

Regenerating Bilbao: From 'productive industries' to 'productive services'

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This paper aims at analysing the maintenance, preservation, and (re)interpretation of the urban heritage of the industrial city of Bilbao (Spain). Particular attention will be paid to the effects of globalisation at the end of the XX century in Bilbao's, the relationship between proposals and completed actions put forward by Bilbao's strategic plan (Partial Territorial Plan), and their urban and socio-economic impacts on the city starting from the beginning of the 1990s.

This work focuses on three of the most emblematic actions which have been carried out thus far in the Ria river territory to consider and discuss the treatment of the historical memory of the industrial legacy: the Abandoibarra's abandoned shipyards, the Ametzola railway station, and eventually the Galindo River estuary.

Parole chiave: industrial heritage; urban regeneration; post-fordist city

Rigenerare Bilbao: dalle 'industrie produttive' ai 'servizi produttivi'

Questo contributo analizza la gestione e la (re) interpretazione del patrimonio urbano della città di Bilbao (Spagna) e gli effetti della globalizzazione alla fine del XX secolo nel suo ambito urbano. Sarà prestata particolare attenzione al rapporto tra le proposte e le azioni completate del piano strategico di Bilbao (Piano territoriale parziale) e i suoi impatti socio-economici e urbani sulla città a partire dall'inizio degli anni '90. Il saggio si concentra su tre delle azioni più emblematiche portate a termine ad oggi nel territorio fluviale per dimostrare come è stato impostato il trattamento della memoria storica dell'eredità industriale: le trasformazioni dei cantieri navali abbandonati di Abandoibarra, della stazione ferroviaria di Ametzola e infine dell'estuario del fiume Galindo.

Keywords: patrimonio industriale; rigenerazione urbana; città post-fordista

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1. Introduction

At the end of the 1970s, Bilbao was one of the Spanish cities most affected by changes in global economic patterns and deindustrialisation (Sassen, 1991). Economic focus deviated from local industrial to largescale global economies (Clark, 1996). Bilbao has commissioned 'urban regeneration' programmes and a mechanism for the recovery of lost economic activity along with other European spatial entities (Esteban, 2000). These programmes aim to integrate social, physical, and environmental factors of the local territory to encourage economic development (Couch, Fraser, Percy, 2003). Urban transformation schemes have been characterised by the creation of quality spatial areas for a competitive economic claim, often at the expense of the interests and real needs of local citizens (Sklair, 2017; Stein, 2019). Furthermore, urban regeneration schemes often ignore the inherited industrial heritage of the areas that they aim to improve (Zukin, 1995; Marcuse, Van Kempen, 2000).

The purpose of this work is to analyse the maintenance, preservation, and (re)interpretation of the urban heritage of the industrial city of Bilbao together with the effects of globalisation at the end of the twentieth century. Thus, particular attention will be paid to the relationship between proposals and completed actions put forward by Bilbao's strategic plans *Partial Territorial Plans* (1997 and 2008 PTP), and their urban and socio-economic impacts on the city. The paper analyses three of the most emblematic actions carried out thus far in the Ria river areas starting from the second half of the 1990s.

The research hypothesis refers to the fact that even if the international urban studies have tackled several aspects of Bilbao's urban regeneration (among others, Vicario, Martínez Monje, 2003; Aa.Vv., 2004; del Cerro, 2006; Plaza, 2006; Vescovi, 2006; Plaza, Tironi, Haarich, 2009; Plaza, Haarich, 2013; Aurtinetxe, 2018), there is actually not any literature on the up-to-date strategic plan implementation, neither by Public Administrations nor by academics. Hence, it is worth pointing out the originality and relevance of this work. First, we analyse how the 2008 PTP contributes to materialise the so-called *Bilbao Metropolitano* according to the previous 1997 PTP. Second, the relationship between this strategic plan and creation of the new entity will be addressed (§ 3). Third, the idea of urban regeneration in connection with the areas of centrality set up during the 1990s (§§ 4, 5, and 6) and, eventually, their materialisation will be analysed (§ 7).



