a href="#">El País</a>
205	10/01/2021	<i>Solo una familia de La Cañada se alojó en el albergue de emergencia de 400 plazas</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
206	13/01/2021	<i>Primera denuncia judicial por la muerte de un vecino de la Cañada Real de 74 años por la falta de luz</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
207	16/01/2021	<i>El infierno del temporal en la Cañada Real: “La vida de aquí no la conoce nadie”</i>	Rodrigo Terrasa	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
208	17/01/2021	<i>Por una droga que cumpla la agenda 2030</i>	Emilia Landaluce	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
209	18/01/2021	<i>Los aprovechados de la Cañada Real</i>	Daniel J Ollero	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
210	3/02/2021	<i>Un juez archiva la denuncia de los vecinos de la Cañada Real contra Naturgy y Ayuso por la falta de luz</i>	Servimedia	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
211	17/02/2021	<i>Choque por la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
212	8/03/2021	<i>El vertedero de la marihuana de la Cañada Real: los clanes tiran a la vía pecuaria miles de tiestos y restos de las plantaciones de cannabis</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
213	28/03/2021	<i>Placas solares sobre el mar de chabolas de la Cañada Real</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
214	30/03/2021	<i>La película que recupera el orgullo de la Cañada Real tras seis meses sin electricidad</i>	Luis Martinez	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
215	8/04/2021	<i>El apagón de la Cañada Real ilumina la gran pantalla</i>	Luis de Vega	<a href="#">El País</a>
216	21/04/2021	<i>Miseria, olvido y 95,2% de abstención: “Si Ayuso me pone la luz, la votamos”</i>	Daniel Somolinos	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
217	23/05/2021	<i>Las vidas de la Cañada Real salen a escena</i>	Raquel Vidales	<a href="#">El País</a>

218	12/09/2021	<i>Ya van 11 meses sin luz en la Cañada Real y escasean las soluciones para las familias afectadas</i>	EFE	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
219	15/09/2021	<i>Las luchadoras de la Cañada Real</i>	Merche Negro	<a href="#">El País</a>
220	2/10/2021	<i>Luz en la oscuridad de la Cañada Real</i>	Alejandra Jacinto	<a href="#">El País</a>
221	3/10/2021	<i>Una noche de 365 días en la Cañada Real</i>	Miguel Ezquiaga Fernandez	<a href="#">El País</a>
222	5/10/2021	<i>La delegada del Gobierno plantea a Ayuso un plan de 200 millones para realojar a las familias de la Cañada Real en tres años</i>	Juan Jose Mateo	<a href="#">El País</a>
223	13/10/2021	<i>La joven universitaria que estudiaba con velas, sin internet y dos abrigos en la Cañada Real</i>	Pedro Simón	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
224	11/11/2021	<i>Redada eléctrica en la Cañada Real: La Policía desmonta enganches ilegales de luz en 80 casas</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
225	17/11/2021	<i>El comité de Cañada Real fija una boja de ruta que incluye 21 actuaciones en dos años con 160 nuevos realojos y cambios en el PGOU</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
226	18/11/2021	<i>El Defensor del Pueblo se despide con la Cañada Real: "Los compromisos políticos no se han cumplido"</i>	Berta Ferrero	<a href="#">El País</a>
227	30/11/2021	<i>El Gobierno central financiará un tercio de los realojos de la Cañada</i>	Miguel Ezquiaga Fernandez	<a href="#">El País</a>
228	12/12/2021	<i>La Policía Municipal investiga el sabotaje a las luces navideñas de Madrid por parte del colectivo Corta Cables</i>	Luis F Durán	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
229	02/02/2022	<i>Se cumplen 457 días sin luz en la Cañada Real: "Le decimos a 2022 que no nos rendimos"</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
230	24/04/2022	<i>Medio millar de vecinos reclaman electricidad para la Cañada Real tras dos años sin suministro: "¡Queremos luz ya!"</i>	EFE/Europa Press	
231	7/06/2022	<i>Zonas verdes por chabolas en el sector más peligroso de la Cañada Real: "Lo importante es ir poco a poco recuperando el terreno"</i>	Daniel Somolinos	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>
232	16/06/2022	<i>Los vecinos de Cañada Real denuncian el olvido en plena ola de calor: sin aire acondicionado, ventilador ni nevera</i>	Europa Press	<a href="#">El Mundo</a>

