Culture as a paradigm of regeneration in shrinking cities: Readings from the *Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center* in Avilés (Spain)

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SUMMARY

The Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center (2008-2011), a work signed by the Brazilian master of architecture in his last creation period, is the symbol chosen for the regeneration of Avilés (Spain), a shrinking city associated from the fifties of the last century to an industrialization model now in decline. To understand the relations established between the architectural work and the medieval city of Avilés, we will use the dialogical method based on the theoretical and philosophical foundation of Bakhtin, Ricoeur, Muntañola and Rapoport. The objective of this work is the analysis of the readings and the social use of the text, from the interviews with a varied representation of the people who make up the city of Avilés. As a synthesis of the results, the refiguration of the work and the readings establish the acceptance by citizens and representatives of a new cultural landscape - still with its unfinished ambience - capable of updating the context of the city in terms of modernity versus tradition, establishing the beginning of the regeneration of the estuary for recreational activities and a new opportunity for the entire region.

KEYWORDS: Dialogy, Regeneration, Niemeyer

1 INTRODUCTION

The term shrinking cities (FOL; CUNNINGHAM-SABOT, 2010) was created to describe cities that have a strong decline in the economy, added with a decrease in population and often with a strong urban degradation. These clustered population places present new needs and must configure a new reality, sometimes adapting their productive fabric and their main orientation. The European Commission has funded different studies of shrinking cities in actions such as the COST Program (2009-2013) Cities Regrowing Smaller - Fostering Knowledge on Regeneration Strategies in Shrinking Cities across Europe or H2020 (2018-2022) Reviving shrinking cities - innovative paths and perspectives towards livability for shrinking cities in Europe

These types of cities have been degrading in an unprecedented way since the industrial revolution. Some of them manage to reverse the trend by neutralizing the phenomenon of decline with proposals for regeneration with the most varied formulas. The paradigmatic examples of this economic and population loss are the cities with a focus on industrial development, such as Turin (Italy), Avilés (Spain), Liverpool (England) or Essen (Germany), in processes similar to those that occur in the United States in cities like Detroit and Cleveland. Also, the phenomenon in Eastern Europe is general, where there is a complicated combination of post-communism and post-Fordism (PALLAGST et al. 2009) (FOL; CUNNINGHAM-SABOT, 2010).

In this domain, the cases of medium-sized industrial cities that started complex urban restructuring processes, such as Bilbao in Spain or Essen in Germany, are known, processes that have had an immense impact and are models for many other cities (PALMA, 2009). The construction or large-scale conversion of cultural equipment is the recipe chosen to begin the regeneration process also in Avilés (Spain), with the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center - Niemeyer Center in its abbreviated form - work signed by the Brazilian master in his last stage of creation and object of study of this article.

To understand the relationships that are established between the architectural work and the city of Avilés, we will use the hermeneutic dialogical method. Through the dialogic method we will be able to know the physical, social and symbolic impact made by the construction of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center.

According to Holquist (apud MUNTAÑOLA, 2006, p. 63-64), architectural thinking is linked to the ability to address someone or something from someone or something. This ability to address oneself is essential in the dialogical theory of conversation that presupposes an

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intention to communicate, in a non-individual, if not social way. Social communication skills are fundamental in dialogical theory, establishing themselves in chronotopes. The chronotope is the essential correlation between space and time, initially studied by Mikhail Bakhtin in 1938 (BAKHTIN, 1989) and which was applied to architecture based on the interpretations of Professor Muntañola (2002) (Figure 1).

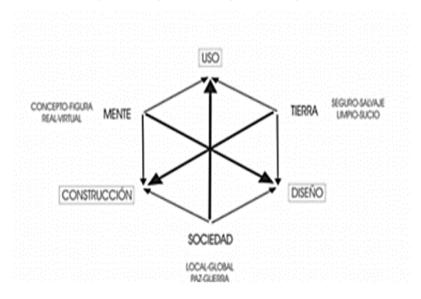


Figure 1. Prefiguration-Configuration-Refiguration

	ESTÉTICA	ÉTICA	CIENCIA
Diseño TEMPO MENTE TEMPO MENTAL Prefigurativo	La Poética	La Ética	La Epistemología
Construcción TIERRA TEMPO COSMOLÓGICO Configurativo	Principios Estéficos (leyes estéficas)	Leyes Urbanas (leyes judiciales)	Ciencia natura y tecnología leyes lógico/ matemáticas
Uso SOCIEDAD TEMPO HISTÓRICO Refigurativo	La refórica	La política	La ciencia social

Fonte: Muntañola (2002)

This is how the analysis of the architectural work is configured: as a dialogue with history, establishing an interdependence between cronos (history), tops (geography) and the social use of architecture. In each new intervention, a chronotope update is produced, which changes the reality of the environment in which it is inserted. This sediment represents the genesis of collective memory, the history of the city and its own identity.