1. Public land resulting from industrial dismantling. Source: Leira, Argüeso y Subieta (1994: 134).

Here we claim that the historical memory of the territory on which the old industrial facilities were located was not taken into account at the time of reconversion from secondary to tertiary economic activities within the context of globalisation. In summary, this report aims to demonstrate that the implementation of Bilbao's PTP is much more focused on the commercialisation and outsourcing of the old industrial territories of the Ria river through a 'centrality-segregated city' project instead of on highlighting the opportunities given by the importance of soil which has been released by former industrial activity in the area.

2. The materialisation of the so-called *Bilbao Metropolitano* as an 'Urban Project of centrality'

The so-called *Bilbao Metropolitan Partial Territorial Plan* is the legal document to establish the territorial strategy of the Bilbao's metropolitan area, defined *Bilbao Metropolitano* (in English *Metropolitan Bilbao*). A first PTP was elaborated during the 1990s, which was updated in a second version approved in 2008. This strategic plan is about developing the main interventions in residential and industrial areas, the location and relevance of the main infrastructures, the new potential land use, the protection of natural areas, urban regeneration interventions in degraded areas, and so on.¹ To understand the 2008 PTP's goals, and the urban regeneration projects relationship with the effects of 'centrality', we refer to the previous work carried out by experts from the University of Deusto, commissioned by the Association Bilbao-Metropoli-30, the *Strategic Plan for a Revitalisation of Metropolitan Bilbao* (Bilbao-Metropoli-30, 1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b), which constituted the preliminar plan of the 1997 Partial Territorial Plan.²

We refer to the 2008 PTP to establish hypotheses that allow us to understand the strategies to transform Bilbao from the

management of its industrial heritage since the first Partial Territorial Plan. The 1997 and 2008 plans aim at re-thinking the city fragments located in 'central areas'. Both the plans have contributed to the development of a new built environment where private interests prevail over the common ones, according to an idea of the city as the place for segregation instead of a place for the public. The materialisation of Metropolitan Bilbao³ is being addressed as an 'urban project of centrality' in order to proceed to social, economic and, of course, urban-patrimonial dispossessions. Basically, this project affects the old large 'obsolete facilities', which are inherited from an industrial past. These large urban properties are now subjected to processes of 'urban regeneration' allowing the representation of new scenarios with possibilities to compete in a new global economic framework. In the 1999 Progress Report of the 2008 PTP, the idea of 'metropolis construction' appears as the main objective of the Plan. It means that the city, in the traditional sense of the term, ceases to be a competitive entity. This task must regard a more considerable territory, a 'metropolis', so Bilbao ceases to be a city to adopt this new type of urban entity. In a certain way, this decision means that the collective interest will be put after private interests in the urban regeneration projects, such as Abandoibarra, Ametzola, and Galindo. For example, the extraordinary amounts of land, derived from the old industrial facilities – and mostly public-owned – passed into private hands. Through their transformation, new iconic buildings appear, representing this new metropolitan entity's competitive content.

