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**Wynn, Martin G ORCID logoORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7619-6079> (1979) Peripheral growth of Barcelona in the Franco era. *Iberian Studies*, 8 (1). pp. 13-28.**

EPrint URI: <https://eprints.glos.ac.uk/id/eprint/5509>

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**PERIPHERAL URBAN  
GROWTH IN BARCELONA  
IN THE FRANCO ERA**

**MARTIN G. WYNN**

*Because of its socio-economic structure and the diversity of its zones, Barcelona occupies an intermediate place between the great cities of the fully industrialised countries ... and the cities of the underdeveloped world, with which it shares the demographic and economic pressures of the rural areas and the struggle of the labour market to absorb them ...*

Pierre George 1964 (1)

*The production of urban space is the result of the practices of certain agencies working within the framework of the capitalist system, using the legal mechanisms at their disposal, or acting outside these mechanisms and later obtaining the corresponding legal sanction.*

Horacio Capel 1974 (2)

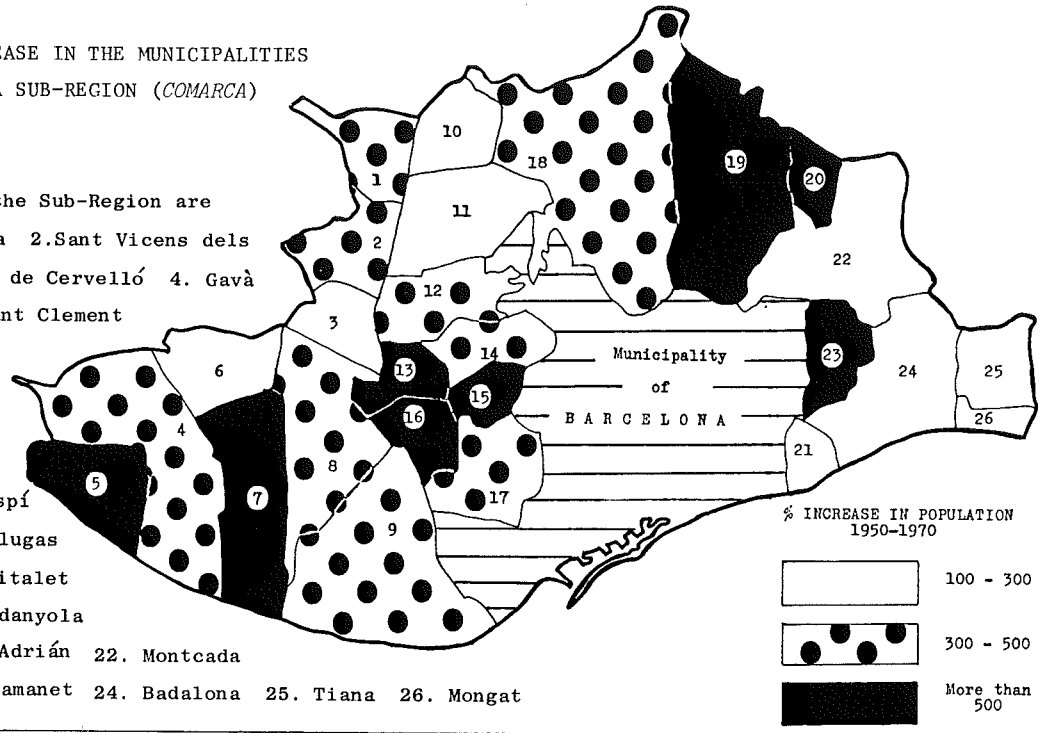
*Introduction*

The large-scale migration of population from country to city and the resultant population 'boom' in the major urban areas were important features of demographic growth in Spain in the Franco era. As a result, the urban fabric of the country's major cities was subjected to unprecedented pressures as the demand for housing and suitable land for new industries intensified and the built-up area of the major cities expanded outwards. This article examines the characteristics of this outward expansion - or peripheral urban growth - in Barcelona, where the population of the Sub-Region (excluding the Barcelona Municipality itself) quadrupled in the period 1940-1970 (see Table 1 and Figure 1). At the same time, the article attempts to account for the failure of the planning authorities to exert any effective control on urban growth in the Sub-Region throughout this period.

In 1860 the *Plan Cerdá* (Figure 2) - named after its author, Ildefonso Cerdá - was approved by the central state authorities as the development plan for the expansion of Barcelona beyond its medieval walls. The Plan itself was based on an

Fig.1 POPULATION INCREASE IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE BARCELONA SUB-REGION (COMARCA) 1960-70

The municipalities of the Sub-Region are  
 Barcelona and 1.Pallejà 2.Sant Vicens dels Horts 3. Santa Coloma de Cervelló 4. Gavà 5. Castelldefels 6. Sant Clement 7. Viladecans 8. San Baudilio 9. Prat 10. El Papiol 11. Molins 12. San Feliu 13. San Juan Despí 14. San Justo 15. Esplugas 16. Cornellá 17. Hospitalet 18. San Cugat 19. Sardanyola 20. Ripollet 21. San Adrián 22. Montcada 23. Santa Coloma de Gramanet 24. Badalona 25. Tiana 26. Mongat



idealised model, in which communal service elements - markets, green areas, social centres, etc. - were evenly distributed throughout the new city or *Ensanche*, which was largely composed (in the Plan) of octagonally-shaped blocks or *manzanas*. Only two sides of each *manzana* were to be built up, leaving large open spaces in the interior areas. By 1940, however, although Cerdá's road system remained by and large intact, most of the communal service areas were reduced in size and number or were missing altogether from the *Ensanche*, which by then consisted of *manzanas* which as a rule had been built up on all four sides and within (Figure 3). Although the *Plan Cerdá* remained the official development plan for Barcelona, the city itself bore little resemblance to the egalitarian city envisaged by Cerdá 80 years before.

TABLE 1 POPULATION INCREASE IN THE BARCELONA SUB-REGION (COMARCA) 1940-70

	Municipality of Barcelona	Rest of Sub-Region	Total Sub-Region
1940	1,081,175	217,518	1,298,693
1950	1,280,179	265,119	1,545,298
1960	1,557,863	449,085	2,006,948
1970	1,745,142	986,742	2,731,884

Source: *Censo de la Población de España, Decenal.*

*The immediate post-war years*

In the '40s the central authorities embarked on a national redevelopment programme in which Barcelona was by and large ignored. Whilst Madrid and other 'Nationalist' cities, largely in the centre and south of the country, were rebuilt, state investment in Barcelona aimed only at the maintenance of established industrial plants and a weak but steady growth in services. Little attention was paid to the housing shortage, probably the most urgent urban problem in Barcelona at the time. At the end of the war there was a housing shortage of approximately 20,000 dwellings (3) in the Barcelona Municipality. With the arrival of over 100,000 immigrants during the decade 1940-50, this number had increased to 80,000 (4) by 1950. Only 15,000 new dwellings were built in this period in Barcelona and many of these were for the middle and upper-middle

