

Housing Newspaper

Exhibition *Inhabiting Barcelona. Challenges, struggles and policies in the 20th century*. MUHBA Oliva Artés, from 30.06.2022

Barcelona 20th cent.

MUHBA Llibrets de sala 38, edició en format especial

A KEY TO BARCELONA'S HISTORY

The MUHBA (Barcelona History Museum) has scheduled a programme of discussions and exhibitions about housing for 2022 and 2023. This crucial issue in Barcelona's history has been one of the work streams of the museum's Centre de Recerca i Debat for some time, and this year it is part of the "Memory of Housing Struggles in Barcelona" programme sponsored by the Councillor's Office

for Democratic Memory at Barcelona City Council.

The "Inhabiting Barcelona. Challenges, struggles and policies in the 20th century" exhibition installation, curated by Amador Ferrer and Carme Trilla, showcases the building policies and patterns of access to housing for most urban dwellers throughout the 20th century. They run from often unaffordable rents in the first third of the century

to an extremely tough post-war period and costly and almost compulsory home ownership in the economic recovery under Franco's undemocratic regime, to end with progress in the democratic period which was nevertheless more effective in transforming public space than in housing issues.

The research which has made it possible to put on the exhibition and produce the materials

going with it will be added to MUHBA Bon Pastor, a neighbourhood and city museum project all about housing in the 'Cheap Houses' which is to be opened in 2023.

The verb inhabit is conjugated at MUHBA Oliva Artés right next to the exhibition "Barcelona & Football" on the verb play about grassroots football as a means for social cohesion in an expanding metropolis.

At MUHBA Plaça del Rei it also talks with the exhibition "Feeding Barcelona" exploring the municipality's role in regulating supplies for the city. Inhabit, eat, play and, very soon, protect, work, move... the museum is driving forward in its research to put on display a substantial urban history which can be shared with the public and is firmly rooted in the city's numerous heritage venues.



Eucharistic Congress flats complex. 1953. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

The "Inhabiting Barcelona. Challenges, struggles and policies in the 20th century" exhibition summarises the stages of a historical cycle which spans the whole of the 20th century. It begins with the mass arrival of migrants in Barcelona when the first subsidised housing also emerged and ends with the 1992 Games and the subsequent crisis of 1997. It is a cycle shaped by the crisis in rented housing and almost unavoidable home ownership

for very broad social strata: the process was unprecedented and so far-reaching that it substantially changed the city and its social life.

In the mid-20th century, deferred home ownership became widespread in Barcelona, mostly financed with long-term mortgages (for thirty or more years). These new properties were in three typical urban locations: they were developments which replaced or densely packed the outlying

neighbourhoods, which until then had consisted of small houses with their own gardens; they were built on public and private housing estates; or they were sometimes self-built in poor neighbourhoods after buying the rights to the plot of land.

The dynamics this process brought to the city drove town planning demands and residents' associations with a growing call for urban improvement in its neighbourhoods. It

was one of the factors which fostered the territorial social cohesion and political organisation of the population, which in turn deepened after 1979 with the advent of municipal democracy.

The exhibition, curated by Amador Ferrer and Carme Trilla, consists of four areas exploring the stages in the process and ends with some thoughts on the problems of housing today based on the experience of the last century.

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BEGINNINGS OF HOUSING POLICY (1900-1936)

Between 1900 and 1930 Barcelona experienced extraordinary migratory growth as its population doubled to over a million people. Private initiative drove the expansion of the enlargement and the former towns which were added to the city. However, housing shortages were rife during this period as were the difficulties the working class had in paying rent, which led to widespread informal housing. It was then that the first housing policy measures were introduced in the city with the Cheap Houses Act and the Municipal Housing Board.

Panoramic view of Sant Andreu with Casa Bloc under construction, 1934.
Margaret Michaelis. AFB





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THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Like other large European cities in the throes of industrialisation, Barcelona's strong demographic growth during the first third of the 20th century overwhelmed its limited accommodation capacity. This overcrowding, coupled with property speculation and the public authorities' failure to come up with solutions, led to a major housing crisis. Many of the people who arrived in the city were forced to live in sublet housing, spend the night in doss houses (what were called 'sleeping houses'), squat in dilapidated buildings or build their own shanties.

1 Labourers working on Gran Via in Barcelona, most likely on the tramway. During this period, many immigrants were employed in building the metro and developing the Eixample district. 1906. Frederic Ballell. AFB

2 Homeless family surrounded by rubbish in a Barcelona street, 1930. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC

3 In the absence of affordable housing, many migrants who arrived in Barcelona in the 1920s had to turn to shantytowns along with subletting and self-building as their only choice. The shanties provided insecure yet more permanent shelter than that offered by the 'sleeping houses'. J. Brangulí, n/d. ANC

4 Homeless woman, 1930. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC

5 Subletting rooms and overcrowded properties met part of the demand coming from the great wave of impoverished migrants in this decade. Inside a house, 1920-1930. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC

6 Interior view of a 'sleeping house' in Barcelona's "Xino neighbourhood", where these doss houses were common in the two decades before the Civil War, between 1930 and 1935. J.M. Sagarra. ANC

7 Inside a wooden shack on Somorrostro beach. Before and after the Civil War Somorrostro was a major shanty settlement and some 15,000 people lived there. 1940s. Francesc Cano private collection



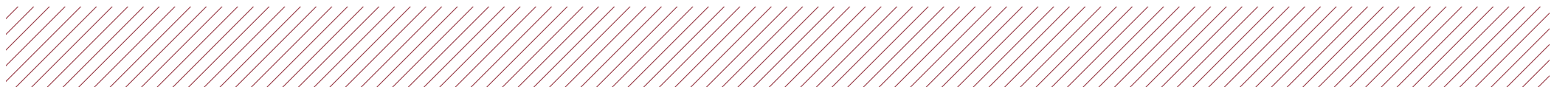
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TENANTS' STRIKE AGAINST EVICTIONS

At the beginning of the century, renting was the main form of housing tenure and accounted for between one-fifth and one-third of wages. Although the Bugallal Decree in 1920 enacted compulsory rent extensions, the situation continued to worsen until it became untenable after the 1929 Exposition. The slump in construction in the city and the world economic crisis drove up unemployment and inflation while tenant evictions rose and homelessness mushroomed. The public's demand for lower rents and a greater supply of cheap housing led to the 1931 rent strike called by the CNT trade union.

1 Eviction of a family. The wave of evictions of low-income families unable to pay their monthly rent led to the rent strike of 1931. 1930s. Agustí Centelles. Centre Documental de la Memòria Històrica

2 Headquarters of the building industry trade union in Mercaders Street. Following the revolutionary events in the 1931 general strike, it was seized by the police. 1931. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC

3 Pere IV, Pujades and Zamora streets in Poblenou with the new blocks of flats and the streets in the Eixample Plan half-built through the fields and textile factories, between 1928 and 1932. Josep Domínguez. AFB

4 Arrest of a trade unionist after a shoot-out at the headquarters of a building industry trade union during the general strike called by the CNT in 1931. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC



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FROM THE CHEAP HOUSES ACT TO THE SALMÓN ACT

Although there was a lively theoretical debate on housing in the 1920s and 1930s, it barely translated into public action. The idea of making public policy was non-existent. Both the Cheap Houses Act of 1911 and the developments by the Municipal Housing Board set up in 1927 took a purely sanitary approach which did little to address the city's new housing needs. It was not until the Second Republic that the Salmón Act, named after the Minister of Labour who sponsored it, was passed in 1935. This act, which was also designed to combat unemployment, offered tax breaks to entrepreneurs for building low-cost rental housing.