2 OBJETIVE

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The objective of the article is to analyze the socio-physical relations of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center in Avilés (Spain), through the readings of users about the work. This will help us to interpret the inhabitance of the narrative and to understand the object used.

3 METHOD

To analyze the socio-physical relations, the dialogical method based on the theoretical foundation of Bakhtin (1982), Muntañola (2000), Ricoeur (2002) and Rapoport (2003) was used, which evaluates the chronotopic relationship of the text, the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center, with its context, the city of Avilés (Spain).

The two stages of analysis, context and text, will be studied in the items:

- (1) City of Avilés (Spain): analyzes the formation of the city, its degradation and the beginning of the regeneration process.
- (2) Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center: analyzes the architectural work and the readings of users on the architectural work.
- Architecture and relevant data of the work: location, buildings and their uses, the spatial relationship of the architectural work with the city of Avilés and tourism data.
 - Socio-physical relations and refiguration: User readings on the Niemeyer Center.

The relationship and dialogue between the architecture of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center (text) and the medieval city of Avilés (context) was established through participatory observation, opinion studies and in-depth interviews, which shape the readings carried out by civil society and managers, an image of the use and the symbolic appropriation of users and representatives. In short, the interpretation of the object used.

The refiguration of the text, the use of the Niemeyer Center and the mechanisms of symbolic appropriation will be analyzed according to what was established in Salcedo et al. (2015). This methodology will serve to have a standard comparable with other models and projects. The sociophysical phenomenological analysis comprises: a) quality of architecture: functional, built-space/user relationship, environmental comfort; b) social viability: user satisfaction with the built space; c) economic viability: degree of accessibility or appropriation of the built space; d) urban viability: collective equipment and services, public transport existing in the immediate urban context or surroundings; e) environmental feasibility: public spaces and urban furniture.

4 RESULTS

4.1 City of Avilés, Spain

Avilés (Spain), a city that has been associated, since the fifties of the last century, with a model of industrialization that is in decline, has chosen the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center for the beginning of its new identity (2008-2011), a project designed by the Brazilian master of architecture in his last stage of creation.

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The city, whose birth was in the Middle Ages, is in the northern region of Spain, in the Principality of Asturias. The city forms a metropolitan area of great influence in a triangular shape, with the city of Gijón and the capital of the region, Oviedo (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Avilés location in Spain.

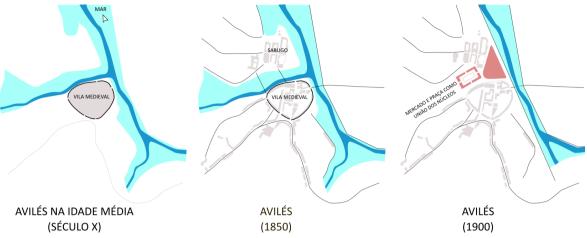
Source: Own elaboration based on maps from d-maps.com (2020)

Castilla y León

The small village of Avilés was the supplier of fish in the region with the small sailor neighborhood of Sabugo, which was initially separated from the village by the estuary. Vila de Avilés remains with little change in its urban structure until the 20th century (DE LA MADRID, 1999) (Figure 3).

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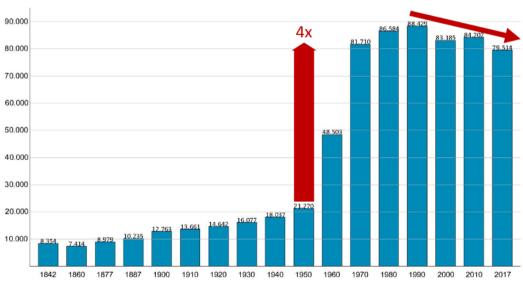
Figure 3: Sketch of the evolution of the village of Avilés until the beginning of the 20th century



Source: Own elaboration based on historical maps (2020)

In 1950, the State elected the small village to build the country's largest metallurgical company, ENSIDESA, and it was joined by many other contaminating companies in the region. The installation of these factories brought a great deal of dysfunctionality to the city, with changes in land use and modifying the demographics and the history of Avilés (MORALES, 1982) (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Avilés population since 1842



Source: Own elaboration with data from INE (2018) and Sanchez et al.

