



Culture and Tourism

Mini Case Study MADRID: Matadero

Work Package 9

*Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes
2007-2013, focusing on the European Regional Development
Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF)*

Contract: 2014CE16BAT034



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy
Directorate B - Policy
Unit B.2 Evaluation and European Semester

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Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2016

ISBN 978-92-79-58802-0

doi: 10.2776/0021

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The European Commission's Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy (DG REGIO) is undertaking an ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF) during the period 2007-2013 in regions covered by the Convergence, Regional Competitiveness & Employment and European Territorial Cooperation objectives in the 28 member states.

The Consortium IRS-CSIL-CISET-BOP was selected to undertake the ex post evaluation on 'Culture and Tourism' (Work Package 9). An important element within the evaluation is a series of case study analyses of NUTS2 regions covering interventions co-financed by ERDF during the 2007-2013 programming period.

In addition to the full case studies (at a region's programme level), the evaluation also includes two mini case studies (focused on individual projects) for each regional case study. As with the regional programme case studies, mini case studies are based on desk-based research and semi-structured face-to-face interviews with the main participants involved in the chosen projects.

This report presents the results of the mini case study *Rehabilitation of Matadero (Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings*. This is the first of two mini case studies selected from among the many projects funded by the ROP Madrid.

The report begins with a brief synthesis of the project before moving on to a fuller description and the presentation of the results of the analysis undertaken. The report ends with a review of the main conclusions of the study, together with a series of lessons learnt for future policymaking.

The mini case study was based on desk-based research and on a programme of 3 semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were identified as part of the wider ROP evaluation exercise of which the mini case studies are part and were selected as being key actors in the design and delivery of the project. They are:

Name of the person	Institution, position and role in the project	Contacts
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1. Synthesis

The Project aims at rehabilitating and improving all the public areas and services surroundings the Matadero (*old Slaughterhouse*) Madrid, a major tourist asset of the city, in order to increase its accessibility and use. It is the second part of a larger project whose objective was the integration of the cultural public spaces of the old Slaughterhouse of Madrid and the Madrid River Park, and the improvement of citizens' access to public services in the area¹.

The Project entailed the improvement of pedestrian accessibility to both the Matadero cultural complex and the natural surroundings of Madrid Rio, removing architectural barriers to the access road of Legazpi square. The Project follows the underground rerouting of the M-30 under the Madrid Rio Plan and it is intended to support the complementary, major intervention, of recovery of the Matadero Madrid buildings, where many artistic, cultural and leisure services have been located.

Considering the main beneficiaries of the project, they are:

- Citizens of Municipality of Madrid living in the surrounding area of Matadero, in particular the residents of Usera and Aranguela districts, even if all the residents of Municipality of Madrid living in the neighbouring area of Matadero get easy communication with the city centre in addition to a big green space;
- The cultural tourism industry of Municipality of Madrid: the activities implemented by the Project have made Madrid an exemplary green, sustainable and cultural city strengthening its position in a globalised world, making it an international point of reference as cultural touristic destination;

The project is the largest and most ambitious ERDF intervention implemented by the Municipality of Madrid in the tourism/urban development sector in the period 2007-13. Together with the complementary intervention of recovery of Matadero Madrid buildings, it involved an overall investment of about 95 EUR million. Also, it is included in a larger strategic urban development plan for the rehabilitation of the public spaces along the Manzanares River.

The total ERDF financial resources allocated to the Rehabilitation of Matadero (old Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings Project were EUR 12,551,000

Main results achieved by the Project were:

- To increase access and use of cultural services of Matadero and consequently to contribute to promote and position Madrid among the great European cultural metropolis and an exemplary green and sustainable city. This rebirth of the city also increases its attractiveness as a tourist destination;
- To improve the public infrastructure networks and cultural equipment preserving and enhancing the urban environment applying a new urban model, able to mix elements of tourism, urban development and social cohesion. Both planning and implementation phases required the integration and coordination of different municipal functions and services with the adoption of a territorial-based approach to public investment management.