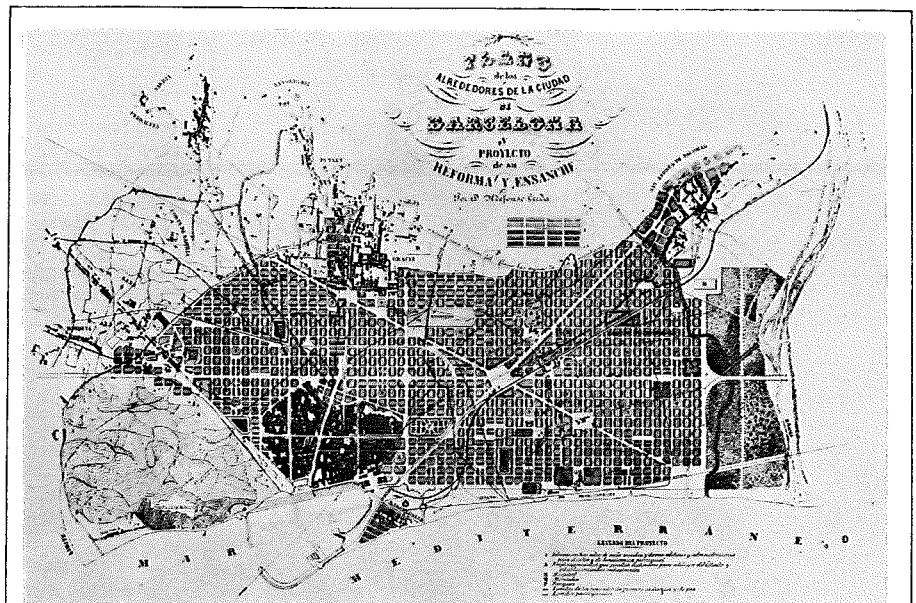


Fig.2 THE PLAN CERDA 1860

Source: Archivo Histórico Municipal de Barcelona



Aerial photograph of Barcelona taken 1 July 1957  
 Source: Servicio Geográfico del Ejército

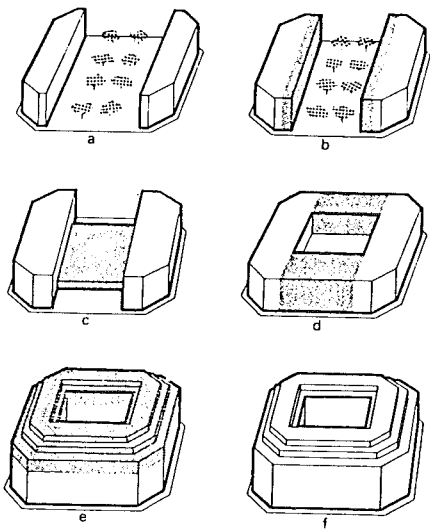


FIG. 3 THE INFILLING OF CERDA'S MANZANA

In the *Plan Cerdá* the typical *manzana* was built up on only two sides (a). Building depth increased in the early years of the growth of the *Ensanche* (b) and infilling within and along the other two sides of the *manzana* quickly followed, (c) and (d). The twentieth century has seen the addition of *áticos* and *sobreatícos* (e) so that today's *manzana* (f) has a building density 4-5 times greater than that contained in the *Plan Cerdá*.

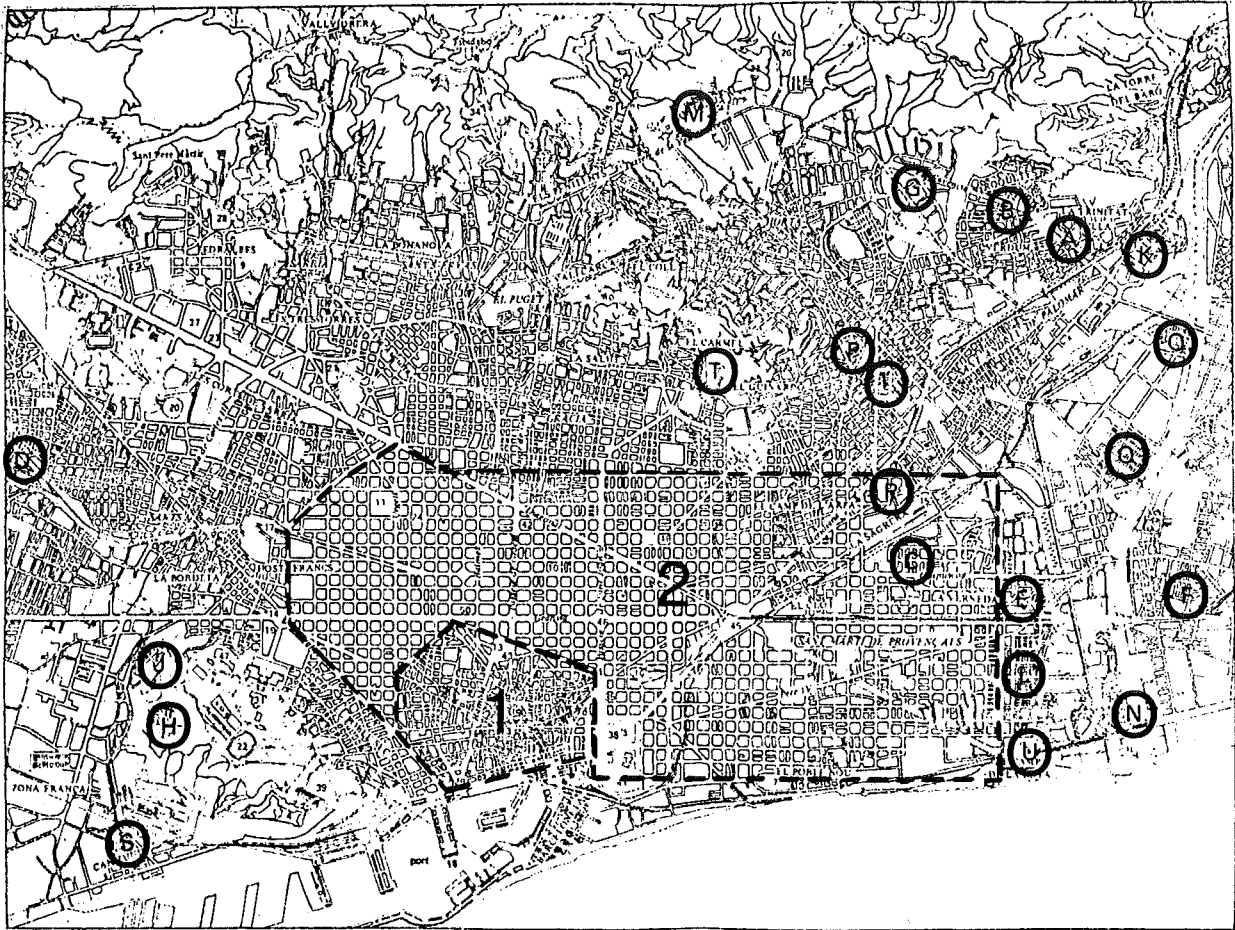


Fig.4 BARCELONA 1970

1. The old city (*Casco Antiguo*) 2. The *Eixample*

Public housing estates built in the period 1952-75 include:

A. Trinidad (Syndical Housing Authority: 1,154 dwellings). B. Verdun (Civil Governor: 400; SHA: 1,464; Municipal Housing Authority: 891). C. J.A:Parera (SHA: 1,637). D. Onésimo Redondo, Hospitalet (SHA: 816). E. La Paz (SHA: 2,499). F. San Roque, Badalona (SHA: 3,395). G: Guineueta (SHA: 1,517). H. Can Clos (Municipal Housing Foundation: 313). I. Can Ros (Eucharistic Congress). J. Polvorín (MHF: 443). K. Trinidad Nueva (MHF: 1,055). L. S.O. Besós (MHF: 4,843). M. Montbau (MHF: 1,929). N. La Mina (MHF: 2,446). O. Milans de Bosch (1,200). P. Torre Lloveta (MHF: 769). Q. Barón de Viver (MHF: 769; Greater Barcelona Planning Commission: 485)

The major shanty (*barraca*) areas existing in 1972 included: R. La Perona (900 dwellings). S. Can Tunis (588, now cleared). T. Francesc Alegre (306). U. Campo de la Bota (692, now partly cleared). V. Ladera de Montjuich (300).

classes. By the end of the '40s, an estimated 26,000 people (5) were living in shanty towns on the hill areas of Montjuich and the Tres Turons and in the empty spaces in and on the borders of the *Eixample* (Figure 4). By 1954 the figure had doubled.