3. The Partial Territorial Plan's spatial reality

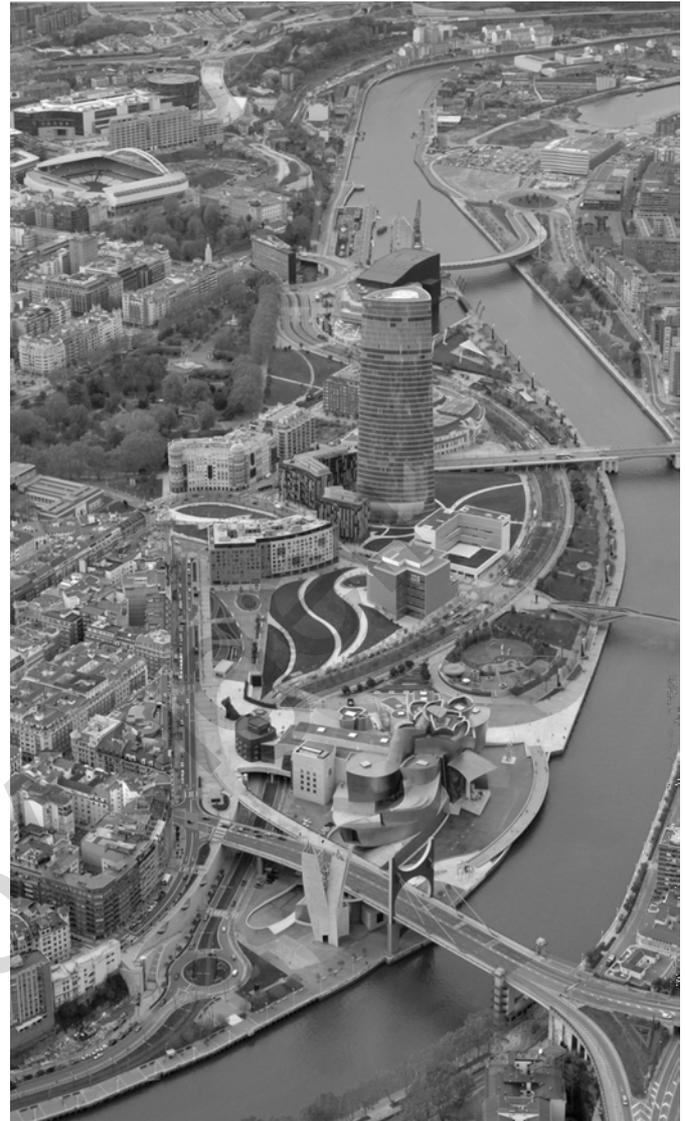
35 municipalities compose Bilbao's metropolitan territory. Among these municipalities, just the city of Bilbao has 350,000 inhabitants, occupying 25% of the Vizcaya province's territory



2. Localisation of the three case studies:
1) Abandoibarra, 2) Ametzola, and 3) Galindo.
Elaboration: F. Camerin (2019).



3. Abandoibarra sector during the 1960s.
Source: Basas Fernández (1969: 297).



4-5. Abandoibarra sector in 1996 and 2012. Photo credit: Bilbao Ria 2000. Source: www.balmori.com/portfolio/abandoibarra-masterplan.

and hosting more than 80% of the province's population, this being half of the population of the region, the so-called Basque Country.

The territorial 'opportunities', as stated in the 2008 PTP (Aa. Vv., 2006: 5-6), are:

- its demographic dimension, 900,000 inhabitants, which makes Bilbao's metropolitan territory the economic-functional capital of the Basque Country;
- the Port;
- the Ría river as a shape element of high power and attractiveness, emphasising, above all, the waterfront, and thus abandoning its ancient functional character to turn it into a vertebral axis in the port next to the estuary flat soils;
- the Guggenheim effect, more than conjectural, which has positioned Bilbao in international circuits.

Therefore, the Plan considers these components as socio-spatial categories that can be revitalising elements. Through the urban regeneration process, they can lead to providing a new image of

a city, making competitiveness the reason for its economic reintegration. These pre-existing strategic elements (some of them like the Guggenheim, already belonging to the new urban regeneration reality), require a new economic, social, and political interpretation, although this would require their dispossession as patrimonial assets that belong to the community.

These advantages, however, would not be enough to achieve the launch of Bilbao as a largescale global economy. In order to achieve these advantages, the Plan, as it claims, must «position them [...] in the increasing flows of merchandise and people, and build a renewed support or integrated physical chassis, in a metropolitan scale, for this new economy, industrial and services» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 7). Therefore, the 2008 plan's goal seems to make a whole formal universe available to investor's wishes. The city, as a collective entity, as a spatial environment where the community objectives are realised as a 'social space', ceases to exist. It becomes an exclusive physical object, a 'support or integrated physical chassis' available for those who claim

certain environmental conditions that conduct their business. The city has ceased to be that social reality offering real spaces to implement certain economic activities. Examples of such would be the entire abandonment of old industrial park in favor of tertiarisation.