¹ <http://www.mataderomadrid.org/>

2. Background information

Country: Spain

Region: The Community of Madrid

Full project title: Matadero Madrid

Duration of project: 2009-2015

Key words: Rehabilitation of an ancient building, Urban Sustainable Development, touristic exploitation, interdisciplinary approach

Funding:

Total budget: EUR 95,000,000

ERDF contribution: EUR 12,500,000

National and Regional budget: EUR 12,500,000

Local budget: EUR 70,000,000

Private contribution: EUR 0 €

ERDF Objective: Competitiveness

Motivation for selection

The project is the largest and most ambitious ERDF intervention implemented by the municipality of Madrid in the tourism/urban development sector in the period 2007-13.

Together with the complementary intervention of the recovery of Matadero Madrid buildings (entirely financed by the city council), it involved an overall investment of about 95 EUR million. Also, it is included in a larger strategic urban development plan for the rehabilitation of the public spaces along the Manzanares River. The interesting aspects of investigation revolve in its interdisciplinary approach mixing elements of tourism, urban development and social cohesion. Both planning and implementation required the integration and coordination of different municipal functions and services with the adoption of a territorial-based approach to public investment management.

3. Project description

This case study concerns the improvements to the physical environment around the Matadero Madrid and surrounding neighbourhoods.

The project is part of the activities carried out by the Directorate General of Cultural Heritage and Urban Landscape Quality of Madrid City Council to recover the old Slaughterhouse space for cultural purpose.

The project originated in 2008 when the section of the M-30 highway, which runs parallel to the Manzanares River, was moved underground, resulting in an open area of 649 hectares

3.1 Project overall objectives and purposes

The Municipality of Madrid decided to create an area of environmental, sporting, leisure and cultural interest. The river bank has now become an integral part of the city centre and districts on the West side of Manzanares River have been linked to the city centre.

The project rehabilitated and improved all the public areas and services surroundings the Matadero Madrid, a major touristic asset of the city, in order to increase its accessibility and attraction as a tourist destination.

In detail, the main physical objectives behind the project were:

- Retrieve a green space for residents.
- Facilitate communication between city's districts.
- Create a new cultural hub around the area of the old Matadero (Slaughterhouse).

3.2 Project beneficiaries

Considering the main beneficiaries of the project, they were:

- Residents of Municipality of Madrid living in the neighbouring area of Matadero, especially the residents of Usera and Aranguela districts even if all the residents of Municipality of Madrid living in the neighbouring area of Matadero get easy communication with the city and a sustainable space with a better quality of life for citizens.
- The cultural tourism industry of Municipality of Madrid: Matadero Madrid has strengthened the city's image abroad. It has contributed to promote and position Madrid among the great European cultural metropolis.
- Historical and Urban heritage of Municipality of Madrid. The Project carried out in improving the public infrastructure networks and cultural equipments preserving and ameliorating the urban environment.

3.3 Project activities

The project consisted of enhancing pedestrian accessibility, removing architectural barriers, configuring wide green spaces and repaving streets and squares to improve

citizens' access to the cultural activities supplied in Matadero, as well as to increase the urban quality of the neighbouring districts.

In detail, the project entailed the realization of physical interventions including physical barriers removal, walking bridges, bicycle paths, square and streets re-pavements, and green areas and signalling. The improvement were to pedestrian accessibility to both the Matadero cultural complex and the natural surroundings of Madrid Rio, removing architectural barriers to the access road of Legazpi square and creating two pedestrian bridges on the Manzanares river to incorporate the urban areas located beyond the river into a new urban complex, by connecting them to the Arganzuela park and the Matadero cultural complex.

3.4 Main project outputs

The main project outputs are:

- Evidence of project completion
- Evidence of project contribution to increase access and use of cultural and touristic services of Matadero Madrid
- Increasing citizens accessibility to Madrid City Centre through the removal of phisycal barriers;
- Innovative and Multidisciplinary approach: all forms of artistic expression are considered in Matadero Madrid, e.g. performing arts, cinema, music, design, architecture, urban and landscape planning.

4. Political and strategic context

Madrid, the capital of Spain and its largest city, has a population of roughly 3.3 million with the entire population of the metropolitan area calculated around 6.5 million. It is the third-largest city in the European Union, after London and Berlin, and its metropolitan area is the third-largest in the European Union after London and Paris. The population of Madrid has increased in recent years due to significant influxes of foreign residents.

The tourism sector is crucial to Madrid's economy. It represents 7.1% of GDP and 150,000 jobs. More than 90,000 (60%) of these jobs are directly created. Last year over eight million tourists chose Madrid as their destination.