Public concern grew, not only because of the shanty towns, but also on account of the mixed zones of industry and housing in the *Eixample*, the lack of services and green areas, and the sub-letting and the co-habiting made necessary by the housing shortage.

The national government was faced with a crisis. Madrid and Barcelona exhibited the urban characteristics of the classic socio-economic structure whereby the large cities struggle to absorb, in terms of housing and jobs, the flow of immigrants from the rural areas (largely from the south and north-west of Spain). From the mid-'50s onwards, a series of National Housing Policies and Programmes were introduced which were to form an important element in the peripheral growth of Barcelona for the next two decades.



Fig.5 Verdun, a residential estate built by the Syndical Housing Authority in 1954 in the northern suburbs of Barcelona (see Fig.4)

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

### *The first residential estates*

The first housing estates (*polígonos*) to be built in the Barcelona periphery pre-dated the national housing legislation of the mid-'50s. In 1952 the Municipal Housing Foundation, the Eucharistic Congress and the Civil Governor of the Province built small estates at Can Clos, Can Ros and Verdun respectively (Figure 4), consisting initially of several hundred dwellings each. In 1954 the Law of Limited Rent Housing (6) was passed, through which state subsidies and fiscal benefits were made available to the promoters - private or public - of dwellings of certain specifications with maximum rent limits. The Syndical Housing Plan of 1955 and the National Plan of Subsidized Housing of 1957 introduced housing programmes based on the subsidy system initiated by the '54 Act. In Barcelona, the Syndical Housing Authority (*Obra Sindical del Hogar*) built residential estates at Verdun and Trinidad (Figures 4 and 5) in the northern suburbs of the city in 1954, the first of many such estates built by them in Barcelona in the '50s and '60s. These early estates tended to consist of dwellings of very small dimensions (45 - 70 m<sup>2</sup> per dwelling) in 2 - 4 storey blocks, poorly communicated with the city and generally lacking in communal service buildings.

Between 1953 and 1958, 40,000 new dwellings were built in the Municipality of Barcelona, 25 per cent of them by public agencies, with the result that by the end of the decade most of the *Ensanche* had been infilled. The flow of immigrants into the city, however, continued unabated, 50,000 arriving in the years 1953-58 alone. It was in these years that many new industries were located beyond the built-up area, particularly in Hospitalet and along the road to Castelldefels to the south-west, and in Badalona, along the Mataró road to the north-east, where the problems of congestion were much reduced and land prices were cheaper than in areas nearer the city. Around these industries shanty towns sprang up, only to be replaced or complemented by residential estates in the '60s and '70s as the periphery expanded out beyond the *Ensanche* across the outlying areas of the Barcelona Municipality and into the adjacent settlements.

### *Massive construction and peripheral sprawl in the 1960s*

In 1960 the housing shortage in the Municipality of Barcelona was estimated at 100,000

(7) and the construction of housing estates continued to be of major importance in determining the form and speed of peripheral growth. There were, however, significant differences between housing estates built in the '50s and those built in the '60s. First, the latter were bigger: all estates built by the public sector after 1960 within the Municipality of Barcelona consisted of more than 1,500 dwellings. Second, although in absolute terms the number of publicly-promoted dwellings remained more or less steady from 1955 onwards (Table 2), private initiative played an increasingly important role, particularly after 1963 when a new Law of State Subsidized Housing (8) introduced further financial incentives for housing developers. This Law complemented the National Housing Plan of 1961, which contained a series of 4-year programmes aimed at constructing 3.7 million dwellings in all Spain between 1961 and 1976 (the figure was passed in 1974).

In Barcelona, 170,000 dwellings were constructed in the Municipality in the period 1960-70 - one third of all dwellings existing in the area at the latter date. Whilst new dwellings for the upper and middle classes were generally located in the central and north-western areas (especially the 'West Residential' Area - see Figure 6 and Table 3), the cheaper, poorer-quality estates were constructed in the northern and eastern suburbs and to the south in the Zona Franca (Areas 2, 6, 10 and 8 in Figure 6 and Table 3), and it was in these latter areas that most of the publicly-promoted estates were built in the '60s (Figure 4).

Outside Barcelona, the private (state-subsidized) sector built massive tower block estates at San Ildefonso (in Cornellá) and Bellvitge (in Hospitalet - Figure 7) which, along with Ciudad Meridiana (in the northern extremity of the Barcelona Municipality) alone contained 12,000 dwellings. Public authorities, especially the Syndical Housing Authority, also constructed in the adjacent municipalities. Their operations in the '60s included 3 'Neighbourhood Absorption Units' (*Unidades Vecinales de Absorción*) of 1,500-2,500 dwellings each, constructed in the municipalities of Prat (San Cosme), San Baudilio (Cinco Rosas) and Badalona (Pomar) and built specifically for people from cleared shanty towns. The quality of these houses was so poor that 10 years later one of these estates (San Cosme) is to be demolished and rebuilt. The shanty towns (*barracas, chabolas, coreas*), however, did not disappear. Some were cleared, notably from

TABLE 2 PUBLICLY PROMOTED DWELLINGS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF BARCELONA 1950-1969

YEAR	DWELLINGS BUILT BY 'PUBLIC' PROMOTION	FLOOR SPACE BUILT (M <sup>2</sup> )	AVERAGE FLOOR SPACE PER DWELLING (M <sup>2</sup> )	SIZE OF PROMOTION
1950-4	3,667	207,634	56.62	All less than 1,000 dwellings
1955-9	7,078	513,895	72.60	Between 1,000 and 1,500
1960-64	8,398	587,510	69.96	All above 1,500
1965-69	8,055	578,779	71.85	All above 1,500
TOTAL	27,198	1,887,818	69.4	

Source: Borja *et al* (9)

TABLE 3 POPULATION INCREASE IN THE SUB-AREAS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF BARCELONA 1950-68

SUB-AREA	1950	1960	1968	Density Inhabs/ha. 1968	% of population born outside Province of Barcelona
1 West Residential	82,264 (100)	112,253 (136)	150,465 (182)	124	48.1
2 East Residential	63,389 (100)	181,051 (285)	349,218 (550)	244	61.0
3 Gracia	95,582 (100)	102,442 (107)	114,063 (119)	431	42.5
4 Sants/Pueblo Secol	90,726 (100)	201,979 (105)	214,774 (112)	231	47.7
5 Cerdá's <i>Ensanche</i>	418,362 (100)	444,599 (106)	428,748 (102)	422	49.2
6 Maragall-Sagrera	65,973 (100)	98,303 (149)	125,496 (190)	363	50.9
7 San Andrés/ Buen Pastor	37,692 (100)	59,755 (158)	65,349 (173)	133	51.4
8 Zona Franca	9,545 (100)	17,588 (184)	31,685 (331)	28	50.8
9 Casco Antiguo	225,265 (100)	224,474 (99)	240,539 (106)	794	51.6
10 Pueblo Nuevo	91,381 (100)	115,419 (126)	161,874 (177)	195	53.7
TOTAL	1,280,179 (100)	1,557,863 (121)	1,882,211 (147)	237 (av.)	50.3 (av.)