4. The urban regeneration process objectives-guidelines

One of the 2008 PTP's fundamental objectives is the need to generate and articulate the productive space as support of the new global economies. Basically, it regards the creation of new spatial conditions that allow the metropolis competitiveness through the elimination of the historical inheritances received from the past. This strategy is a previous and essential step in the annihilation of the 'traditional spatial memory' instead of its recovery or reinterpretation. The new artefacts, i.e., Guggenheim museum, take place over the old industries and railways large property of urban soil, being marked by a persuasive value, a global claim. To justify such an action, the Plan aims to improve the quality of life of the residents, as this is considered as «an essential factor in the competitiveness of every metropolis and becomes a factor of the attraction of new economic activities and innovation» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 12). Once again, particular interests prevail over citizens' needs.

In the frame of Bilbao's industrial history annihilation, the old industrial 'artefacts' are the physical environment base where the new 'economic space' is going to settle, losing their public ownership status (figure 1). As to address this action, «it is necessary the adaptation, regeneration, and recovery of the existing degraded spaces, the implementation of new activities, both industrial and, above all, a mix composing by services with industry, compatible with the residence» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 12). Among these spaces, the river Ría waterfront is the object of special treatment due to its quality of 'central space' par excellence. The PTP's urban regeneration encourages the historical dissolution of Bilbao's past, including its proletarian past and its link with the most disadvantaged popular class. Moreover, the Plan pursues a new urban condition as an expression of new global economies in a re-appropriation process of the ancient industrial past's collective sense. Accordingly, the dispossession process is twofold. First, a 'workspace', the values of which lie in that historical condition, is deliberately taken into possession by capital interests. We are arguing that the workspace's value lies in having been the seat of an uninterrupted activity (i.e., the industrial activity) generated by the workers who made it effective. Second, the aforementioned transfer of several public assets to private hands opens to the processes of urban regeneration.

In this way, the 'new economic space' is materialised starting from the manipulation of the past, which is denied. The value generated by Bilbao's industrial past provides a suitable space to let urban regeneration take place. In this sense, the new 'icon' condition given to the new buildings acquires extraordinary importance. It is not to forget that a field of images is proposed to act as an advertising claim to drive new economies. As the 2008 PTP claims, «each time, to a greater extent, the metropolis is identified [...] by having milestones and, generally speaking, specific products. The Guggenheim Museum constitutes, perhaps, the extreme example. Undoubtedly, it has



6-7. Abandoibarra sector after the transformation. The Iberdrola Tower, and the Guggenheim Museum. Photos by F. Camerin (2013).



8-9. Amezola sector in 1990 and in 2009. Photo credit: Bilbao Ria 2000. Source: <https://fotos.subefotos.com/4f3d52437e6ac758348e5f48f33a6f17o.jpg>

become the most specific hallmark of the new Metropolitan Bilbao, replacing the Altos Hornos» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 14). In fact, is not the new image the distinguishing factor of the new 'productive processes' based primarily on the reproduction of 'financial capital'?

5. The areas of centrality as drivers of injustices and urban inequalities

2008 Partial Territorial Plan proposals do not offer any doubt when betting on Bilbao as a 'Tertiary Metropolis' to the almost exclusive service of 'externalities', recreating the metropolitan spatial reality as a 'fixed capital' (Rodríguez, 2002; Aa.Vv., 2004; Rodríguez, Vicario, 2005). Essentially, the objective of the 2008 PTP is the enhancement of tertiary uses in the city: «The economic tertiarisation appeared as the solution to the great economic and social problems brought about by the re-conversion, and the beginning of the 90s was marked by the idea that Metropolitan Bilbao had to be transformed from an industrial metropolis into a tertiary metropolis» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 82). What can be deduced from this phrase if we consider that within these tertiary uses are those of retail trade, offices and all types of welfare, and sociocultural supplies? First, they can be located in specific buildings or forming part of buildings for residential use. Second, tertiary uses are avoided in areas

outside the city centre since it is convenient to reserve these locations for industrial installations. Thus, the effect is to create economic and social distances, peripheral and central spaces, assigning them specific functions, which are now and then opposing.