In order to effectively consolidate and improve tourism activities, local Authorities have drawn up 3-Year Strategic Plans².. The local City Council, the regional government and companies in the tourism sector decline the Plan every three years to achieve specific goals. For the 2012-2015 strategic plan, the objectives were: increasing the flow of tourists by 30% and improving hotel occupancy rates, increasing tourist spending by 50% and cutting seasonality by 20%.

The 2012-2015 Strategic Plan has been created following extensive analysis of Madrid's situation in regard to tourism undertaken by the sectors involved and including multiple meetings with experts from sectors such as the entertainment,

² the Strategic Plan of Culture of Madrid (PECAM) 2012-2015

culinary, shopping, culture and accommodation sectors, in addition to airlines and operators involved in organising conferences.

Cultural resources and activities contribute to a large part (about 80%) of the tourism sector. The image conveyed of Madrid as a destination centres around six key points. Amongst these are the city's historical and cultural heritage, including some of the world's top museums, the number of cultural sites in its surrounding area and the internationally important conferences, events and performances hosted by the city.

5. Implementation

5.1 The process of project design and planning

As far as the process of project design and planning is concerned, in 2003, Madrid's City Council decided to hand the site over to socio-cultural purposes. Two key ideas were included in the preliminary project:

- The decision to share ideas and decisions with civil society;
- The decision to pursue a policy of gradual openings and make live together the ongoing renovation process with the opening of rehabilitated spaces.

Once a preliminary project was designed, Madrid's City Council made a presentation through several information points for citizens and an active website. Citizens submitted 19,091 enquires and 4,592 claims, all these claims were treated by the Madrid City Council and some were also adopted (for example the baby parks locations were changed after the citizens' consultations).

The Project was presented to 6 Territorial Councils with the civic participation of the involved districts, to the Regional Federation of Neighborhood Associations of Madrid and to the Committees of Madrid representing disabled people and the one representing young people.

In 2005, the architectural adaptation and urban-environmental control plan were approved. The Project would respect the former municipal slaughterhouse's architecture, with the purpose of converting 75% of the space to cultural use.

The definite Project was publicly presented on March 13, 2006 with a clear objective: to make the area of the old Slaughterhouse of Madrid to become the "cultural heart of the city", transforming the perception of a city known internationally not only for its major well established museums and collections but also as cultural hub for contemporary creative processes. The approach is closer to German arts centre model "Kuntshalle" where there are not permanent collections but alive and mutable spaces creating communication between outside and inside spaces to fit the challenges of modern artists; that is why the project was defined "a small productive cultural city".

Madrid Municipality decided to present the project to the Call for ERDF aids promoted by The Community of Madrid, in June 2008, and the Project was selected for ERDF funding. The total ERDF financial resources allocated to the Project until December 2014 amounted to 10,609,990 Euros. Table 5.1 below shows the total expenditure for the projects made until 31st December 2014 amounted to 8,955,246 EUR million.

Table 5.1. ERDF Financial Resources

	Total Investment	ERDF funding	Expenditure until 31 December 2014	ERDF funding until 31 December 2014
Rehabilitation of Matadero (Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings	25,102,000	12,551,000	22,059,692	10,896,305

Source: Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas

5.2 Management, monitoring and evaluation system of the project

The project selection and evaluation was very limited. To participate to the selection, cities had to have only a certain level of population and no evaluation of the sustainability or productivity of the initiatives was carried out by the regional authorities. The Municipality of Madrid was admitted to the selection process, and the only criterion applied to finance the project was its consistency with the strategic framework drawn up by Regional Authorities.

As far as monitoring of results is concerned, the system of indicators measures only qualitative citizens' perception of the Project but no quantitative measurement of socio-economic effects is included.

5.3 Governance arrangements of the project

In 2004 work started on the Madrid Calle 30 project, involving the reform and enlargement of the belt highway, and constructing 18 km of large dimension tunnels, collectors, hydraulic installations and underground parking spaces. In the area known as River Zone, the Plan involved the burying of 6 km of road and the liberation of 50 hectares for new green areas.

An international ideas competition was launched by Madrid city council to restore the liberated space. The contractors chosen were Spanish and German companies; the team was formed by the architecture offices Burgos & Garrido, Porrás & La Casta, Rubio & Álvarez Sala and the Dutch office West 8, which formed a joint venture for the project: MRIO arquitectos.