Note: Percentage increase is in parenthesis.

Source: Tarragó, M. (10)

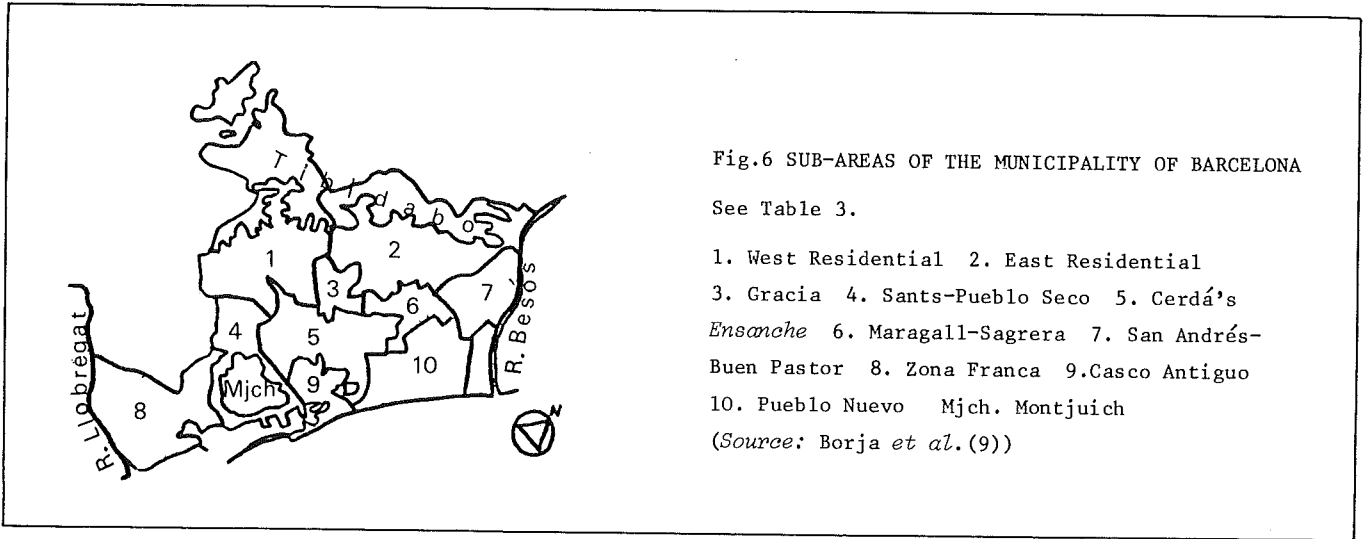


Fig.6 SUB-AREAS OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF BARCELONA

See Table 3.

- 1. West Residential
- 2. East Residential
- 3. Gracia
- 4. Sants-Pueblo Seco
- 5. Cerdá's *Ensanche*
- 6. Maragall-Sagrera
- 7. San Andrés-Buen Pastor
- 8. Zona Franca
- 9. Casco Antiguo
- 10. Pueblo Nuevo

Mjch. Montjuich  
(Source: Borja *et al.* (9))

Montjuich, but over 4,700 remained in the Barcelona Municipality in 1972 (11) on marginal hill land, alongside railway lines and waste land, often in close proximity to industrial plants (Figure 8); and despite the large number of dwellings built, there remained a housing shortage of 85,000 in Barcelona and 117,000 in the entire Sub-Region in 1972 (12).

In the '60s, then, the urban sprawl of the city outwards from the *Ensanche* continued. Inland, Barcelona is backed by the hilly area of Tibidabo, covering over 5,000 hectares. Although this area was colonised by secondary summer/weekend residences in the '60s and '70s, nearly all contravening existing planning regulations, the height and topography of the area have made it unsuitable for an extension of the city beyond the southern foot-hills. The city, its expansion blocked inland, spread laterally along the coast, jumping the Llobregat and Besòs rivers and the Montjuich hill, eventually reaching the industrial areas that had sprung up outside the city from the mid-'50s onwards. In this way these industrial areas came to be part of the continuous sprawl of housing and industry, and now suffer from the problems of congestion that their original siting attempted to avoid.

*The failure of urban planning*

Technically, Barcelona and Spain generally

have kept abreast of developments in planning thought and theory over the past three decades. The balanced polynuclear structure of the 1953 *Plan Comarcal* (Sub-Regional Plan) (Figure 9), and the Land and Urban Planning Act of 1956, which introduced a 4-tier hierarchy of urban plans and a variety of measures aimed at preventing land speculation, could have provided the framework for effective urban planning; but a variety of factors prevented this. There were certain loopholes in the '56 Act, the most serious being the lack of precise regulations concerning the possible modification of approved Municipal and Sub-Regional Plans by Local Plans. Corruption in the Councils and collusion with private economic interests meant that this vehicle for reclassifying land (the Local Plans) could be exploited to the full by land speculators. Areas zoned for sanitary and recreational uses, etc., could be reclassified and used for house construction or industrial development. With Councillors elected by very limited suffrage, and most local authorities (including the *Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona* - the *Comarcal* Planning Authority) lacking the necessary financial capacity to tackle the often desperate situation in the suburbs, private initiative, often taking advantage of state subsidies, was given a free hand and little effort was made to curb illegal developments. State investment aimed largely to stop the gaps that private initiative could not be persuaded to fill;



Fig.7 Bellvitge ('Beautiful village'), a privately-promoted residential estate built in the mid-'60s in Hospitalet, alongside the Barcelona-Castelldefels motorway. It was originally planned by the Greater Barcelona Planning Commission (*Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona*) in the late 1950s.

(Photo: M:G: Wynn)





Fig.8 Campo de la Bota in 1976, a shanty town on the coast near the mouth of the River Besós (see Fig.4)

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

and the state authorities were often the worst offenders in the contravention of planning regulations. In Verdun and Trinidad (Figure 4) the residential estates built by the Syndical Housing Authority in 1954 had building densities 3.7 and 3.9 times higher respectively than those laid down in the Sub-Regional Plan passed the previous year. In the 1960s construction of the three Neighbourhood Absorption Units mentioned above was carried out without the approval of Local Plans, which was clearly required by the Land and Urban Planning Act of 1956, given the relatively high population densities that were introduced. It must be said,

however, that the *Plan Comarcal* was drawn up at a time when the population boom of the '50s and '60s was not envisaged and in some ways the Plan undoubtedly needed modification to deal effectively with the subsequent growth of the city. But the fact that contraventions of planning regulations and irregularities in the planning process were so common in these years reveals the irrelevance of a sophisticated theoretical plan-making and development-control apparatus, when Local Authorities are non-representative and lack the financial capacity (see, for example, Table 4) and human resources to realize their approved