The factories occupied up to eleven kilometers in the eastern part of the city, and created an unsustainable level of environmental pollution (Figure 5). Soon after implantation, factories swallowed the city itself, with a population growth in the 1950s through 1970 of around 400%, with 60,000 new inhabitants in a village that historically had less than 20,000 people, according to the National Statistics Institute of Spain (INE). In 1980, the direct and indirect employment of ENSIDESA in Asturias was around 180,000 people, which gives an idea of the magnitude (MENÉNDEZ, 2013).

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Figure 5. Map of Avilés where you can see the extent of the industrial landscape (green color), compared to the historic center of the medieval city in red color. On the right, dimensions and aerial image.



Sources: Left, Own elaboration based on the National Geographic Institute (2020) Right, two images from the Metrópolis Foundation (2012): dimensions of the complex around 1990.

With this population explosion, the construction of many neighborhoods in the periphery begins in order to shelter factory workers. This is one of the reasons the historic center has a high conservation today, since the soil that allowed the development of large neighborhoods could not be found in the small village of Avilés. Thus, the center manages to maintain the unit, with an important value until today, due to its cohesion and conservation (MORALES, 1982) (DE LA MADRID, 1999) (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Left, Avilés Historic Center. Right, Da Luz Neighborhood





Sources: Left, its own collection (2018)
Right, photo published in De la Madrid (1999)

Around the 80s and 90s, there will be a successive dismantling of the northern Spanish industry, especially Avilés and Bilbao, with many layoffs and protest marches. The Avilés estuary was still heavily contaminated (Figure 7). The rulers begin the conversion of the two cities, with very different results. When the Guggenheim Museum opened in 1997, the urban conversion of Avilés was still just an idea.

In 1992 an agreement was signed among the State, the Principality of Asturias and the municipality of Avilés for the sanitation of the estuary, however, the sludge extraction work did not begin until 2003 (SÁNCHEZ et al. 2012).

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Figure 7. Aerial images of Avilés, with the contaminated estuary in the eastern part.





Source: Left, Medieval Village and the sailors neighborhood, Sabugo in 1991, National Geographic Institute (IGN) modified by the author. Right, Avance del Plan General 2002, photo from the 90s.

The most important document for Avilés today was the Avance del Plan General de Avilés, published by the city in 2002. The images of a cultural center, an emblem of the city and the entire region, are on the political agenda together with the search for solutions for polluted Avilés and its eastern part. The plan's author, Eduardo Leira, writes about improving the city and researching an emblematic transformation engine that can be recognized in a great environment (LEIRA, 2001). The images show a new development in the place that was occupied by the industry, which at that time was called little Sydney (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Sketches and images of the new Avilés



Source: Avance del Plan General de Avilés 2002

In 2005, the newspapers published that Oscar Niemeyer was going to do his first work in Spain. In this scenario, the city of Oviedo, capital of Asturias, was chosen for the location of the cultural center. The program that had the center was very rich and varied: the Museum of the Prince of Asturias Awards and a cinema center that announced Woody Allen presaged a world-class center.

In 2006, Avilés was considered to be the best city for the implantation of the cultural center due to a great need for change in the old village, which was decisive for being chosen.

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Over time, the content of the museum and cinema center of the proposal was lost, in close relationship with the pressure from Oviedo. Niemeyer himself expressed his opinion from Rio de Janeiro (Figure 9), assuring that the center would be "a great square open to all men and women in the world, a great stage above the estuary and the old city. A place for education, culture and peace" (RÚA, 2012, p. 11)



Figure 9. Oscar Niemeyer with the model of the Avilés International Cultural Center

Source: Turismo de Asturias

4.2 Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center

4.2.1 Architecture and relevant data of the work

The Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center, a work signed by the Brazilian master in his last stage of creation, was chosen as the icon of the new identity of the city of Avilés and was built from 2008 to 2011. It was the beginning of the appropriation of the industrial margin for recreational activities, activating the estuary that had not been used by citizens for more than half a century.