There was little coordination between the ERDF programme and local government in deciding how to manage the reuse of savings obtained by contractors during the project's implementation. In fact, for administrative reasons, the local authorities could not reuse these savings in other areas of investment as they wished.

5.4 Innovative elements and novel approaches to implementation

The interesting aspects of the project are its interdisciplinary approach mixing improvements to tourism infrastructure and with urban development. Both planning and implementation required the integration and coordination of different municipal functions and services with the adoption of a territorial-based approach to public investment management.

The Project has a core commitment, embodied in a model of public and private institutional cooperation which promotes participation of society in the project and guarantee its plurality, independence and sustainability. Each actor involved in the process is responsible for given space, equipment and installations to develop specific initiatives.

5.5 Key implementation obstacles and problem-solving practices

According to the interviewees, the main implementation obstacles were the bureaucratic obstacles linked to the reuse of savings attained. During the implementation process, the Municipality of Madrid secured important cost savings given the competition among companies participating to the public tenders. Despite that, savings has to be invested only in the same project's area where they were created. The experts said that more results could be achieved if more autonomy was given to the savings management.

The experts interviewed have also underlined a problem of insufficient coordination between the National Authority and the Regional Authority managing the ERDF funds.

Nevertheless, implementation obstacles did not prevent the project realization (even if they have created some delay) and did not compromise achievement of objectives. Key results.

The expected results of the largest and most ambitious project co-financed by ERDF, implemented by the Municipality of Madrid in the tourism/urban development sector in the period 2007-13 were to enhance pedestrian accessibility, remove architectural barriers, configure wide green spaces and repave streets and squares, to improve citizens access to the cultural activities supplied in Matadero, as well as to increase the urban quality of the neighbouring districts. Together with the complementary intervention of recovery of Matadero Madrid buildings, it involved an overall investment of about 95 EUR million. Moreover, this Project was also included in a larger strategic urban development plan for the rehabilitation of the public spaces along the Manzanares River.

The main beneficiaries of the project are:

- Residents of Municipality of Madrid living in the neighbouring area of Matadero.** As showed in the table 6.1 the Usera and Arganzuela districts, the ones most affected by the Project, have succeeded in alleviating the crisis effects on real estate values compared with the other Madrid's districts located in the same neighbouring area such as Carabanchel, Latina, Punte de Vallecas, Villa de Vallecas and Villaverde. It is worth noticing that the comparison has to be made with Madrid's districts located in the same area and not also with the central districts of Madrid. Furthermore, all the residents of Municipality of Madrid living in the neighbouring area of Matadero get easy communication with the city centre and a sustainable space with a better quality of life.

Table 5.2. Real estate values by Madrid's districts. Eur per sqm, 2012/2015

District	Eur per sqm 2012	Eur per sqm 2015	% variation
Arganzuela	3216	2674	-16,9
Barajas	3135	2479	-20,9
Carabanchel	2291	1684	-26,5
Chamartin	4350	3935	-9,5
Chamberi	4252	3644	-14,3
Ciudad Lineal	2968	2470	-16,8
Fuencarral	3355	2748	-18,1
Hortaleza	3255	3061	-6,0
Latina	2293	1706	-25,6
Moncloa	3886	3377	-13,1
Moratalez	2451	2045	-16,6
Punte de Vallecas	2065	1485	-28,1
Retiro	3852	3349	-13,1
Salamanca	4617	4122	-10,7

San Blas	2558	1931	-24,5
tetuan	3270	2591	-20,8
Usera	2040	1663	-18,5
Vicalvaro	2335	1821	-22,0
Villa de Vallecas	2571	1911	-25,7
Real estate in Madrid City	3184	3070	-3,6
Real estate in the Community of Madrid	2725	2341	-14,1
Real estate in Spain	850	682	-19,8

Source: FOTOCASA.es Schibsted Classified Media Spain S.L

2. **The cultural tourism industry of Municipality of Madrid:** Matadero Madrid has strengthened the city's image abroad. It has contributed to promote and position Madrid as a European cultural metropolis. The number of people visiting Matadero Madrid has quadrupled in four years, from 240,000 visitors in 2010 to more than one million in 2014. Comparing to performance across Madrid, the Matadero Madrid has recorded a double digit increase year on year whereas the tourism flows in the Community have recorded negative performance during 2010-2013 period with an annual increase only in 2014.