1 Block of cheap houses in Comte Güell Street in Sants, designed by architect Juli M. Fossas and built in 1913. It was one of the many schemes by private developers who took advantage of the 1911 and 1921 laws on cheap housing. 1914. Frederic Ballell. AFB

2 Block of cheap houses in Sant Andreu for Barcelona Tramway Company employees. Developments under the cheap housing legislation by state-owned companies, cooperatives, trade unions and building firms together with most of the few terraced houses were built on the outskirts of the city where land was cheap. 1925. Unknown photographer. AFB

3 Street in the Milans del Bosch cheap houses development (during the Second Republic the neighbourhood was called Bonaventura Carles Aribau and is now Bon Pastor). The relationship between the houses and public space enhanced social ties between residents. 1930-1932. Josep Domínguez. AFB

4 Groups of people at the doors of the properties and children playing in the street in the Milans del Bosch cheap houses development, between 1930 and 1932. The neighbourhood was called Bonaventura Carles Aribau during the Second Republic and is now named Bon Pastor. Josep Domínguez. AFB

5 Aerial view of the Milans del Bosch cheap houses development shortly after its construction. The neighbourhood was called Bonaventura Carles Aribau during the Second Republic and is now named Bon Pastor. 1930-1932. Unknown photographer. AFB

6 Houses for journalists in the Salut neighbourhood in Gràcia, built by the Cooperativa de Periodistas para la Construcción de Casas Baratas. The picture shows First Minister Francesc Macià and novelist Joan Puig i Ferrer among attendees at the event. 1932. Josep Domínguez. AFB



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UPPER-CLASS HOUSING AND WORKERS' HOUSING

In lockstep with the construction of the enlargement and the metropolitan neighbourhoods and towns, which began in 1920, and with the general rent freeze policy, a first type of subsidised housing was developed: the "cheap houses". The Municipal Housing Board decided to build four small groups of one-storey, terraced houses with somewhat rickety frames for shanty dwellers and other groups. The Republic failed to bring in a new housing policy despite the engagement of policymakers and architects in the European conversation. GATCPAC's proposals took shape in the Casa Bloc in Sant Andreu, which exemplified the new approach even though it was never fully implemented.

1 Three women with a child next to a window in the dining room of an Eixample flat, n/d. Unknown photographer. AMDG

2 Pepa Maria and Bartomeu Serra de Budallés with Dolors de Fontanilles Colom in their flat in the Eixample. The Central Eixample had not been developed as Cerdà had envisaged but rather had turned into an enclave for Barcelona's upper-classes. The working classes remained in the old quarter of Barcelona, in the towns which had been added to it and in the new neighbourhoods on the fringes of the Eixample such as Poble Sec. 1929. Hermenter Serra de Budallés. ANC

3 The new flats in the Eixample were fitted with bathrooms. The picture shows Bartomeu Serra de Budallés as a child washing his hands. As can be seen, the room was spacious and normally had a bath, washbasin, bidet and lavatory. 1929. Hermenter Serra de Budallés. ANC

4 Aerial view of the right-hand side of the Eixample from Diagonal Avenue with the streets developed and the blocks completely constructed shortly before the Civil War. 1929-1933. Sagarra Plana, Josep Maria Torrents and Pau Lluís. AFB

5 Bathroom of a property in the cheap houses development by the Cooperativa de Periodistes in the Mulassa neighbourhood in Horta (1917) or in Font d'en Fargues (1918). Some blocks of privately

developed cheap houses also included the new bathrooms, which were smaller than the ones in the flats in the Eixample. The blocks of cheap houses developed later on in 1929 by the Barcelona Housing Board did not follow this model. 1917-1918. J. Brangulí. ANC

6 Terraced houses with gardens by Sociedad Constructora Fomento de la Propiedad, 1920-1925. J. Brangulí. ANC

7 View of the Ramon Albó cheap houses (today Can Peguera) built by the Municipal Housing Board near Peira hill. 1930s. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC

8 The kitchen-dining room in one of the cheap houses in the Ramon Albó development. 1930s. Gabriel Cases i Galobardes. ANC



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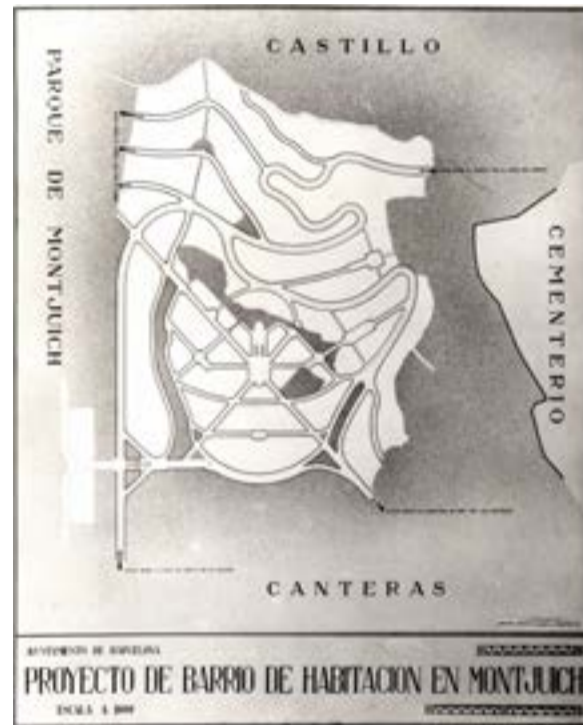
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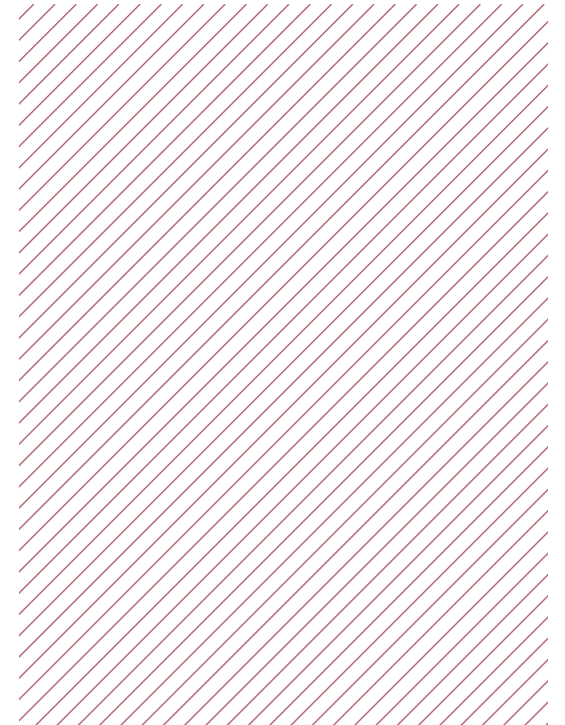
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HOUSING IN URBAN PLANNING

At the start of the 20th century, the Eixample was already underway but without rolling out Cerdà's ideas which had advocated a more egalitarian and healthy city with affordable housing. When in 1905 Jaussely won the design competition for the Plan to link up with the towns added to Barcelona in 1897, which was later adopted in part in 1917 (the Romeu-Porcel Plan), he suggested carving out new avenues but ignored the housing problem. Growth in the first third of the 20th century, spurred on by the construction of the metro and the 1929 Exposition, was finally addressed during the Second Republic by the GATCPAC architects who included low-income housing in the scheme they called the Macià Plan (1932). However, the Civil War cut short the discussion.