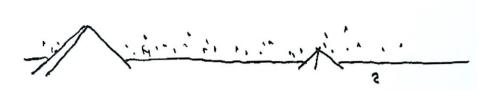
The complex is close to the ENSIDESA industrial soil and the coke oven batteries (which have not yet been demolished), and consists of four buildings and a square that joins them. It has cultural and leisure uses, establishing a first-class cultural center in a region that continues its conversion until today.

The architect did his Avilés work in a similar way to previous cultural projects, such as the "Memorial de América Latina" [Latin America Memorial] in São Paulo (1987) or the "Caminho Niemeyer" [Niemeyer Path] in Niterói (1997).

Flat topographies are abstracted from their immediate surroundings, and from there arise solid elements in a certain combination of their own imagery. In this way, the context is denied to establish a new symbolic order. As Niemeyer (1997) himself stated: "Egypt's pyramids might not have been so beautiful and monumental without the endless horizontal spaces that enhance and even modify them, according to the light of each day" (Figure 10).

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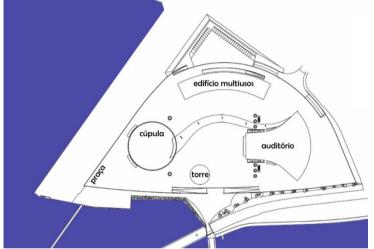
Figure 10. Sketch of Egypt's pyramids



Source: Niemeyer (1997)

The program includes an auditorium for 1,012 people, a dome for Art exhibitions, a multifunctional building that has a cinema and cafeteria, and a 13 meter lookout tower over the Avilés estuary (Figures 11 and 12).

Figure 11. Plan of the buildings of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center



Source: Plano de Rúa (2012) modified by the author

Figure 12. Aerial image and images of the buildings of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center



Source: Left, Puerto de Avilés (2012). Remaining images, Rúa (2012). Author's montage.

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When the construction of the cultural center began in 2008, the city also financed a pedestrian walkway (designed by municipal technicians), to cross over the railroads and overcome the obstacles that connected the historic center of Avilés to the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center. After the walkway, there is another one that serves to pass the estuary, and there is the entrance to the Center under the port road. The design of this set of solutions is controversial and has a negative impact on the use of the center (Figure 13).

Figure 13. The walkways and access to the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center







Source: The two images on the left, Avilés City Hall (2008). Remaining images, by the author.

As we can see in the Tourism data (Table 1), in 2011, the year of the inauguration of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center, international visitors doubled. This figure remains unchanged today. In fact, tourism in general in 2011 was significant, 59,006.

Table 1: Visitors to the Avilés Tourist Information Center

YEAR	LOCAL/REGIONAL	NATIONAL	INTERNATIONAL	TOTAL
YEAR 2006	11.275	16.421	1.732	29.428
YEAR 2007	10.867	17.261	2.365	30.493
YEAR 2008	10.410	18.347	2.569	31.326
YEAR 2009	8.242	22.703	2.599	33.544
YEAR 2010	7.083	23.086	3.146	33.315
YEAR 2011	10.562	43.228	5.216	59.006
YEAR 2012	6.299	22.813	4.193	33.305
YEAR 2013	6.084	24.324	4.309	34.717
YEAR 2014	6.936	22.070	4.685	33.691
YEAR 2015	5.526	22.579	5.198	33.303
YEAR 2016	4.277	25.213	4.822	34.312
YEAR 2017	5.181	25.091	4.703	34.975

Source: Turismo de Avilés (2018). The most relevant ones have the text in bold.

Today, the complex is highly valued by citizens, as we can see in the reading of the work, and the impact shortly after construction was immense for the city.

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4.2.2 Socio-physical relations and refiguration: User readings on the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center

The socio-physical relations of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center in Avilés were analyzed through the readings of the users, aiming to understand the interpretations about the cultural center from various points of view, starting from the understanding of the complexity of the waning city scenario. Twenty meetings were held with a varied representation of the people who make up the city of Avilés: journalists, architects, museum directors and the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center itself, tourism employees, historians, teachers and a representation of neighboring associations¹. At the end, we obtained twelve interviews with directed questions (Tables 2 and 4) and open questions (Table 3), which serve for the socio-physical analysis and the phenomenological approach, where we can establish the a posteriori definition of cultural equipment, as established in Salcedo et al. (2015).