Table 5.3. People visiting Matadero Madrid and the Community of Madrid

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
Matadero Madrid	1,092,096	717,171	544,104	412,000	240,000
Community of Madrid	4,436,235*	4,224,986	4,463,531	4,478,060	4,632,253

Source: Institute for Tourist Studies (I.T.S.). Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism *preliminary data

Table 5.4. Annual variation of People visiting Matadero Madrid and the Community of Madrid

District	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
Matadero Madrid	52%	32%	32%	72%	n.c.*
Community of Madrid	5%	-5%	0%	-3%	-4%

*n.c. not calculable.

Source: Institute for Tourist Studies (I.T.S.). Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism

The Project was successfully carried out with the evidence of project contribution to increase the diffusion of cultural services of Matadero Madrid. In 2014, the Spanish Observatory of Culture appointed the Matadero Madrid as the fifth most valuable cultural institution in the country, only behind Reina Sofia Museum, Prado Museum, Thyssen Bornemisza Museum and the Festival of San Sebastián; all well established Spanish cultural sites (see the table 6.4). The Observatory of Culture carries out a biannual Consultation with a panel of experts consisting of top professionals in Spanish culture: writers, artists, directors and actors, musicians, architects, responsible for foundations, curators, centers and cultural institutions; editors, producers, promoters, gallery owners and managers of cultural industries in order to identify the most valuable cultural institution of the country. From 2009 to 2014, Matadero Madrid's quotations about the most valuable cultural institutions shifted from 2.1% to 14.2%.

Table 5.5. Spain. Breakdown of the ten most valuable cultural institutions in the country. Percentage of quotations made by interviewed people in a sample of experts

District	% of quotations made in 2014	% of quotations made in 2009	% 2014/2009 variation
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia Madrid	29.1	25.0	16
Museo Nacional del Prado	28.4	19.3	47
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza	16.2	11.4	42
Festival de San Sebastián	14.9	7.9	89
Matadero Madrid	14.2	2.1	562
Teatro Real. Madrid	13.5	6.4	110
CaixForum.	11.5	5.7	101
Museo Guggenheim.Bilbao	11.5	5.7	101
ARCO.Madrid	10.8	2.9	278

Fundaci3n Mapfre	9.5	2.1	341
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Source: Spanish Observatory of Culture

3. **Historical and Urban heritage of the City of Madrid.** The Project succeeded in improving the public infrastructure networks and equipment preserving and ameliorating the urban environment, space, views and cityscapes. The environmental space links up the city's main parks and opens up access for those living in the inner city while providing access from outlying areas to the centre. Environmentally speaking, to create the new park, 33,623 new trees (47 species) were planted, along with 470,844 bushes (38 species), and 210,898 sqm of grassland. The rehabilitation projects allowed the Matadero's surroundings to be strongly enhanced becoming an environmental, sporting, entertainment and cultural space that provides sustainability, areas for relaxation and socialisation, sports facilities and cultural centres, and, above all, quality of life for the citizens of Madrid, a factor that strengthens the city's position in an increasingly globalised economy. All these activities have made Madrid an exemplary green and sustainable city.

6. Sustainability and transferability

6.1 Sustainability

The Project of urban renewal and river restoration seems to be socially very successful regarding its capacity to convey an urban identity and to structure a big area critical to the city. It presents nevertheless some problematic aspects relating to sustainability concerns. It seems that sustainability issues relate not only to environmental improvements or urban scenery but very importantly, in this case, to financial sustainability and economic feasibility of the proposal.

The investment was basically paid by Madrid citizens for a long period of time and will probably limit future projects of the city. In relation to this last point, the decision process for such an investment should have a considerably greater transparency and involvement of the citizens in a global project for their city's future. The project was presented to 6 Territorial Councils with the civic participation of the involved districts, to the Regional Federation of Neighborhood Associations of Madrid and to the Committees of Madrid representing disabled people and representing young people. However, there was not a previous debate concerning the new urban model to choose or the global project for the future. The project involved crucial decisions for the city, in terms of urban space and mobility that perhaps should have been better highlighted to the citizen, taking into consideration the large scale of the investment.