1 Diagram of the Barcelona Plain in the mid-19th century before the city walls were knocked down and the enlargement was approved and built. Barcelona's urban development plans were still restricted to the walled area. Drawing by Eulàlia Gómez on a diagram from Amador Ferrer. Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya planimetric base

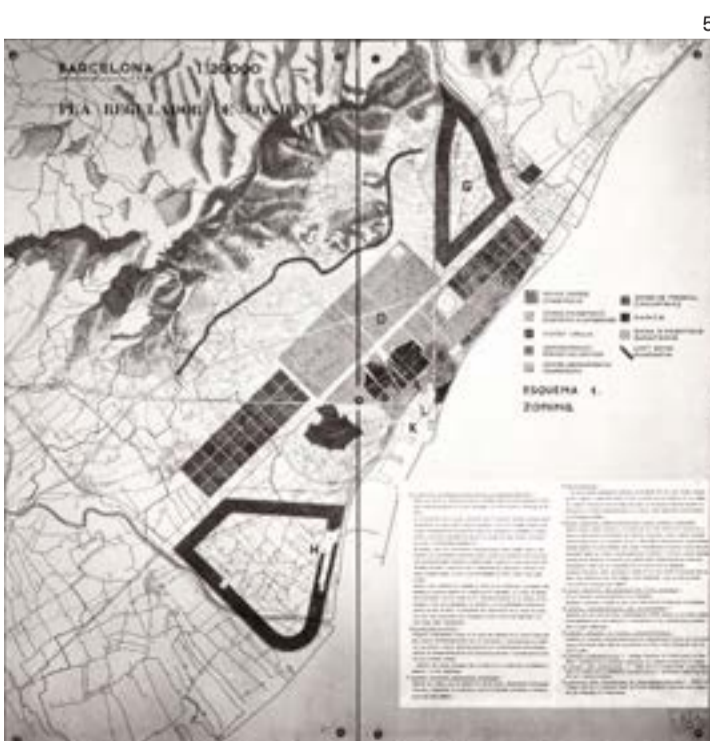
2 Map of Barcelona in 1926 with the Eixample under construction in the central part, just before the Municipal Housing Board built the four groups of cheap houses developed in 1929. Drawing by Eulàlia Gómez on a diagram from Amador Ferrer. Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya planimetric base.

3 The four groups of cheap houses developed by the Municipal Housing Board in 1929 in Horta (Ramon Albó), in the Zona Franca (Eduardo Aunós) and in el Besòs, in the municipality of Santa Coloma de Gramenet (Baró de Viver and Milans del Bosch). By: Eulàlia Gómez. Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya planimetric base

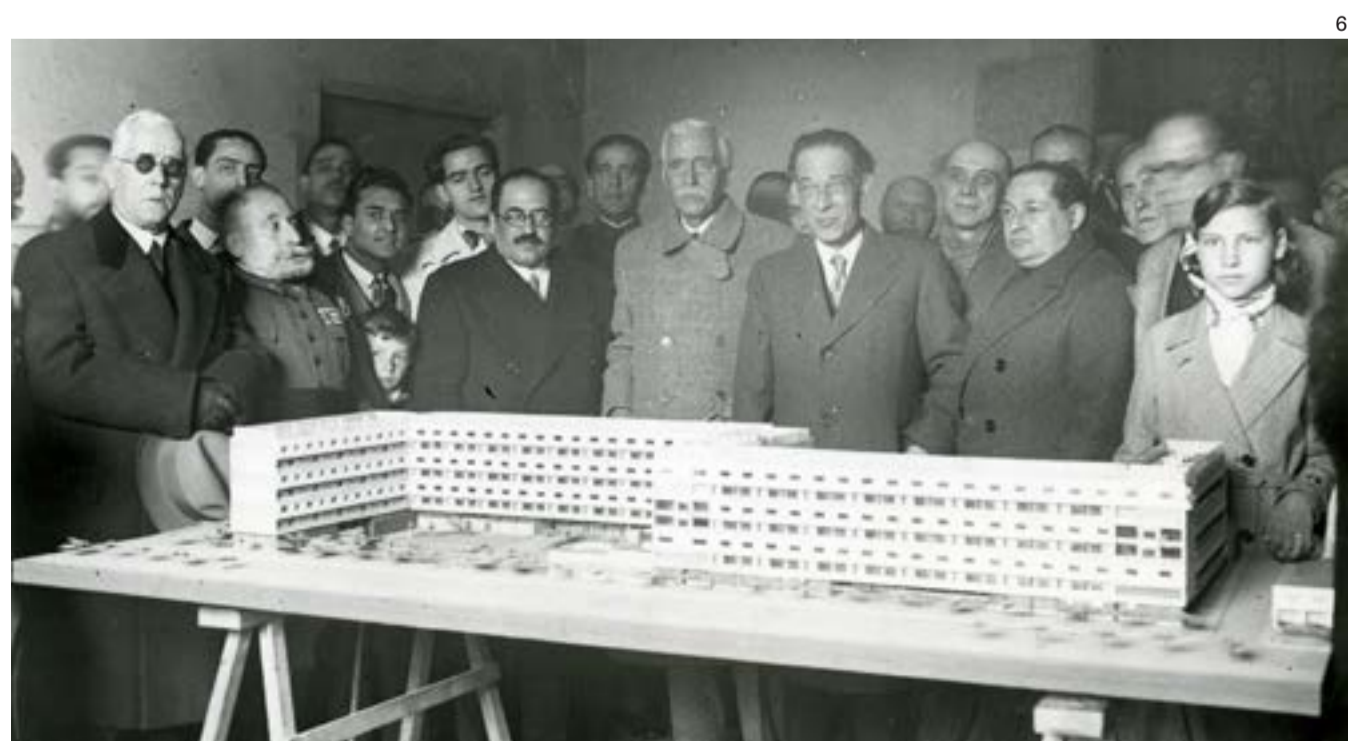
4 *Proyecto de barrio de habitación en Montjuich*. This was a residential area initiative which Barcelona City Council never carried out next to the cemetery between the castle and the quarries, most likely under the cheap houses legislation. The design was exhibited in the Barcelona Pavilion at the 1929 International Exposition, n/d. Institut Municipal d'Història. Amador Ferrer collection

5 Panel presenting the Macià Plan for Barcelona. This GATCPAC proposal drawn up between 1932 and 1934 had a lasting impact. However, only the Casa Bloc project in Sant Andreu was begun and even then it was not finished until after the war. 1934. COAC Historical Archive

6 First Minister Francesc Macià and other officials next to the model of the Casa Bloc commissioned by the Institut Contra l'Atur Forçós and built in Sant Andreu between 1932 and 1936. It was an example of the housing policy the Catalan government hoped to roll out and which was thwarted by the outbreak of the Civil War. 12 March 1933. Pérez de Rozas. AFB



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POST-WAR BARCELONA (1939-1959)

Following the end of the Civil War and until well into the 1950s, Barcelona went through one of the worst periods in its history. The ravages of the Civil War were compounded by an autarchic economic policy and the impact of the Second World War, events which pushed the working classes to the threshold of subsistence and which made the housing issue even more acute. Autarchy, rationing and the black market were the hallmarks of a harsh post-war economy with very low wages which allowed companies to make huge profits without having to invest at all. Public spending on housing was almost non-existent and there was a proliferation of new shantytowns built by their inhabitants (temporary housing on insecure land), what were called *corees* (self-builds on land owned by their inhabitants), subletting and other forms of substandard housing.