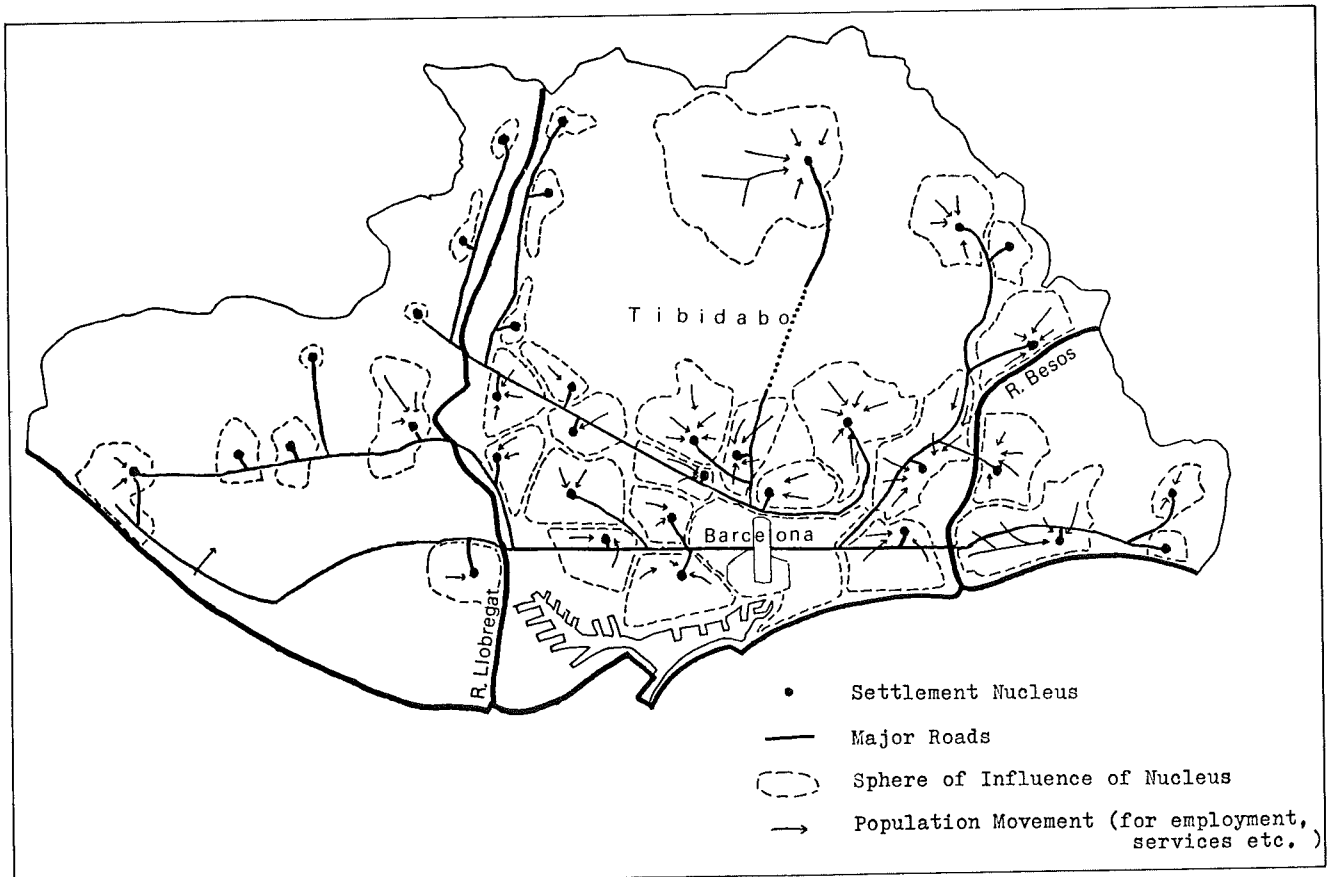


Fig.9 The *Plan Comarcal* (Sub-Regional Plan) of 1953. The Plan gave land-zone classifications to the entire Sub-Region of 27 municipalities, based on the proposed polynuclear development of the area. Source: Archivo Histórico Municipal de Barcelona



Fig.10 Part of Hospitalet, to the south-west of Barcelona, where the population has increased from 51,000 in 1940 to 284,000 in 1975. The photograph reveals the typically haphazard nature of peripheral urban growth in the 1960s and 1970s. The major priority for many local authorities was to build as many dwellings as possible, often at the expense of adequate services and infra-structures

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

adjacent municipalities (Figure 10).

#### *The use and abuse of local plans*

A closer examination of the Local Plans that have affected the periphery of the Barcelona Municipality and those adjoining municipalities that collectively form the Barcelona conurbation (Cornellá, Esplugas, Santa Coloma de Gramanet and Badalona) provides further insights into the mechanics of peripheral sprawl.

In 1974 there were 41 approved Local Plans in the Barcelona Municipality (Figure 11), nearly all of them affecting the peripheral areas. These may be classified into 3 main types (Table 5):

(1) Plans of Extension - Local Plans that had the principal objective of urbanizing large areas that were more or less undeveloped and classified for development in the '53 *Plan Comarcal*. This type of Local Plan is in line with the stated objectives of the *Plan Comarcal* - the 'urban reserves' were to be developed to provide new housing along with accompanying services and infrastructure.

(2) Plans of Legalization - Local Plans that introduced different land-zone classifications that by and large only legalized existing situations, e.g., housing development on land classified as 'urban park' in the '53 Plan.

(3) Plans of Reform - Local Plans that introduced different land-zone classifications leading to the subsequent development of the affected areas along markedly different lines to those suggested by the original *Plan Comarcal* land-zone classifications. It was largely through this type of Local Plan that the content of the *Plan Comarcal* was changed by private promoters who, within the framework of the 1956 Land and Urban Planning Act, could not only draw up their own plans but, as affected landowners, could also play a decisive part in the modification of Local Plans proposed by Local Authorities. This is nicely illustrated by the *Tres Turons* Local Plan (No. 38 on Figure 11 and Table 5), which has been studied in considerable detail by Tarragó (15).

The *Tres Turons* consist of three hills - Coll, Carmelo and Pelada - in the upper part of the city. Historically, they form an area of

TABLE 4 INVESTMENT IN THE BARCELONA COMARCA 1968

	Percentages of total investment
Council of Barcelona	6.7
The other Municipal Councils in the <i>Comarca</i>	1.0
<i>Diputació Provincial</i>	0.6
<i>Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona</i>	0.4
Autonomous Municipal Bodies	0.3
<b>Total Local Administration</b>	<b>9.0</b>
Government Ministries	5.6
Autonomous State Bodies	3.4
<b>Total Central Administration</b>	<b>8.0</b>
<b>TOTAL PUBLIC SECTOR</b>	<b>17.0%</b>
Industry	27.6
Rest of Private Sector	55.3
<b>TOTAL PRIVATE SECTOR</b>	<b>83%</b>

Source: *Círculo de Economía* (13)

Development Plans and so have to rely on piecemeal, non-coordinated private and central state investment that makes a mockery of these plans. The result in Barcelona has been a disjointed, anarchical surge of the city outwards from the *Ensanche*, enveloping the

*Iberian Studies* Vol.VIII, No.1 (Spring 1979)