Table 2: Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center: dichotomus questions of the main test, in percentage

Questions	Yes	No	NS/NC
1 In general, do you like the architecture of the International Cultural Center?	100%	0	0
2 Have you heard of architect Niemeyer before the construction of the Cultural	100%	0	0
Center?			
3 Is the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center positive for the city?	100%	0	0
4 Is the location of the Cultural Center in the industrial area adequate in the city of Avilés?	83,33%	0	16,66%
5 Do you know the global project Avilés, Isla de la Innovación?	100%	0	0
6 Are buildings suitable for their dimensions and shapes?	100%	0	0
7 And for your use?	91,66%	8,33%	0
8 Are the buildings well connected with the city?	33,33%	66,66%	0
9 Are the buildings well communicated with each other?	91,66%	8,33%	0
10 Have you attended the Cultural Center more than once?	100%	0	0
11 Would you visit the Cultural Center if you were in a city near Avilés, like Gijón	100%	0	0
or Oviedo?			
12 What if you were in another city in Spain?	66,66%	33,33%	0
13 Do you know the uses of the buildings in the Centro Cultural complex?	100%	0	0
14 Do you think the uses of the Cultural Center are optimal for the city of	83,33%	16,66%	0
Avilés?			
15 Is there enough demand for a cultural center like this in the city?	58,33%	33,33%	8,33%

Source: Test performed by the author (2018). The most relevant ones have bold text.

6. Pedro González, Neighborhood Association "Zona Centro"

¹ Complete list of interviewees who completed both parts, followed by their position in public institutions or employment. All interviews were conducted in the months of April and May 2018:

^{1.} Carlos Cuadros, Director of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center

^{2.} Manuel Ángel Hidalgo, Director of the Museum of Urban History of Avilés

^{3.} Javier Arribas, Head of the Tourism Section of the Avilés City Hall

^{4.} Francisco Fernández, President of the "Club de Empresas de Avilés"

^{5.} Juan Carlos De la Madrid, Historian

^{7.} José María Urbano, Journalist and Director of the newspaper "La Voz de Avilés" at the time of construction

 $^{{\}bf 8.\ Vicente\ Dom{\'inguez},\ Deputy\ Councilor\ for\ Culture\ of\ the\ Principality\ of\ Asturias}$

^{9.} Vicente Montes, Journalist for "La Nueva España"

^{10.} Juan Enrique de Balbín Behrmann, Architect drafting the city's Master Plan 1986

^{11.} Fernando Rubiera, Professor of Urban Economics and "Regiolab" Coordinator

^{12.} Heriberto Menéndez, Coordinator of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Navigation

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Table 3: Meanings attributed to the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center by the interviewees and keywords.

Positive (+)	Negative (-)
Emotional and physical change: The city empathizes with	Functional distribution of culture in the region is not easy
the work and becomes aware of its existence as a city.	to break. There are two major newspapers, with visions
	imposed: Gijón and Oviedo
Impulse, great initial self-esteem	In general, the citizens of Avilés have a bad idea of their
	city, like a suburb, a dark and sad image that is not easy
	to change.
Change of centrality in the city	The railroad barrier prevents connection in the form,
	which could imply an underground connection.
The renovation of Avilés' image with the Niemeyer	It is not an economic engine for the city's recovery, the
Center adds to the heritage value of the historic city	initial speech "supplying industry with culture" failed
White color and undulations unrelated to Avilés and yet	It should have a more unique program: it is a global brand
complements the city	with a wide spread, however, the activities are smaller
The media impact at the beginning: strong account of the	Expectations of initial growth have not been met: the
creation of the cultural center and the speech of	center moves from international to regional or local
architect Niemeyer	
Opening to the world, door of the Asturias region	Absence of tertiary and housing sectors in the same place
Establishing new forms of tourism in the region	

Source: Interviews conducted by the author (2018)

In the interviews we will also establish the usage preferences, which show that the Auditorium and the Dome are the two most valued buildings (Figure 14). The interviewees speak of the architectural ensemble in a positive way, however, the full use and the high quality of the programming of the spaces is more valued, a fact that was decisive for the choice of the interviewees, concretized in the dome exhibitions and the theater performances of the auditorium.