Inauguration of the Cases del Governador, 1953. Pérez de Rozas. AFB





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THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

The bombing of Barcelona damaged some 1,800 buildings and destroyed around 4,000 homes. Reconstruction was slow due to the financial hardship faced by many owners and the shortage of building materials. Once the Civil War was over, a further problem was the return of the owners of many properties occupied by families who could not pay their rents or who had lost their own to the bombs, which led to a spate of evictions: many streets were strewn with these families' furniture. Meanwhile, streams of people fleeing from towns and villages all over Spain on political and economic grounds arrived clandestinely in Barcelona.

1 After the bombing. Aid workers try to make their way through the piles of rubble in the street (1937). Pérez de Rozas. AFB

2 The buildings on the corner of Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes and Balmes Street were destroyed by bombing on 17 March 1938. The Coliseum cinema, which survived the raid intact, can be seen in the background. 1938. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

3 Bomb damage to housing during the Civil War, 1937. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

4 Furniture recovered after the first night bombing at the Bonaventura Carles Aribau cheap houses (now the Bon Pastor neighbourhood) on 29 May 1937. Generalitat de Catalunya collection. Second Republic. ANC

5 Impact of the first bombing of the city; a bedroom in one of the buildings in Còrsega Street in Barcelona's Eixample district. The Italian air force bombed the city for the first time on 13 May 1937, primarily targeting the Elizalde aircraft engine factory at the junction of Sant Joan Parade and Còrsega and Rosselló streets. It damaged a number of houses. 1937. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

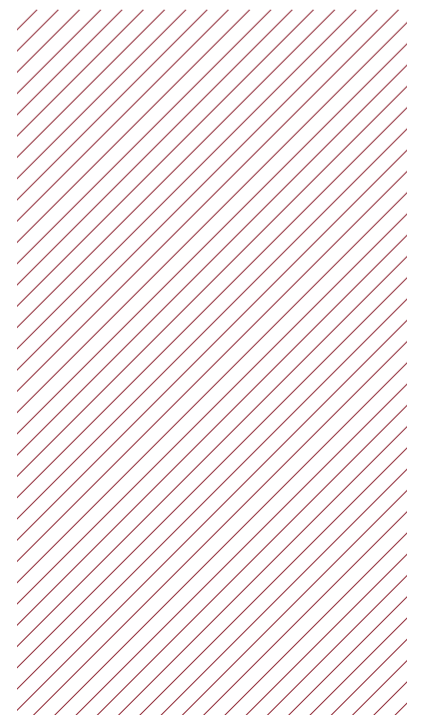
6 Furniture in the street after the first night bombing of the city. 29 May 1937. Pérez de Rozas. AFB



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RESIDENTIAL HARDSHIP IN THE 1940S AND 1950S

Despite Spain's autarchy and international isolation, Barcelona continued to be a magnet for migrants from within the country. In the 20 years after the Civil War alone, it grew from one million to one and a half million inhabitants. Against a background of little construction work, existing buildings were used to their full potential by refurbishing and adding floors to them. However, most of the newcomers could not afford these properties which led to the expansion of shantytowns and self-built neighbourhoods coupled with growing numbers of homeless. It is estimated that in 1949 there were 5,000 people living in caves and 60,000 in shantytowns in the city.

1 Caves dug in Montjuïc as permanent accommodation, most likely before the Civil War or in the immediate post-war period, n/d. Bert and Claret, photojournalists. ANC

2 People queuing inside a bakery to pick up the bread allotted to them by their ration cards (1939). Alexandre Merletti. Merletti collection. IEFC

3 Map of shanties and caves in Barcelona around 1948, drawn up by Barcelona City Council on the basis of a 1945 map and schematically showing 138 settlements mainly on the coast, on Montjuïc and the Carmel hills. Maps collection. AMCB

4 Panoramic view of the Somorrostro shantytown between the beach and the railway line in a post-war picture taken between 1953 and 1955. TAF Helicòpters, S.A. ANC

5 Rodrigo Caro Street, c. 1960. Carles Cardoner collection. AHR-NB

6 Torre Baró, 1973: the self-building begun in the post-war years overwhelmed the early garden city. Carmen Garcia. AFB



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FRANCO'S HOUSING POLICY MODEL

The right to housing was one of the dictatorship's propaganda slogans and centralised organisations including the National Housing Institute (1939) and the Obra Sindical de la Hogar (1941) were set up with this aim in mind. However, the shortcomings of this centralisation prompted a search for local operators. So in 1945, the Municipal Housing Institute was founded in Barcelona, which developed several housing complexes, including - at the behest of the bishopric - the 'Congress Flats' on the occasion of the 1952 Eucharistic Congress. During this period, owning a flat started to be encouraged with affordable forms of housing such as subsidised or low-income properties.

1 Eucharistic Congress flats complex developed by the bishopric of Barcelona for the Eucharistic Congress held in Barcelona in 1952. The project extended Felip II Street and its innovations for Barcelona included high-rise blocks. It is an example of a neighbourhood successfully integrated into the city featuring well-defined urban spaces and a range of categories of properties. 1953. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

2 Bishop Gregorio Modrego hands over keys to the flats after the Eucharistic Congress. It was perhaps the only

housing development of the time in which the social makeup of its residents was planned, seeking a blend of families of different backgrounds, social class and income levels. 15 March 1964. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

3 Passageway in the Cases del Governador, 1973. Ginés Cuesta. AHR-NB

4 Mrs Gertrudis in her kitchen in the Cases del Governador, 1968. Ginés Cuesta. AHR-NB

5 The Guineueta housing estate, now part of the Nou Barris district. It was one of the housing estates in the 1958 Social Emergency Plan. The Barcelona Urban Planning Commission handled buying and developing the land while the Obra Sindical del Hogar built the blocks. It was a housing estate model which was completely different from the one embodied by the Congress complex, featuring as it did a random layout of blocks and a more uniform range of properties. 1963. TAF Helicopters, S.A. ANC



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PUBLIC HOUSING LOOKING FOR NEW MODELS

The housing estates developed by government in the post-war years followed an erratic pattern in terms of their model since they did not have any predecessors to draw on and also disregarded the European Modern Movement experience. Consequently they used the architectural styles of garden cities featuring detached or terraced houses, blocks of flats divided by party walls and even introduced unique free-standing blocks. The first linear and high-rise blocks emerged at the end of the period.