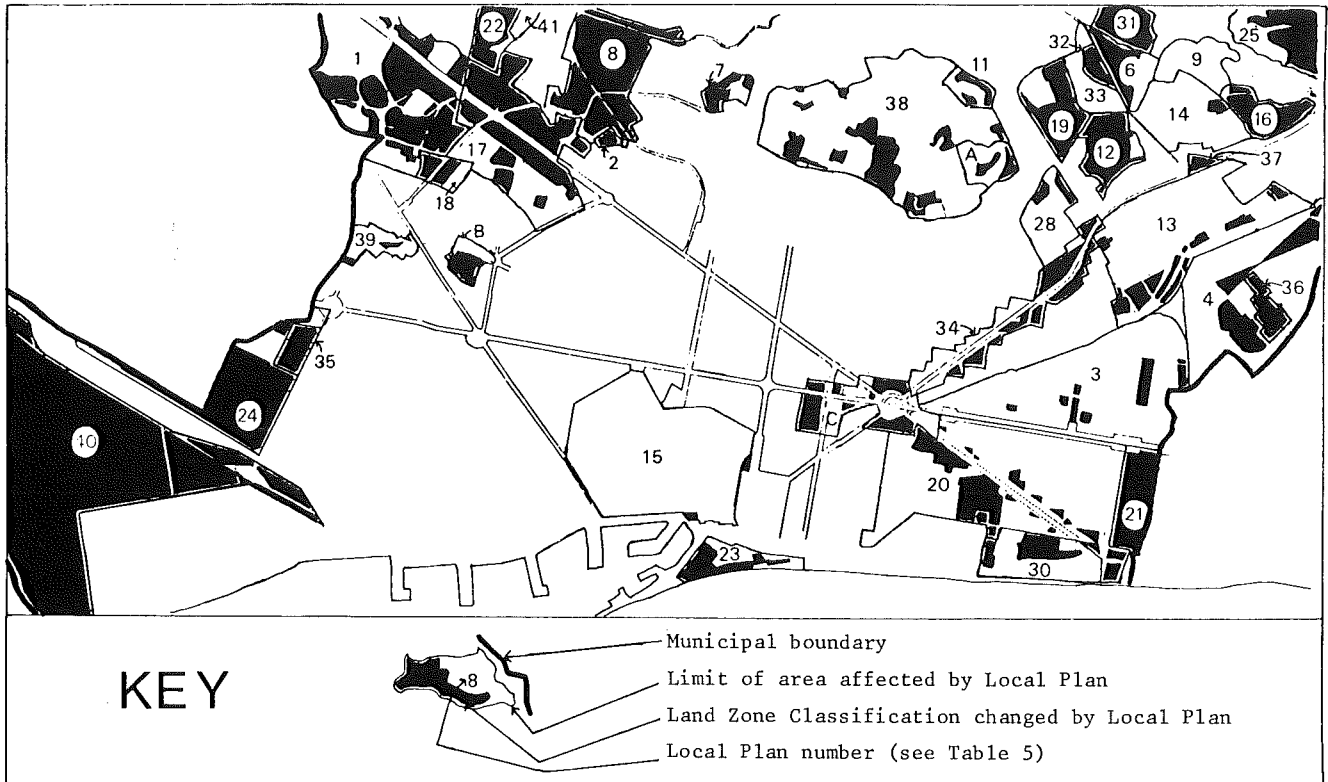


Fig.11 Local Plans in the municipality of Barcelona 1953-1971. This figure shows three other Local Plans not included in Table 5: A. Monte Pelada. B. España Industrial. C. Las Glorias

low-level, low-density building. In the *Plan Comarcal* the Tres Turons were classified as 'urban park', and at the time there were two small serviceable parks - Güell and Guinardo - within the classified area (Figure 12). The '53 classification presupposed the municipal acquisition and clearance of the area outside the existing parks, which were to be extended to form one large park area covering the three hills. Throughout the '50s and '60s, however, the Tres Turons became an area of rapid shanty development. In 1967 the Barcelona Council passed the *Tres Turons* Local Plan, which added small areas to the delimited 'urban park' and took away others, so legalising small areas of development that existed within the '53 delimited area. More important, however, the Local Plan contained an arrangement whereby provision was made for the municipal acquisition of part of the Pelada hill through the 'voluntary cession of individuals', whereby landowners were permitted to build on 6 per cent of their property and the Council gained possession of the rest. As a result, 7-11 storey residential blocks were built on the south-facing slopes of the Tres Turons in what was technically 'urban park'. The 1976 *Plan General Metropolitano* (revision of the *Plan Comarcal*) gave the area more realistic land-zone classifications, but the area nevertheless remains a microcosm of the struggle between conflicting interests in the peripheral green zones of the city. Whilst the new Pelada park was opened in 1978, 15,000 people remain housed within the original limits of the 'urban park' of 1953, in housing varying from high-rise flats to shanty towns.

Many other Local Plans have been studied in considerable detail, e.g., Olivé (16), Martí and Morena (17), Solá-Morales *et al.* (18)). Olivé, for example, has shown how a series of Local Plans

introduced high residential densities in Santa Coloma de Gramanet (Figure 1), to the detriment of the urban make-up of the area and to the vast profit of the private promoters of the Plans. This type of process was typical of urban growth in the adjoining municipalities in the '60s, above all, perhaps, in Santa Coloma to the east and in Hospitalet (Figure 10) to the west of Barcelona itself. Figure 13 shows how Local Plans passed in the *Comarca* as a whole between 1960 and 1970 increased residential and industrial land-zone classifications at the expense of green-zone classifications. These figures, however, conceal more subtle quantitative and qualitative changes. Many of the areas with residential classifications in the *Plan Comarcal* were subsequently reclassified in Local Plans for other residential land uses permitting higher building densities (20 per cent of the 'city-garden' classifications in the '53 plan were changed in this way); 60 per cent of the losses in 'collective service areas' were due to changes to industrial classifications, with correspondingly dramatic changes in urban landscape and environment. In summary, then, some Local Plans were undoubtedly used to realize the legitimate objective, within the framework of the '53 *Plan Comarcal* of opening up and urbanising new parts of the city; but the majority of Local Plans were used to reclassify and revalue areas that were otherwise not sufficiently profit-producing for private initiative.

#### *Planning and decentralisation*

As the price of land in the city centre rose in the '60s, so tower-block office and commercial development spread into the residential areas of

TABLE 5 - CLASSIFICATION OF LOCAL PLANS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF BARCELONA 1953-71

		TYPE OF LOCAL PLAN		
		EXTENSION	LEGALIZATION	REFORM
1	Sector Final Diagonal			X
2	Reina Victoria			X
3	Levante Norte	X		
4	Santa Coloma	X		
5	San Genís des Agudells			X
6	La Guineueta	X		
7	Turo del Putxet			O
8	Bonanova			X
9	Les Roquetes		O	
10	Montbau	X		X
11	Paseo Maragall/Dante			X
12	Barriada de Porta			O
13	Sant Andreu (Casco)		X	
14	Prosperidad y Verdun		X	
15	Casco Antiguo		X	
16	Nueva Trinidad			X
17	Zona Norte Diagonal y Las Corts			O
18	Sol de Baix			X
19	Turo de la Peira			O
20	Levante-Sur	X		
21	Sudoeste del Besós	S		X
22	Pedralbés			O
23	Barceloneta		X	
24	Gran Via Sur			X
25	Torre Baro		X	
26	Font Magues	O		O
27	Can Figuerola y Patronato Ribas			O
28	Viviendas del Congreso	X		
29	Collcerola y Vall Par			O
30	Sector Este del Pueblo Nuevo		X	
31	Polígono Canellas			X
32	Casa Enseña (first phase)			O
33	Casa Enseña (second phase)			O
34	Meridiana (first section)			X
35	Paseo Zona Franca/C. Energía			O
36	Viviendas Milans de Bosch		X	
37	R.E.N.F.E.			O
38	Tres Turons		X	X
39	Travesía Industrial de Barc		X	
40	Polígono de Zona Franca	X		
41	Trinquete			X