Within this context, the *Ria Renovation Area* stands out as the 'central area' par excellence almost as a central territory understood as a 'space of social and economic centrality', becoming an emblematic space of Metropolitan Bilbao. This approach in the Plan «forces us to be very selective when it comes to choosing what kind of activities the old industry vacant land has to occupy. The fluvial edges must be preserved so that high-value-added activities coexist with residence and equipment, taking extraordinary care of the architectural and urban design giving these spaces the exclusive uniqueness they deserve» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 83-84). Moreover, the Plan focuses its attention on the concept of equipment, but not as an expression of the collective needs demanded by society and an irrevocable public component without which we could not speak of 'the right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1968). Instead, this concept is interpreted differently to make it compatible with the privatisation of the urban space accompanying this proposed model of the metropolis. In fact, in the Partial Territorial Plan framework, the proposing concept of urban equipment is «much broader than the traditional derived from General City Planning, intended as service areas

open to the community» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 103). Equipment, in this sense, is conceived as supra-municipal, «being, often, halfway between equipment, infrastructure, economic activity, etc.» (Aa.Vv., 2006: 103).

Thus, urban equipment constitutes the fundamental referent of the urban environment. In short, their capacity as elements realising and expressing collectivity and public function are now differently considered. Substantially, the equipment is considered as products boosting competitiveness and new developments put at the service of particular interests. In terms of history, annihilation, and dispossession, the gradual loss of State properties is expressed by the gradual liquidation of the city's public values.

6. Regeneration and Renewal of Ría's old urban-industrial facilities

Although the 2008 PTP's objectives refer to the new Bilbao Metropolis (re)organisation, the real concern is another one. The Plan is much more focused on making the commercialisation of the Ría territory possible thanks to the significant amount of soil released by the disappeared industries. We could argue (why not?) that the transformation processes find their *raison d'être* not so much in the idea of materialising and making a better 'metropolitan space' possible, but in providing a profitable economic performance in the old industrial soils. As far as the Plan is concerned, the 'Urban Renewal' and the 'Urban Regeneration'⁴ projects, those ones described in the following paragraph, would become the most visible emblem of the Metropolitan Bilbao revitalisation, converting the former industrial properties into new tertiary and financial uses. Undoubtedly, the Ría Territory is the most appropriate area to house the new metropolitan economy intended as the potential place of (and for) innovation, the ideal space to implement new uses and activities generating the new metropolis entity. These new urban spaces located in specific areas of the estuary play a determining role within the proposed model for Metropolitan Bilbao due to their central position.

7. The three case studies: Abandoibarra, Ametzola and the Galindo River estuary

Now we consider three of the most emblematic urban regeneration projects so far in the Ría territory carried out by Bilbao Ría 2000 Association since the 1990s (Bilbao Ría 2000, 2000; Bilbao Ría 2000, 2007; figure 2). First, the sector Abandoibarra, a place occupied by the old shipyards, in continuity with the XIX century urban extension area (the *ensanche*); second, the Ametzola ancient railway station urban regeneration project; and, eventually, the Galindo River estuary area's transformation. In all case studies, we focus the attention on the presence of social housing, which expresses the logic of a segregated space. The relationship between these three projects and the 2008 PTP is the following. In all of the analysed projects, centrality plays a central role as it defines the segregation by the presence of social housing. This fact is strictly related to the materialisation of Metropolitan Bilbao pursued by the Partial Territorial Plan. In some way, the centrality takes place as a consequence of the urban sectors' correspondence and maintenance with the old



10. Set of homes built in Ametzola.

Photo by A. Álvarez Mora (2012).

11. Galindo sector during 1960s.

Source: Basas Fernández (1969: 285).

industrial facilities' territorial memory. The financing of all these urban development operations, managed by the Bilbao Ría 2000 Association,⁵ is supported, as we have noted, by the significant amount of ancient industrial areas, which are public ownership. These large properties are conceived as 'fixed capital' of land to be entrusted to the Bilbao Ría 2000 Association which developed the urban regeneration interventions.