1 For the Torre Llobeta housing development (1950), the Barcelona Housing Board adopted the closed block with five-storey buildings between party walls following the pattern of the Eixample. 1955. Unknown photographer. AFB

2 The small La Verneda development, built by the Barcelona Housing Board in 1952, is an example of the quest for a housing model in the first estates. Far removed from the European Modern Movement experience, the post-war housing estates experimented with construction models. In the now demolished La Verneda development, there were three-storey blocks with an inner yard accessible from the street and the properties were connected by open-air galleries. 1950s. Leopoldo Plasencia. IEFC

3 On Calvell Parade, next to the railway, the Municipal Housing Institute (Franco's heir to the Municipal Housing Board) built these unusual eight-storey blocks in 1952, small skyscrapers known as Tupolev blocks. They are yet another example of the erratic search for a mass housing model. Following the demise of the train, the blocks became part of the new waterfront which meant their value went up. As a result they have been refurbished rather than demolished and replaced. 1978. Unknown photographer. AHPN

4 Opening Guipúscoa Street in 1957 made it possible to build on large areas of the Verneda agricultural plain where there were also many dye factories. As the new blocks of flats went up and which did not have garage parking, many people started to buy cars. The Seat 600 was the epitome of access to a vehicle for the working classes, c. 1957. Josep Cortinas. Museu de Badalona Photographic Archive

5 The Trinitat Nova housing estate, built in 1953, once again featured the "Obra Sindical del Hogar" model. The free-standing block became entrenched as a container for increasingly uniform properties. Its design neglected urban spaces and put off any changes in land use. Amenities, services and public transport did not come along until many years later. 1959. Unknown photographer. AFB

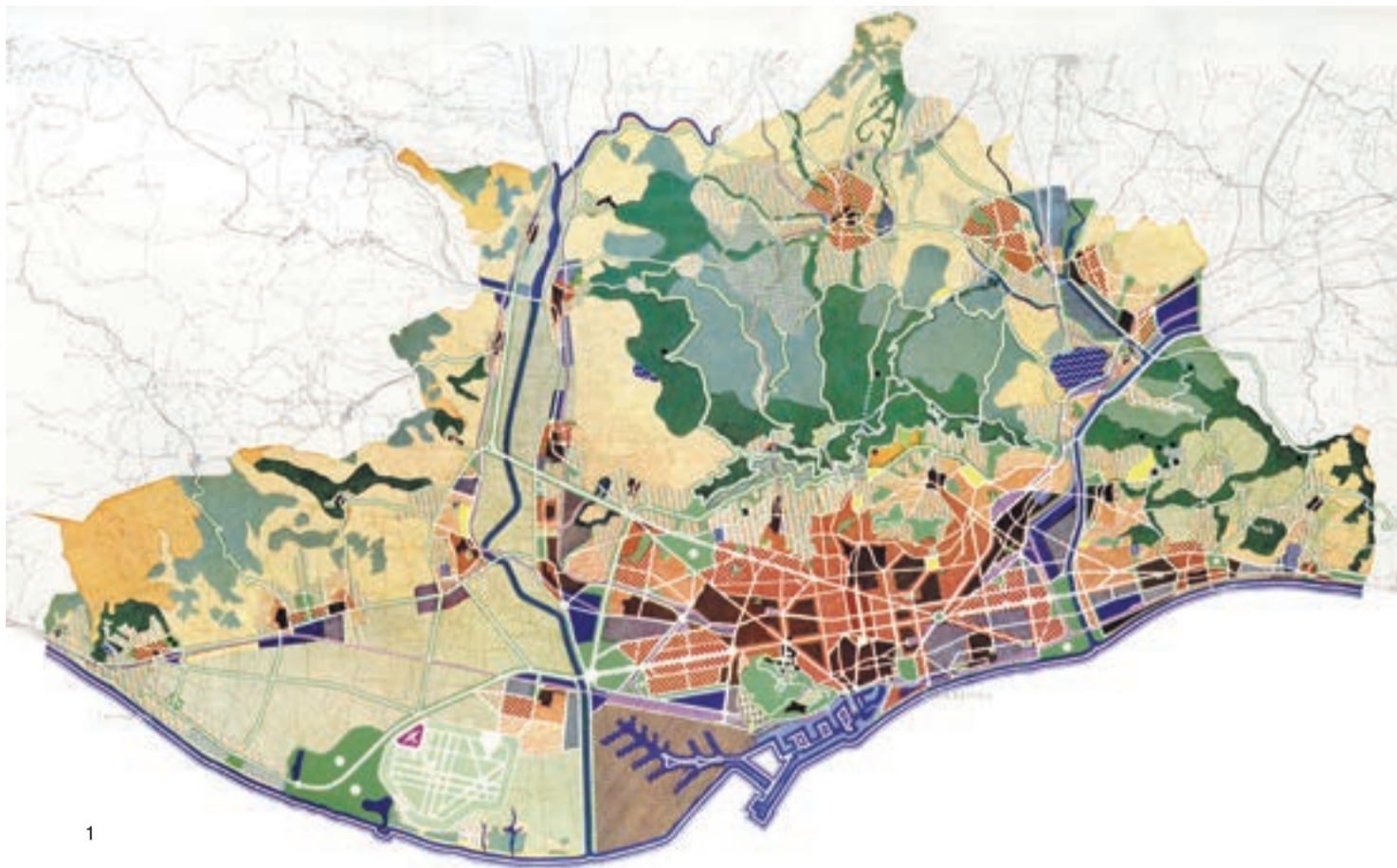
6 Guipúscoa Avenue (today Guipúscoa Boulevard) shortly after it was opened in 1957, ran alongside Pere IV Street (the old road to France) and the even older La Verneda Highway. The Sant Martí housing estate blocks can be seen facing the new avenue, designed to link up with Aragó Street in a future that would be a long time in coming (1958). Juan Antonio Sáenz Guerrero. AFB



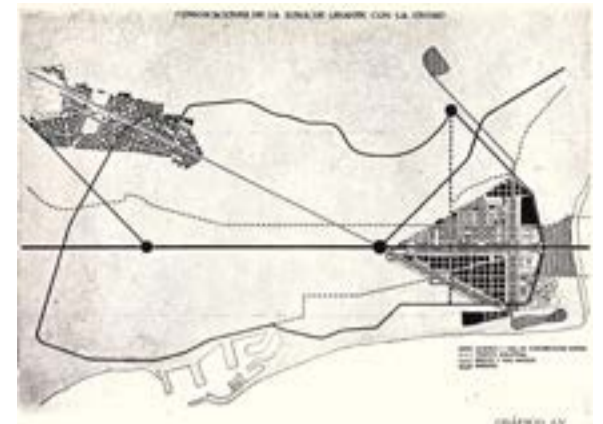
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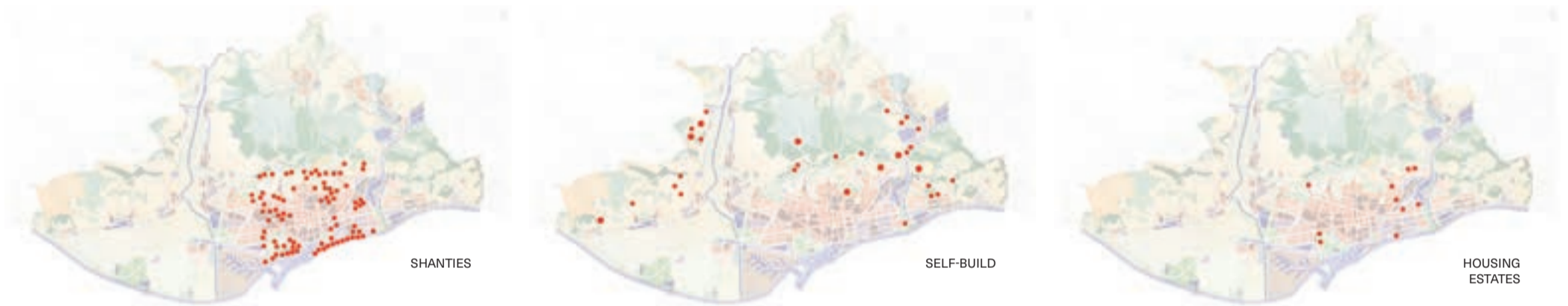
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THE CHALLENGES OF THE SHIFT IN SCALE

In 1953, a new urban development plan was adopted for Barcelona encompassing 27 towns. This was the response the Franco regime allowed to the Decree adding towns to Madrid which set up a unified municipality covering more than 600 km². In Barcelona, the regime would not let this option even be considered and instead required a high degree of municipal division to be maintained over a smaller and more complex territory which was only thought to need a town planning scheme and common services. The 1953 Plan, known as the County Plan, introduced an organic conception of the territory emphasising municipal sub-centres, but the new town-planning regulation was soon overwhelmed by local zoning plans. At this time, the Social Emergency Plan's housing estates were already pointing towards the new metropolitan scale.