50% edificio multiusos cúpula auditório torre

Figure 14: Preferences for the use of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center buildings

Source: Prepared with questionnaire data (2020)

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Table 4: Selection of multiple-choice test questions

What is your opinion regarding the design of the Niemeyer Center?	Percentage
Really like	58%
Like	42%
Indifferent	0
I don't like it	0

What is your opinion about the square that connects the buildings?	Percentage
I like it, I wouldn't change anything	77%
I like it, but it should be more integrated with the city	7%
I like it, but it should be more integrated with the buildings on the edge of Avilés	8%
I don't like it, there should be more garden, and rest areas and shade	8%

Source: Interviews conducted by the author (2018)

With all the data from the interviews and the context, it is possible to set the parameters for the socio-physical analysis:

- a) Quality of the architecture: Based on the results, the quality is not in doubt, the interviewees like the architecture of the center and think that the buildings are suitable, in their dimensions and shapes, for their space and environment. Although it is an architecture unrelated to Avilés, it complements the city in terms of modernity versus tradition and becomes a new attraction.
- b) Social viability: The Niemeyer Center is an adequate stage for major events in the Asturian region. Soon after the dismantling of ENSIDESA, the complex brought an emotional and physical change to Avilés. All interviewees would visit Centro Niemeyer if it were in another city near Avilés and a large part would visit it if it were in another city in Spain. In fact, most interviewees think the uses are great for the city.
- c) Economic viability: The complex was not excessive in its cost, in comparison to other works also in Northern Spain such as Laboral Cidade Cultural in Gijón or the City of Culture of Santiago de Compostela. The biggest criticism is that it shares the events with the other facilities in the city because of budget limitations in an unfavorable context, where the functional distribution of culture in the region is not easy to break, with two imposed visions: Gijón and Oviedo.
- d) Urban viability: Accessibility for pedestrians to the cultural complex is not working correctly on the walkways. The entrance is narrow and with an inadequate section. Most interviewees state that the buildings are not well connected with the city. The railroad barrier prevents connection in the form, which could imply a connection, in the end, to establish a greater use of spaces and a jump from the western part of the city (old) to the eastern part (new). Access by car is not adequate and there is also no good bus accessibility.
- e) Environmental viability: The flat topography of the square enhances its architecture. The square as a clean space is easily accessible and establishes a suitable stage for major events in the region. Interviewees consider the Cultural Center to be the gateway to the entire region. The lack of landscaping and urban furniture (as in other Niemeyer projects from the same period) is not criticized by the interviewees. The ambience area of the Cultural Center is not urbanized, there are no services, commerce, or housing, which is criticized by the interviewees.

5 CONCLUSION

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The city of Avilés is making an effort to change its image and improve with a cultural and tourist proposal in the region, starting with the construction of the Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center, which served to recover the pride lost during the dark years of the steel industry and ENSIDESA. Avilés establishes - as the greatest challenge of the future - a new narrative within the Asturian region, aiming at its own survival and obtaining a better quality of life for its citizens, while reversing the trend that transformed it into a shrinking city.

The eastern part of the estuary could once again be a symbol of prosperity, with a clean and sustainable orientation, based on the white shapes of Oscar Niemeyer's buildings, as opposed to the black of the previous contaminating industry.

The Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Center establishes dialogical relations with the context of the city in an abstract way: it makes a new-old, white-black dialogue, with concepts related to the opening of the region to the world. It sets up a contrasting relationship, based on cultural innovation and modernity. The situation of the set - which is in the right place - and the quality of the construction, makes users have a very positive opinion of the Niemeyer Center, as we have seen in the results of the interviews. The urban viability of the proposal cannot be fully assessed until the completion of the actions and projects in that part of the estuary, including the residential proposal. Inadequate connections between the city and the complex must be reassessed so that can be to improved.

Nevertheless, Niemeyer's work is a new statement, a new speech in a city that needed it, and so its own citizens perceive it. Other processes like what happened in Bilbao, nearby, allow for cautious optimism. With the appropriate investment and focus, it is possible to create a reterritorialization of a previously forgotten, isolated, dehumanized and contaminated space. This renovation could transform the city of Avilés into a reference in the Asturian metropolitan area, which, adding the cities of Gijón and Oviedo, has almost one million residents.

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