Key: X = PUBLIC PROMOTION

O = PRIVATE PROMOTION

Source: Teixidor *et al* (14)

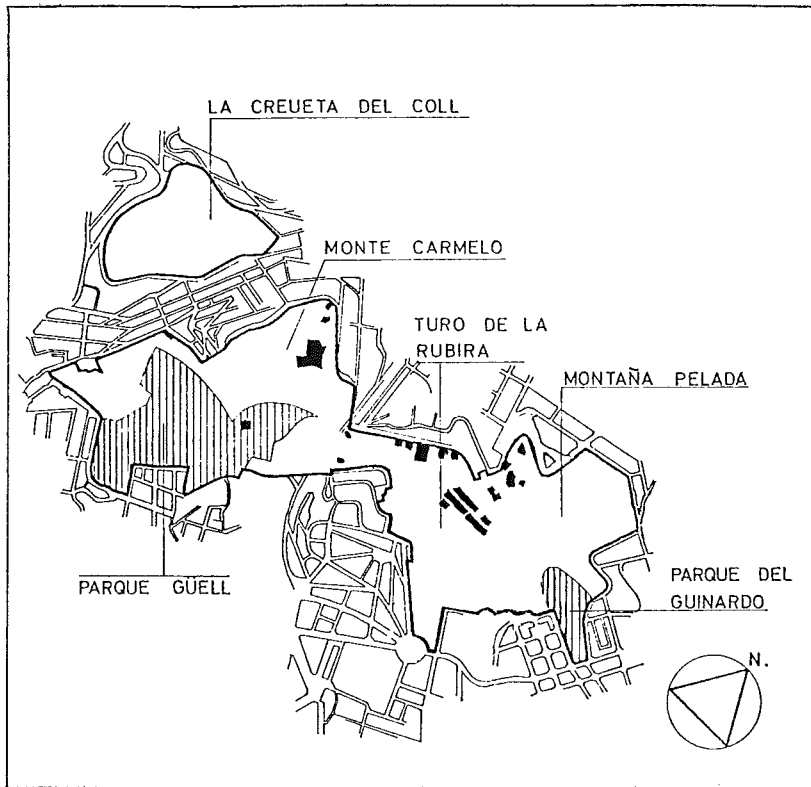


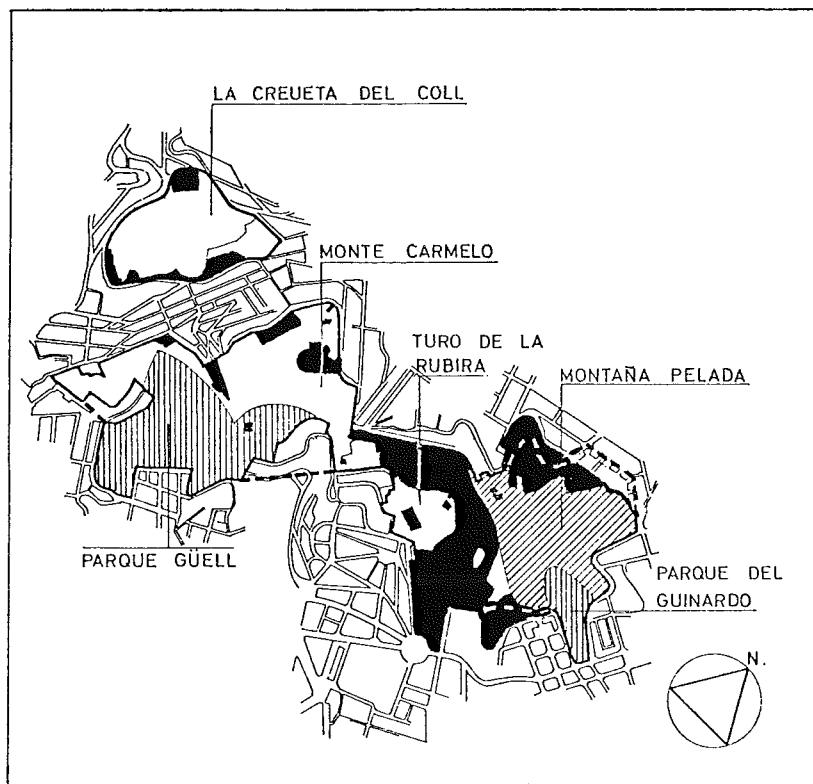







Fig.12 The Tres Turons in 1953 (above) and 1971 (below)  
Based on Tarragó (15)

-  1953 Limit of Urban Park
-  Serviceable Park Area
-  Illegally Occupied Area

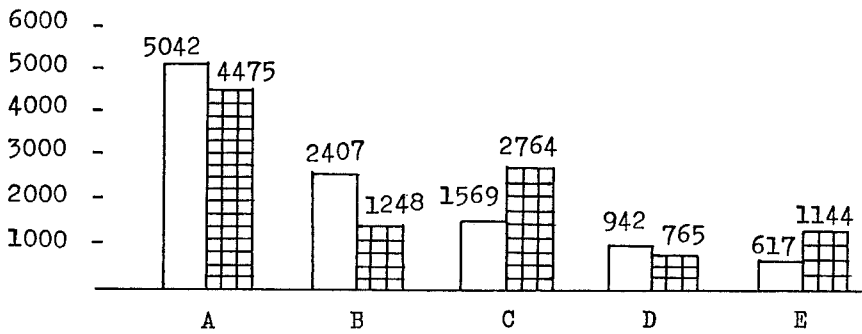


-  1971 Limit of Urban Park
-  1953 Limit of Urban Park
-  Serviceable Park Area
-  Area Acquired by Council
-  Illegally Occupied Area

the bourgeoisie in the central *Ensanche*, with the result that many of the well-to-do moved out to Pedralbés, Bonanova and Muntaner in 'Upper Barcelona' ('West Residential' on Figure 6). This trend was encouraged by the investment policy of the Barcelona Council in the '60s and early '70s, based on the grandiose schemes of Mayor Porcioles (Mayor of Barcelona 1957-73) to turn the city centre into the commercial and financial focus for an enlarged Catalan city region. The longer-term objectives of these policies were outlined in the *Barcelona 2000*

Plan of 1970, which included an express motorway system linking the Barcelona centre with all parts of Catalonia and renovation schemes for much of the *Ensanche*. In the '60s and '70s, then, the Barcelona Council invested largely in road infrastructure and basic services (gas, water, electricity) in an attempt to lay the foundations for the *Barcelona 2000* Plan. At the same time, attempts were made to clear the municipality of shanty developments and to resettle the shanty dwellers in the new housing estates in the

PLANNED  
AREA  
(Has.)



A - Housing    B - Industry    C - Green Zones  
D - Major Communications Infrastructure  
E - Collective Service Installations.