First, the 1993-2011 urban regeneration of the Abandoibarra sector (figures 3 to 7), the 'central space' par excellence, is the one that best represents the new Bilbao under construction. It is the image of a city which has the objective of opening itself up to the world, both to demand investments and to facilitate the best conditions to the highest bidder. That is to say, to dazzle through the fatuity of some icons whose cultural assumptions obey purely economic reasons, to banish knowledge, and to turn culture into the expression-exhibition of a catalogue of blank forms of content. Actually, at the end of the 1990s, the mayor of Bilbao said «we can have magnificent architects from Bilbao who can realise excellent works, but we wanted to achieve not only a quality but a brand, as the brand has to do with our opportunities for the future. Someone is coming and will come to Bilbao for that reason, to see the world-renowned artefacts, like Gehry, Foster, Calatrava, Pelli, or at the time Stern or others» (Marzo, 1999: 14). Abandoibarra reflects this perception due to the privatisation of large properties of public land, 34.8 hectares corresponding to 137,000 square meters distributed among offices, shops, and luxury hotels. Besides, it includes the approximately 700 unaffordable homes overlooking the known to all Museum (the Guggenheim), the Conference Centre and Concert Hall and, of course, a skyscraper, the current 32-plant Iberdrola Tower, containing 50,000 square meters of offices where a worker can have a close look (with pride) to the Ría.

The second case study is the 1994-2008 transformation of the Ametzola railway lands (figures 8 to 11). By 'ruining' 11 hectares of railway facilities, 900 homes were built – 150 of them being subsidised housing –, plus a shopping centre of about 9,000 square meters. The most crucial element of this operation was allowing Bilbao Ría-2000 to privatise the railway lands, obtaining a first capital serving as a trigger mechanism to continue intervening in the Ría territory. The minimum percentage of subsidised housing is striking since Ametzola is a 'social place' whose popular memory links it with the railways. However, 150 subsidised homes do not prevent the new residential zone from reconvertng the memory into support allowing to host a higher quality habitat. The fact of including some public housing represents the price to pay for the 'goodness' of the urban development operation undertaken. Here we can see the presence of subsidised homes, absent in the Abandoibarra area. Starting from the hierarchised 'project of centrality', Ametzola project is a sign of the segregation materialised in the Ría territory in terms of social housing presence.

In a nutshell, the still on-going – since 1996 – urban regeneration of the Galindo River estuary area is an operation designed to recreate the socio-spatial segregation hierarchized throughout the Ría territory (Bilbao Ría 2000, 2017). Effectively, Galindo area is identified as a workspace converted via project into a mixed-use zone, such as residential, leisure, and new district where new industrial and tertiary activities are located (figures 12, 13). The whole 'regenerated' area is of about 500,000 square meters which

belonged to *Altos Hornos de Vizcaya*. Another 50,000 square meters are now used for industrial and tertiary activities, and today there are 2,000 new homes, 500 of them are subsidised housing. To sum up, while public housing in the area of Abandoibarra is non-existent, it ascends to 16% in Ametzola, and 25% in Galindo. From this we can deduce that areas with a more significant historical memory increase in popularity because of their original centrality conditions. At the same time, to make valid the claim of Bilbao as a competitive metropolis, in these areas the image demanded is not as strong as in those other places considered emblematic par excellence. As a matter of fact, socio-spatial segregation also affects the expression of the urban image to recreate.