1 The 1953 Barcelona County Plan encompassed Barcelona and another 27 towns. It was Barcelona's second metropolitan plan after the 1860 Cerdà Plan. Despite its innovations in urban planning coding and regulation, it was overwhelmed by speculative ventures channelled through local zoning plans, many of which reduced land reserves for green areas and amenities while also increasing residential densities. It was the urban development plan in place during the decades in which housing estates took centre stage in the new image of the city's outskirts. AMB Archive

2 Diagram of the two main residential expansion areas (Llevant and Ponent) envisaged in the 1953 County Plan. Amador Ferrer Archive

3 Detail of the urban planning of the Llevant area under the local zoning plan adopted in 1955. Amador Ferrer Archive

4 Overlay of the zoning proposed by the 1953 County Plan and the areas where they were located: 1) shantytowns, 2) self-built sites; and 3) housing estates. Analysis shows the utter disconnect between the locations and the zoning envisaged by the town planning. A fourth key area was the 19th century suburban

tracts whose densification absorbed an extremely significant part of low-income housing. Source: Eulàlia Gómez, 2018

5 Orthophoto of Barcelona from 1956-1957 taken by the United States Army Map Service. IGN



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THE 'DEVELOPMENTALISM' CITY (1959-1975)

The years of 'developmentalism', the period of growth without democracy from 1959 to 1975, were marked by public investment in infrastructure and industry and an opening up to tourism. The 'Development Plans' encouraged development with major corporate interests and private advantages. Growth rates averaging 7% a year turned Spain into the fifth largest continental economy in 1974 with per capita income standing at 79% of the European average.

Barcelona brought together the new incentives and its industrial background with skilled labour and a free port zone, which is why FIAT stipulated that SEAT had to be set up in the city. Work in industry and construction took the municipality from 1,280,000 inhabitants in 1950 to 1,745,000 by 1970. A new "middle class" also sprang up with sufficient income to support a family and buy a house.

View of the recently built Trinitat Nova housing estate, c. 1960.
Sánchez Marcos family private collection





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GROWTH DEVOID OF QUALITY

The urban version of 'developmentalism' under the dictatorship was based on unbridled housing construction to absorb the large-scale migration to Barcelona. During this period, 88% of the housing intended for main residences was built with some form of official subsidy. The new housing was mainly on the outskirts of the city in three types of neighbourhoods: suburban expansion, ones where self-builds predominated and housing estates. The poor quality of this urban development meant major public investment was needed to remedy it after the return to democracy.

1 Between 1959 and 1975, many Spanish migrants came to Barcelona, especially from the south of the peninsula. Over these 16 years, the Barcelona metropolitan area doubled its population which swelled to over one and a half million inhabitants. Migration drove up demand for housing and triggered an unprecedented construction boom. Housing policies targeted mass construction of housing estates which, although highly visible, only soaked up part of the demand. 1960s. Josep M. Huertas Claveria. Huertas Claveria Archive

2 Policymakers from Barcelona City Council and the Urban Planning and Common Services Commission of Barcelona and Other Municipalities visit the site of the Sant Martí housing estate,

built over three successive stages starting in 1958. 1962. Brangulí. AFB

3 The Pau housing estate, built by Obra Sindical de la Hogar in 1965 and facing onto Guipúscoa Avenue, is an example of the consolidation of the housing estate model of the 1960s when quantity prevailed over quality. 1969. Oriol Maspons and Juli Ubiña. AFB

4 The Ciutat Meridiana estate, built in 1964 by property developer Ciudad Condal, covers almost 40 hectares on land which is not easy to access because of the motorways, railway and steeply sloping terrain. The design did not include proper planning to cope with the site's limitations and led to problems which have still not been fully addressed. It is the most prominent example of the

excesses of 'developmentalism'. 1975. Juan Antonio Sáenz Guerrero. AFB

5 The Fontetes estate in Cerdanyola del Vallès was one of the first private housing complexes in the Barcelona metropolitan area. 1972. Fons TAF, ANC

6 Structural problems and construction defects in a property in Palerm Street on the Besòs south-west estate. Robert Ramos, 6 October 1977. Robert Ramos. AFB

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CONSTRUCCIONES ESPAÑOLAS

ENRIQUE GRANADOS, N.º 136

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VIVIMOS EN BELLVITGE en piso de propiedad

Visitenos

NOMBRE: _____
 PROFESION: _____
 DOMICILIO: _____
 POBLACION: _____

en BELLVITGE hay vida

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FROM TENANTS TO OWNERS

The housing policy of this period in the end turned most tenants into homeowners. Renting fell from 85% (1960) to 46% (1980) of the housing stock and gradually disappeared as a form of tenure in new developments to be replaced by deferred ownership. The few public or commercial rental properties built in the period also ended up as owner-occupied following sale to their tenants under the Commonhold Act (1960). This was particularly apparent in the case of savings banks and private landlords with frozen rents who sold off their properties as soon as they encountered maintenance problems.

1 "Pisos, pisos, pisos" (Flats, flats, flats), an advertisement by property developer Construcciones Españolas which is a good illustration of how construction worked during the 'developmentalist' period, n/d. Mercè Tatjer private collection

3 Bellvitge in the 1980s. Pepe Encinas. Pepe Encinas Archive

4 Bellvitge in the 1980s. Pepe Encinas. Pepe Encinas Archive

2 Advertising for the Bellvitge estate in newspaper *La Vanguardia*, 13 November 1963 and 15 December 1968, emphasising home ownership. In the second half of the 20th century, almost the only way to get a home was to buy one and there were hardly any other options available to the working classes. This completely turned around the situation in the years before the Civil War when most people had rented. *La Vanguardia*. AHCB



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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CRITICISM OF 'DEVELOPMENTALISM'

The first residents' committees emerged in Barcelona in the second half of the 1960s under the auspices of the Associations Act. Backed by professional associations, including architects and quantity surveyors, and groups of journalists and influenced by political parties, especially the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia and Red Flag, the residents' committees conveyed the political demands of the time on urban issues such as a lack of amenities, shortcomings in public transport and very poor housing conditions in many neighbourhoods. Following the founding of the FAVB (Barcelona Residents' Associations Federation) in 1972, these organisations gained political clout and the ability to rally supporters.