Land Use  
Classification  
in Local Plans



Land Use Classif-  
ication in 1953  
Plan Comarcal

Fig.13 Changes in land-use classifications resulting from Local Plans passed in the *comarca* of Barcelona 1960-1970

Source: Madariaga (19)

adjoining municipalities.

Between 1963 and 1965, however, the Sub-Regional Planning Authority drew up the *Plan Director* for the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, a new administrative area encompassing 162 municipalities and approximately half the Province. Its major objective was to decentralize the Barcelona conurbation through the stimulation of inland growth centres and the creation of three new towns to accommodate overspill population from the Barcelona centre. It was in many ways contradictory to the *Barcelona 2000* Plan in that it was based on a decentralization of all activities, including the tertiary and quaternary sectors (i.e., commercial, financial, administrative and transport services), whereas the *Barcelona 2000* Plan had as its major objective the attraction of the tertiary sector into the city centre. This contradiction only added to the scepticism felt by many, in the late '60s and early '70s, about the ability of plans and the capacity of planners to exert any effective control on the dynamics of urban growth.

In 1970, with the problems of peripheral sprawl in Spain's cities reaching crisis point, the *ACTURS* Law (20) was passed, giving the Ministry of Housing special powers to short-cut planning and expropriation procedure for the construction of 8 new towns in Spain, including the 3 outside Barcelona contained in the *Plan Director*. At the same time, the Syndical Housing Authority constructed its biggest promotion to date (5,000 dwellings), named Can Badia, near Sabadell, 25 kilometres from the city centre, clearly to act as a decentralisation nucleus for overspill population from the Barcelona conurbation.

Can Badia was built (1971-74), but these rather crude, heavy-handed attempts at decentralisation coincided with the upsurge of public awareness of, and opposition to, the mechanics of peripheral growth in the '70s. After long campaigns against the *ACTURS* by the Local Councils and Residents' Associations, it seems likely that the expropriated

areas will now be used more for the provision of collective service installations than for the creation of new settlements in areas that are now more on the edge of the periphery than beyond it.

#### *Public involvement and the present panorama*

Public campaigns against specific planning proposals have become increasingly successful, with the Residents' Associations playing a major part in this success. One of the best documented campaigns (e.g., Solá-Morales *et al.*) (18) was that fought by local residents and tradesmen against the *Plan Ribera*, a Local Plan drawn up by large industrial and financing concerns (and backed by Mayor Porcioles) to clear the old industrial establishments from the coastal strip between the citadel and the River Besós, and to redevelop the area as an exclusive residential complex. After a full-scale publicity campaign against the Plan, undertaken by the Residents' Associations, the *Colegio de Arquitectos*, and elements of the Press, and battles in the law courts on the legality of the Plan, it was eventually dropped in the early '70s. Perhaps the major contribution of the Residents' Associations, however, has been the pressure they have exerted on public and private authorities to improve the housing and general living conditions in the peripheral housing estates. The classic example is in San Cosme (Figure 14) in Prat, where the local Residents' Association's campaign against the Syndical Housing Authority (promoters of the housing estate) has been so successful that the Association's elected architects have worked together with those of the Ministry of Housing in the drawing up of a remodelling scheme (21).

It is not only the Residents' Associations, however, that have campaigned against the urban conditions and chaos of the



Fig.14 Local residents march in San Cosme, February 1978, to protest about delays in the implementation of the remodelling scheme

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

Fig.15 Can Serra, Hospitalet. The high-rise blocks stand in terrain classified as 'urban park' in the 1953 Plan and subsequently reclassified in a privately-promoted Local Plan

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

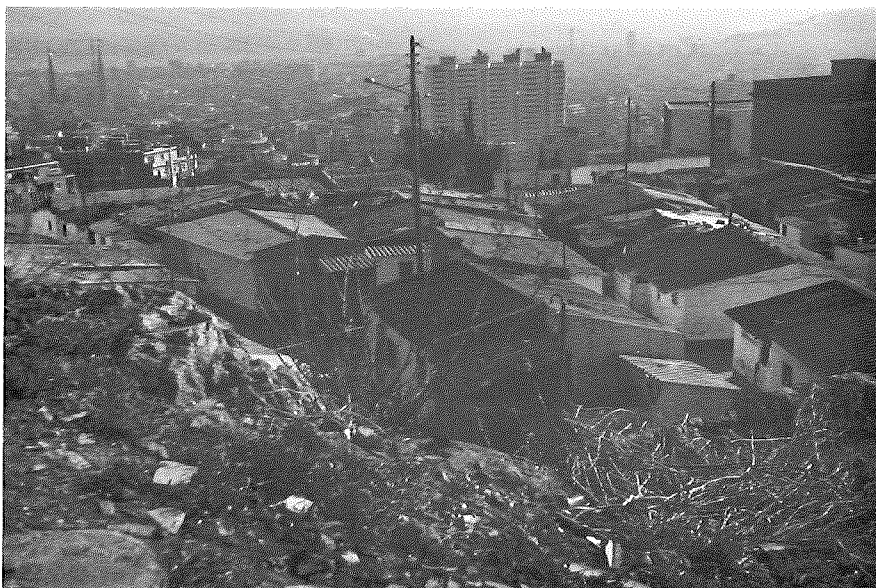


Fig.16 Ram3n Casellas in the Tres Turons

(Photo: M.G. Wynn)

periphery. In 1973 the *Círculo de Economía*, a group of economists, industrialists and academics, outlined in print (22) the criticisms held by the 'neocapitalist' industrialists concerning the mismanagement of the city and drew attention to the problems of congestion, lack of suitable land for industrial expansion, and the repercussions of land speculation on the industrial sector. The municipal authorities themselves have also made increasingly successful attempts to force private developers to adhere to planning procedures and fully to implement approved plans. For example in Bellvitge (Figure 7) and Can Serra (Figure 15), both in the municipality of Hospitalet, the municipal authorities, backed by the *Corporación Metropolitana de Barcelona* (the *Comisión de Urbanismo de Barcelona* in new form) are now forcing private developers to provide the infrastructure and collective services included in the Local Plans for the high-rise estates built in the '60s, when the general procedure was to get the houses built, provide basic services (gas, water and electricity) and leave everything else till later.

At the same time, new efforts are being made to resolve the shanty-town problem with the active participation of affected inhabitants. A series of agreements has been made between the Barcelona Council, the Ministry of Public Works and Urban Affairs and the respective Residents' Associations, whereby the Associations' elected architects work with those of the Ministry in the drawing up of remodelling schemes, with the residents themselves participating directly in the plan-making process. The first of these schemes is now underway in Ramón Casellas in the Tres Turons hill area, where a small area of 80 *barracas* (Figure 16) are to be knocked down and 122 houses built *in situ* (23).

At present, the dynamic of political-administrative change is very relevant to the future of the Barcelona periphery, and urban planning may now become an important factor in the economic-political processes that determine peripheral growth. Perhaps the key issue to be resolved is the conflict between private and public interest; with Catalan autonomy and democratic municipal elections realised, it must be hoped that local and regional authorities will now have the financial capacity and political will and weight effectively to direct and control the growth of the Barcelona periphery through an increased public acquisition of land and fuller participation of the public and their elected bodies in the plan-making and implementation processes. It was the essential lack of these attributes that enabled private developers to dominate the development of the Barcelona periphery in the Franco era.

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