8. Conclusions

'Regeneration' raises projects distinguished by being integrators and respectful to history, and even fit to align with the principles of 'sustainability'. In the case of Bilbao, this paper has demonstrated that the commitment to the 'regeneration' of a great quantity of urban soil recreates the 'reconversion' of old industrial facilities previously declared obsolete by the change operated in its production system. In this context, we denote a subordination of the 'reconversion' to the real estate system's interests, specifically its interests to take possession of ancient industries' strategic land. This is to say, the speculative relationship between 'regeneration' and 'land availability' seems more evident than the need to procure an urban development alternatives to the city as a whole. Bilbao inherited heritage is 'regenerated' because regeneration not only arises as a social demand, but mostly as an economic real estate and financial 'soil product' left by dismantled industries. Unquestionably, when that much 'urban land' is available (as is the case with the Bilbao's old industrial facilities) as it cannot use in its entirety, the undertaken operations are those seeking great benefit. This approach contributes to the creation of 'exclusive zones', therefore, to renounce the creation of a 'city project' involving everyone. Priority is given to real estate business as the only way to convert old industrial areas conceived as 'rent spaces'. Actually, Bilbao Ría 2000 was liquidated and disappeared when several parts of the Ría are still in the process of 'regeneration'. This situation shows us a fundamental element: what has been demanded by the capital was already realised. The abandoned large industrial properties conceived as the basis for new 'areas of centrality' therefore became new areas of 'spatial exclusivity'. Two or three operations have been enough to place Bilbao in the exclusive circuits far from the real needs of its population. The Ría's area has not been reused in its entirety, only its most strategic 'soil' from a financial and real-estate point of view. Despite having been programmed as the object of the 'regeneration', the rest of the abandoned soil has been left in a state of advanced ruin – also as an effect produced by the 2007-2008 global crisis – which contrasts with the 'icons' shown to the world such as the Guggenheim. Therefore, we demonstrated that the relationship between the soil coming from an industrial dismantling process and its management reuse via 'urban regeneration' is purely based on a real-estate and financial approach. Its objective is the creation of 'exclusive spaces' serving the externalities regardless of the population's major needs. Consequently, the most important action was the appropriation of patrimonial inherited elements belonging to the city being the product of a historical process of

long duration. The appropriation process of their centrality in the urban environment has been consolidated through this 'regenerative reconversion'. This strategy encourages the industrial sites' conversion into 'exclusive spaces' claimed by new economies driving the so-called 'productive services' (Martinelli, Gadrey, 2000).

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Notes

1. We analyse the Partial Territorial Plan introduced in 1999 ('Progress Report', in Spanish *Avance*), whose report was published in 2006 (Aa. Vv., 2006), and eventually approved in 2008 (Bilbao Metropolitano, 2008). Previously, the 1991 Territorial Planning Law of the Basque Government launched the drafting of the PTP from 1992, which progress report named *Metropolitan Bilbao, the Proposal. Bilbao Metropolitan Partial Territorial Plan* (Leira, Argueso and Subieta, 1994) was presented in 1994, eventually approved in 1997.

2. For a critical analysis see Álvarez Mora (1999).

3. The first reference to understand the reasons of the urban transformations in Bilbao is the Association *Bilbao Metropolli-30*. This entity was constituted at the end of the 1980s to carry out planning, research and promotion projects, the objective of which was the elaboration of regional and spatial planning tools. Among them, we analyze the *Urban Development Plans*, those others regarding the definition of the *Strategic Plan for the Revitalisation of the Bilbao Metropolitano*, as the *Urban-development Guidelines* and, basically, the Framework Law which is the reference to every urban decision to take (Bilbao-Metropoli-30, 1996).

4. To in-depth analysis on the relationship between the two concepts, see Álvarez Mora and Camerin (2019).

5. Bilbao Ría-2000 is a 1992-company with public share capital, 50% being from the State Administration and the Basque Government and, with the support of the European Community (Mas Serra, 2011). It manages the most emblematic urban development operations in Bilbao, developing the new urban image to improve the capacity of attraction at all levels. Initially, it was set up by the Central Administration (Ministry of Public Works and Transport, SEPES, Port Authority, RENFE, FEVE and the INI), and the Autonomous Administration (Basque Government, Vizcaya Provincial Council and Bilbao City Council).

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12-13. Galindo sector in 1998 and in 2012. Photo credit: Bilbao Ría 2000. Source: <https://bilbaoenconstruccion.com/2012/11/28/proyecto-urban-galindo-el-emblema-de-la-transformacion-de-barakaldo>.

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