1 Demonstration for housing in Nou Barris. The housing shortage coupled with difficulties in getting a property on the new estates or the free market by taking on high-interest, long-term mortgages sparked working-class protests on the city's outskirts. 1970. Kim Manresa. Kim Manresa Archive

2 Sit-in on a bus in Nou Barris demanding affordable housing. 1970s. Kim Manresa. Kim Manresa Archive

3 Pegaso factory workers protest in Sant Andreu calling for a school, 1975. Pepe Encinas. Pepe Encinas Archive

4 In the 1970s, the demand for well-developed spaces, green areas, amenities and public transport led to calling for volunteers to clean up the streets as a way of protesting and also to draw attention to the existing shortcomings. 1970s. Custòdia Moreno Archive

5 Simancas Street in the Roquetes neighbourhood. The picture lays bare

the development shortcomings in the densely packed neighbourhoods of the period. The streets were often dirt roads with no pavements, street lighting or trees, and vehicles were parked willy-nilly. 1970s. Ginés Cuesta. AHR-NB

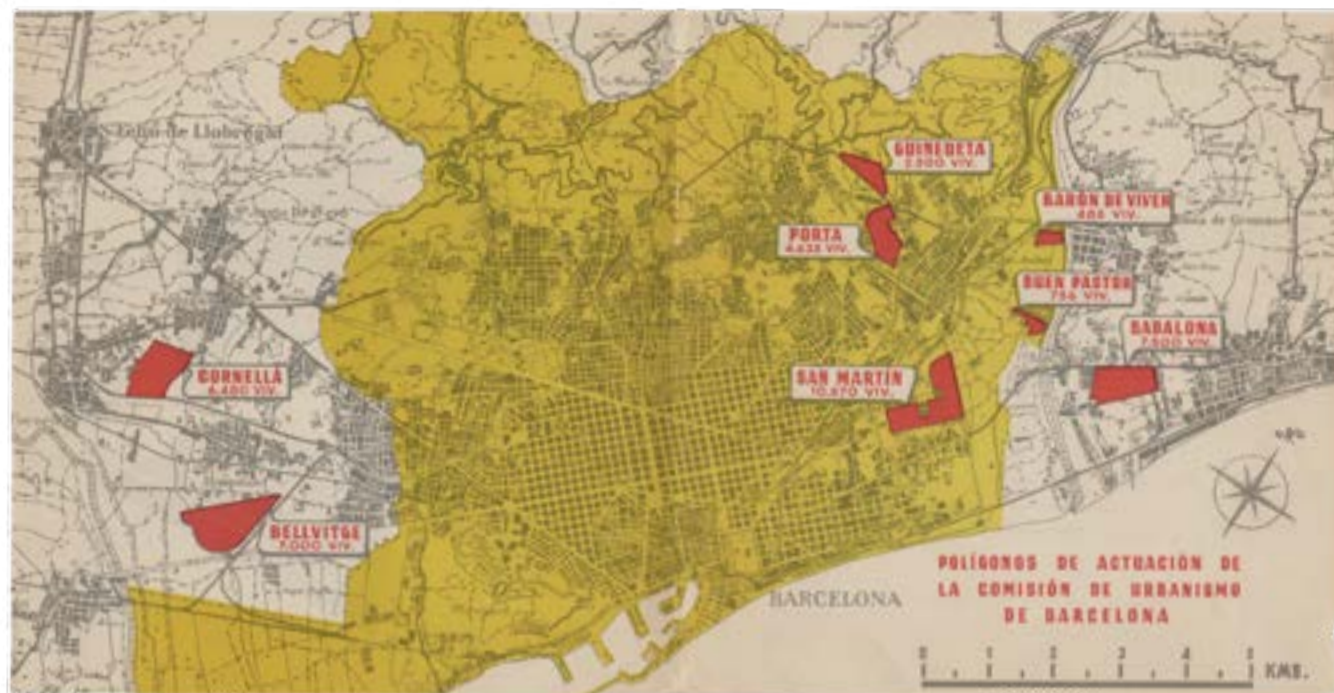
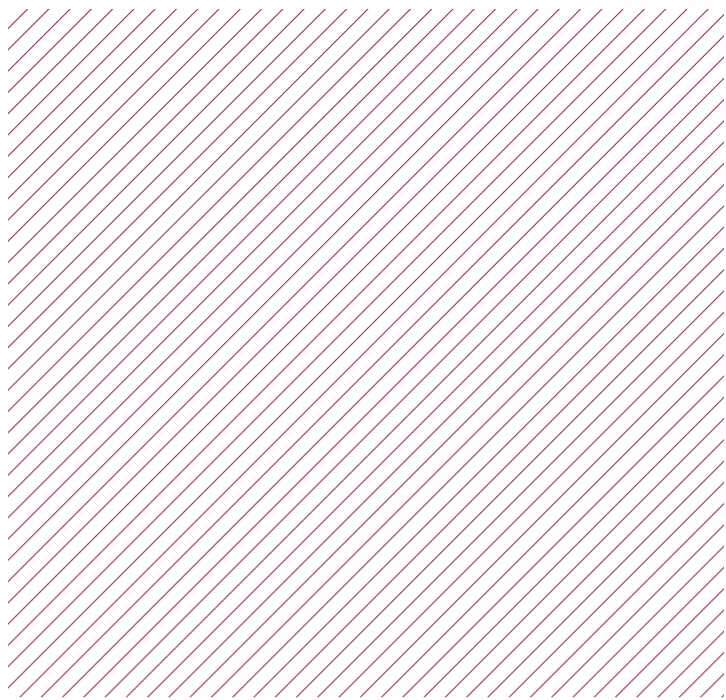
6 Cover of the magazine *4 Cantons*, issue 99, January 1974, when it was still uncertain whether the neighbourhood alternative would be included in the review of the County Plan being drawn up at the time. 1974. AHCB



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THE SHIFT IN SCALE GAINS PACE: LARGE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEVELOPERS

It was so difficult to make decisions under the County Plan that the Franco regime agreed to Mayor Porcioles' request for a special system for Barcelona, grandly referred to as the Municipal Charter, which made it easier to act on a metropolitan scale albeit with little control. The incentives introduced by the housing legislation encouraged setting up businesses to build flats for the working classes. This had a very noticeable impact on neighbourhoods such as Carmel, Nou Barris, Vall d'Hebron and La Sagrera and sprawled out into the nearby towns of Santa Coloma, Badalona, Sant Adrià and l'Hospitalet, which also grew considerably to form today's metropolitan Barcelona. The Municipal Housing Board, which was firmly established by then, developed the Montbau, Besòs and Canyelles housing estates.

1 Map published in the Barcelona Social Emergency Plan brochure, 1958. Amador Ferrer Archive

2 La Guineueta district, 1966. Unknown photographer. AFB

3 Blocks of flats on the Besòs south-west estate, 1978. Brangulí. AFB

4 The SEAT factory, sited in Barcelona due to the city's skilled labour and free port, opened in 1953 on the new Zona Franca industrial estate. 1970. SACE. ICGC

5 Housing estates take up the empty spaces on the outskirts of Barcelona and spread across the entire metropolitan area. The picture shows the first blocks of flats on the SEAT estate for its workers under construction on Zona Franca Parade. 1953-1955. TAF Helicòpters S.A. ANC



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HOUSING ESTATES AND DENSIFICATION OF URBAN AREAS

In the 1960s and 1970s, the suburban areas in the metropolis and beyond underwent spectacular densification. They accounted for most of the new housing with significant shortcomings in terms of urban development and amenities. Housing estates were at that time an alternative to the densification and extension of the built-up area in places which, from the perspective of functionalist urban planning, offered better conditions for housing as it could then be mass-produced. However, with some exceptions the results fell far short of expectations. The new linear and free-standing blocks and high-rise towers, which contained thousands of properties with a very similar size, layout and equipment, began to shape the metropolitan cityscape.