# Appendix D

## Interview Sample

**Table D1. List of interviews**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Connection to Cañada</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>
Santiago Cirugeda Parejo	Founder of Recetas Urbanas ('Urban Recipes'), architectural studio leading the creation of Sector 5's socio-community centre	Online [Key Informant Interview]	August 11
Laura Gil Benito	Representative of the Fundación Secretariado Gitano ('Roma Secretariat Foundation') in Cañada.	Online [Key Informant Interview]	September 20
María José Sobrino Rodríguez-Rey	Lawyer at CAES and member of Plataforma Luz	Online [Key Informant Interview]	October 7
Diego Peris López	Founder of Todo Por La Praxis (TXP - 'All For The Praxis') - an artistic collective organising bricolage tactics and guerrilla communications in Cañada since 2007.	Online [Key Informant Interview]	October 7
Pedro Navarrete	Commissioner of the Madrid City Council for the Cañada Real Galiana (2016-2019), retired, now member of Plataforma Luz.	Cañada Real [Walking Interview]	October 11
Enrique Núñez	Commissioner of the Madrid City Council for the Cañada Real Galiana	Cañada Real [Walking Interview]	October 14
Markel Gorbea	Commissioner of the Comunidad de Madrid for the Cañada Real Galiana	Cañada Real [Walking Interview]	October 18

# Appendix E

## Maps of walking interviews



Figure D1. Visit with Plataforma Luz, October the 11th 2022 - outbound trip (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author).