6.2 Trasferability

According to people interviewed contextual conditions that are needed to ensure a similar successful implementation were basically the financial means and the long term commitments of the municipalities. Only wealthy and well-managed municipalities can provide funds necessary to finance project like the *Rehabilitation of Matadero (Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings*, and can ensure its long-term sustainability.

Another important element was to have placed the project as a strategic action within the operational programme of government and as a strategic high priority.

Moreover, there was an integrated approach in the use of funds; the *Rehabilitation of Matadero (Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings* Project was included in a wider infrastructural and urban rehabilitation project, therefore ERDF Funds, Cohesion funds and URBANA funds have to coexist and cooperate during the project development in order to respect the multilateral approach considering cultural heritage, environment and urban integration.

7. Lessons learnt

Conclusions

The underground rerouting of the M-30 aiming at overcoming the big problem of difficult communication links and high level of pollution created by the motorway in six districts of Madrid, led to the emergence of new public space. The rehabilitation of Matadero (old Slaughterhouse) Madrid surroundings project was the perfect illustration of a new urbanization model that, without overlooking the vital role of its inhabitants, who were an active part of any action implemented by the authorities, carried out an innovative buildings urbanization and created flexible space for cultural and leisure activities. The project concept involved different levels: the cultural, the environmental and the urban integration ones.

It contributed to solve a problem of abandoned buildings and public areas belonging to the historical heritage of the city of Madrid and whose recovery had respected the environmental regulations of Madrid City and Community. The new area surrounding Matadero is integrated with the river edge, the Fruit Market and the Arganzuela Park forming a large park: "the Manzanares Park".

One of the key elements of success was the fact that the whole project was placed as a strategic action within the operational programme of the regional government and as strategic high priority for the Community of Madrid. The Project has a core commitment, embodied in a model of public and private institutional cooperation which promotes participation of society in the project and guarantees its plurality, independence and sustainability. Each partner is responsible for one specific area; each space has its architectural project itself, equipment and means to develop. Synergies among the parts and the formal and spatial continuity between the various sections of the project are achieved by giving uniform criteria to implement aesthetic solutions and constructive solutions.

The role of ERDF was quite limited compared to the whole project (12.5 EUR million on the total amount of 95 EUR million). This is due to the the ROP strategy adopted by Community of Madrid to distribute funds to all municipalities based on population and without a competitive selection process of the projects. In the case of Matadero, this resulted in a small contribution to a big projects with significant impact.

Within the weaknesses, bureaucratic obstacles linked to the reuse of savings were reported. Little coordination between regional and local governments in deciding how to manage the reuse of the achieved savings resulted in lower investments or even unabsorbed funds.

However, these obstacles created only some delay but did not prevent the overall Project realization.

Lessons learnt

Key factors behind positive elements:

- Place the project as a strategic action both within the operational programme of government and as a strategic high priority for the Municipality of Madrid. This element has allowed the Municipality of Madrid to have better planning that led to effective results.
- Interdisciplinary approach: both planning and implementation required the integration and coordination of different municipal functions and services with the adoption of a territorial-based approach to public investment management.
- Great participation of citizens during the planning&design activities; pressure of the residents of the area, who had long time asking green areas, sporting areas and leisure equipments and easy communication with central districts.
- Multidisciplinary concept focused on considering all forms of artistic expression in Matadero Madrid, e.g. performing arts, cinema, music, design, architecture, urban and landscape planning.
- Commitment to Madrid historical heritage preservation: the main line of intervention centred on reversibility, meaning the space and the buildings could easily be reconverted into their original states.

Key factors behind negative elements:

- Even if not hindering the project success, better institutional quality could have been achieved if lower rigidity on the management of the savings was applied. Due to the administrative restrictions, it has been very complicated or even impossible to re use the savings obtained in the bidding processes.
- A further question around the project is its classification as "conservation and restoration of cultural heritage". While it clearly concerns the environment around Matadero, the intervention is rather an urban development, ancillary to the cultural centre that contributes to the attractiveness of the neighbourhood.
- The Regional Programme strategy adopted by Community of Madrid to distribute its limited funds to all municipalities (based on population) without a competitive selection process of the projects. This led to a fragmentation of the financial resources.

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