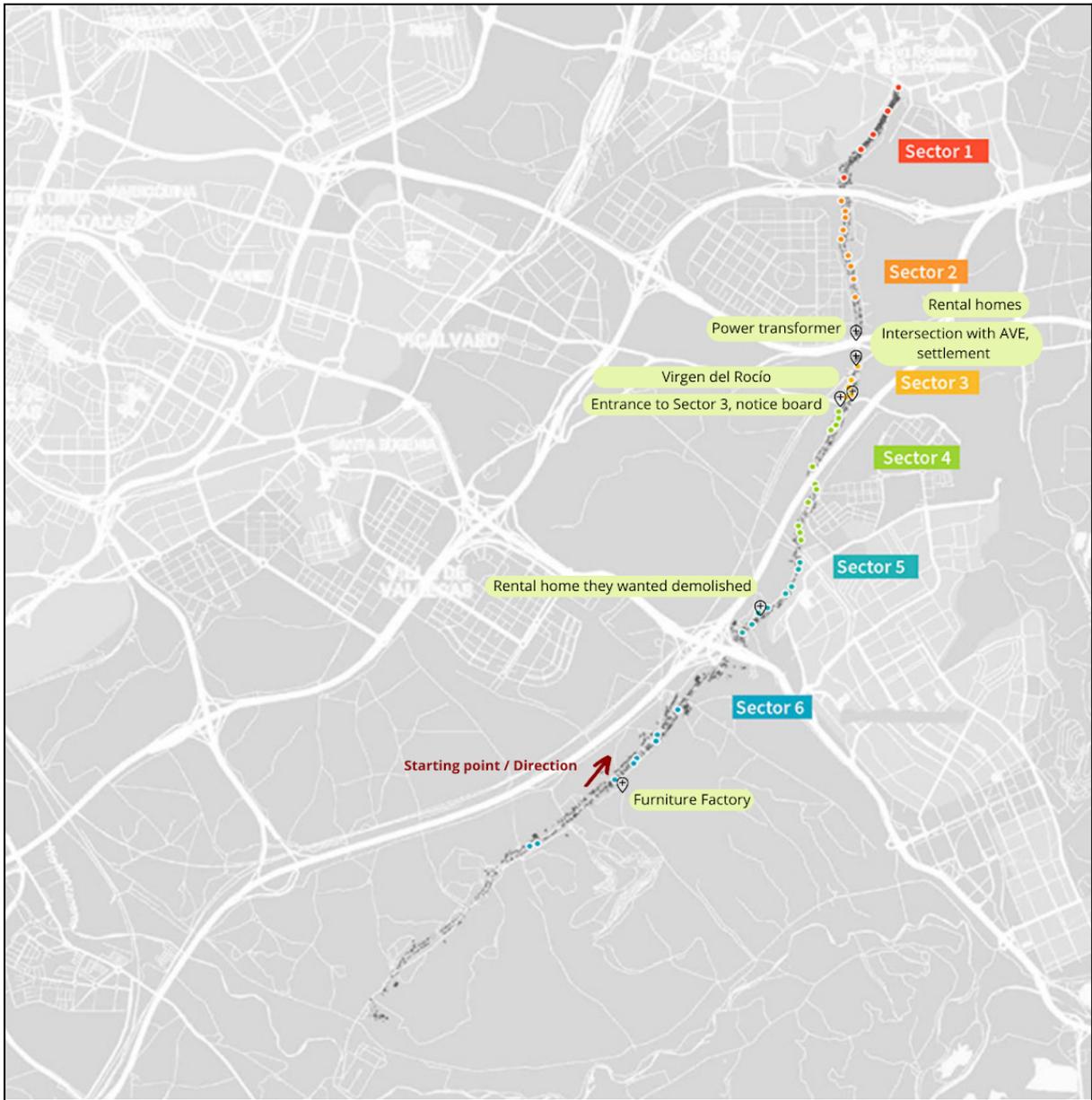


Figure D2. Visit with Plataforma Luz, October the 11th 2022 - return trip (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author).

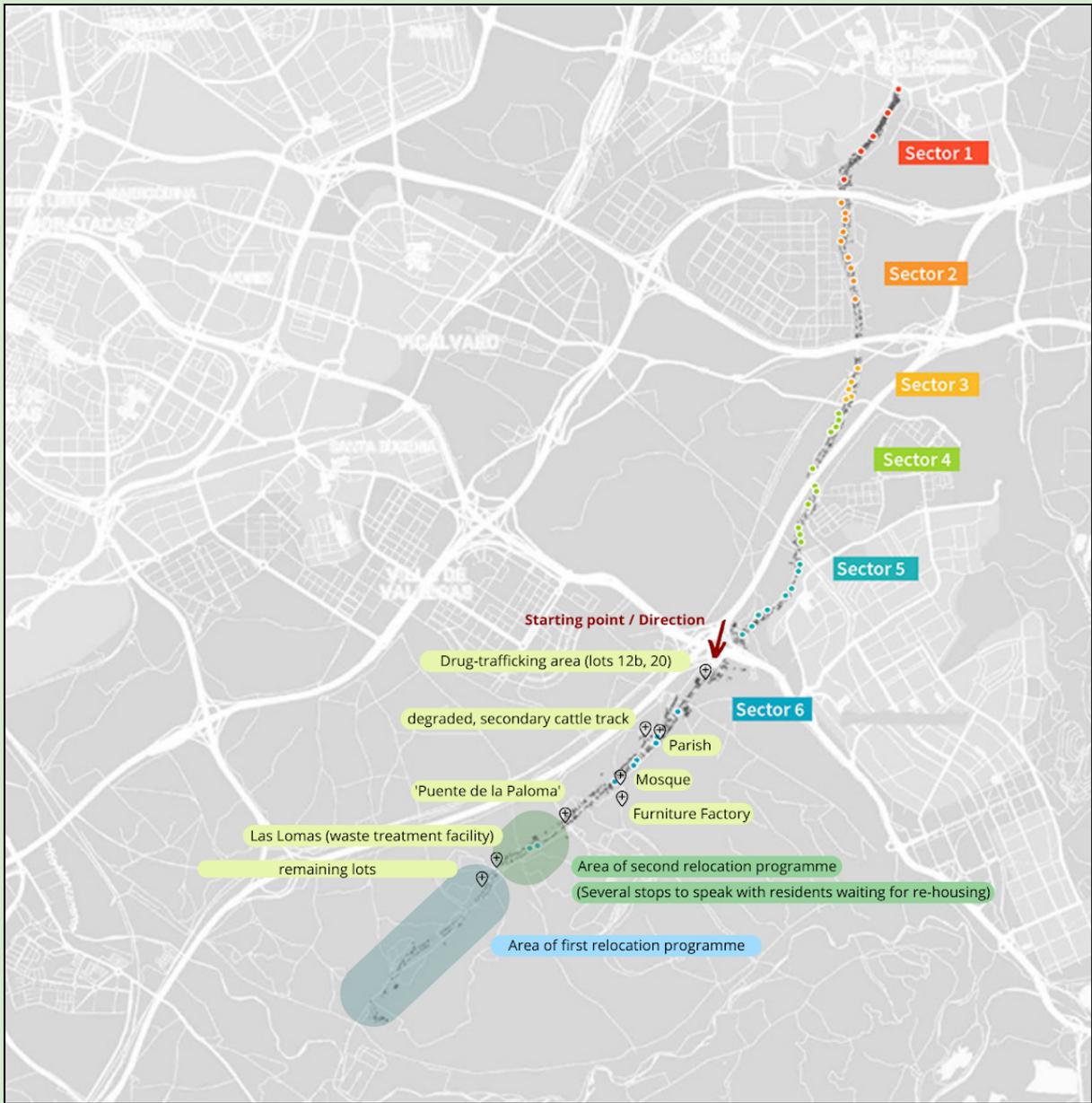


Figure D3. Visit with the Commissioner of the Madrid City Council for la Cañada Real Galiana, October the 14th 2022 - outbound trip (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author).

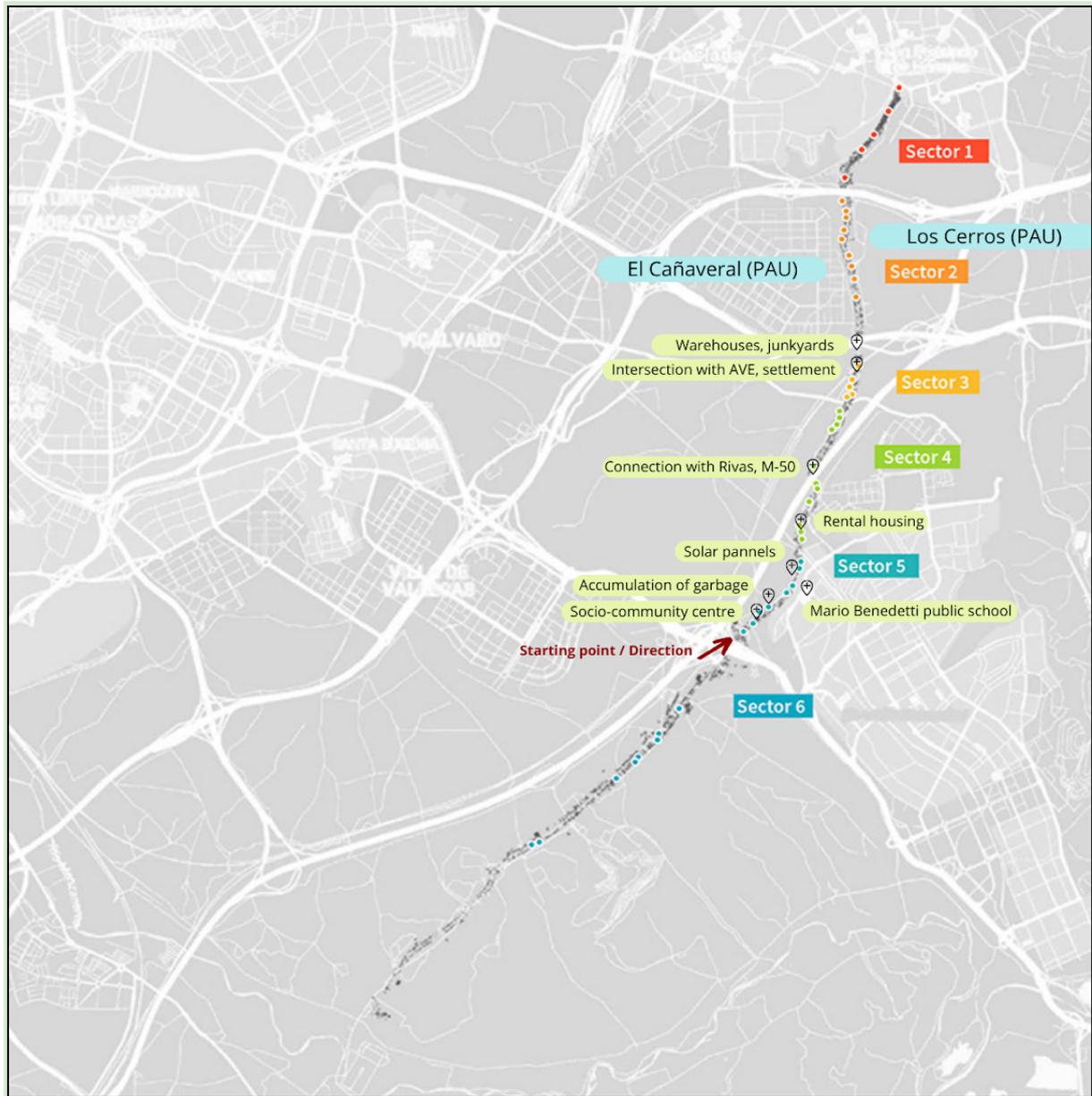


Figure D4. Visit with the Commissioner of the Madrid City Council for la Cañada Real Galiana, October the 14th 2022 - return trip (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author).



Figure D5. Visit with the Commissioner of the Comunidad de Madrid for la Cañada Real Galiana, October the 18th 2022 (Source: Colegio FUHEM Hipatia, 2017, edited by the author).