1 Mayor Enric Masó calls in at a home on the outskirts of Barcelona, 24 July 1973. Pérez de Rozas. AFB

2 Agriculture perseveres on the edge of the housing estate. Construction of the towering Bellvitge blocks began in 1968 in a changing agricultural landscape. They are a good illustration of the shift in scale resulting from a policy which went for quantity rather than quality when building new residential areas. 1983. Pepe Encinas. Pepe Encinas Archive

3 Wasteland around the Ciutat Meridiana estate reveals the shortcomings in the way new housing estates were integrated into the city, an issue which the old neighbourhoods were able to address with fewer difficulties. 1975. Unknown photographer. AHR-NB

4 The Montbau estate, built by the Municipal Housing Board starting in 1960, is one of the ones which best seized the opportunity and advantages of setting up a new neighbourhood without the determining factors and constraints of the old urban areas. In the picture, Mayor Porcioles visits the construction site. 1964. Brangulí. AFB

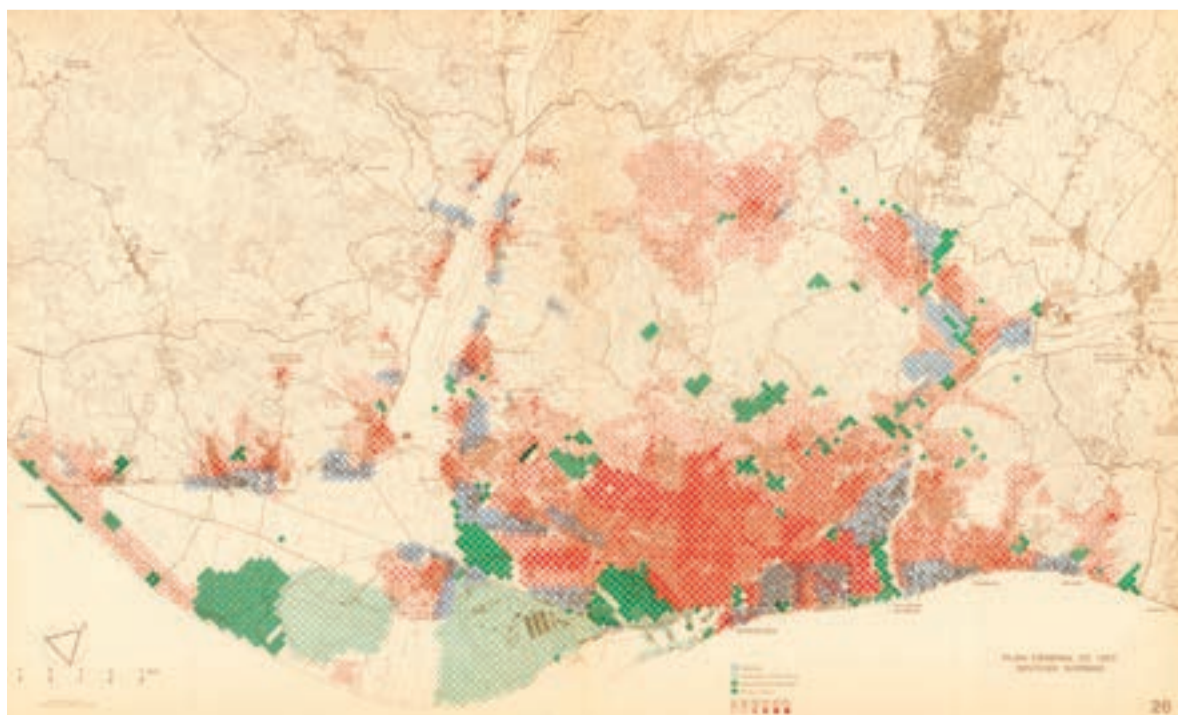
5 New floors and penthouses in buildings in Barcelona's Eixample resulting from speculative bylaws and which were reversed by the General Metropolitan Plan in 1976. The previous heights of the buildings were restored in proportion to the width of the streets. Pictures from 1983. Unknown photographers. AMDE

6 Regulation governing the 1976 Barcelona General Metropolitan Plan which shows the efforts to curb excessive residential concentration in Ciutat Vella, the Eixample and the outlying municipalities and neighbourhoods and ensure new housing expansions were built to a better standard of urban quality. *Pla general metropolità de Barcelona de 1976*. AMB Archive

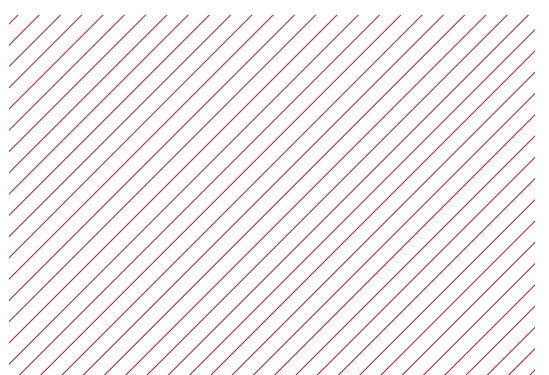
7 Housing estates in Barcelona and the metropolitan area, 1950-1975. Amador Ferrer Archive



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ADOPTION OF A REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

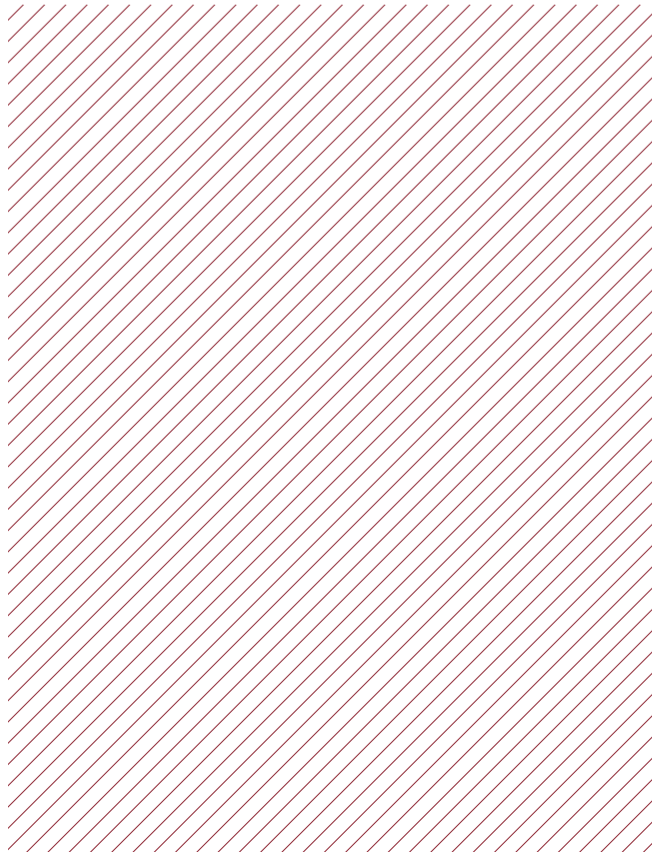
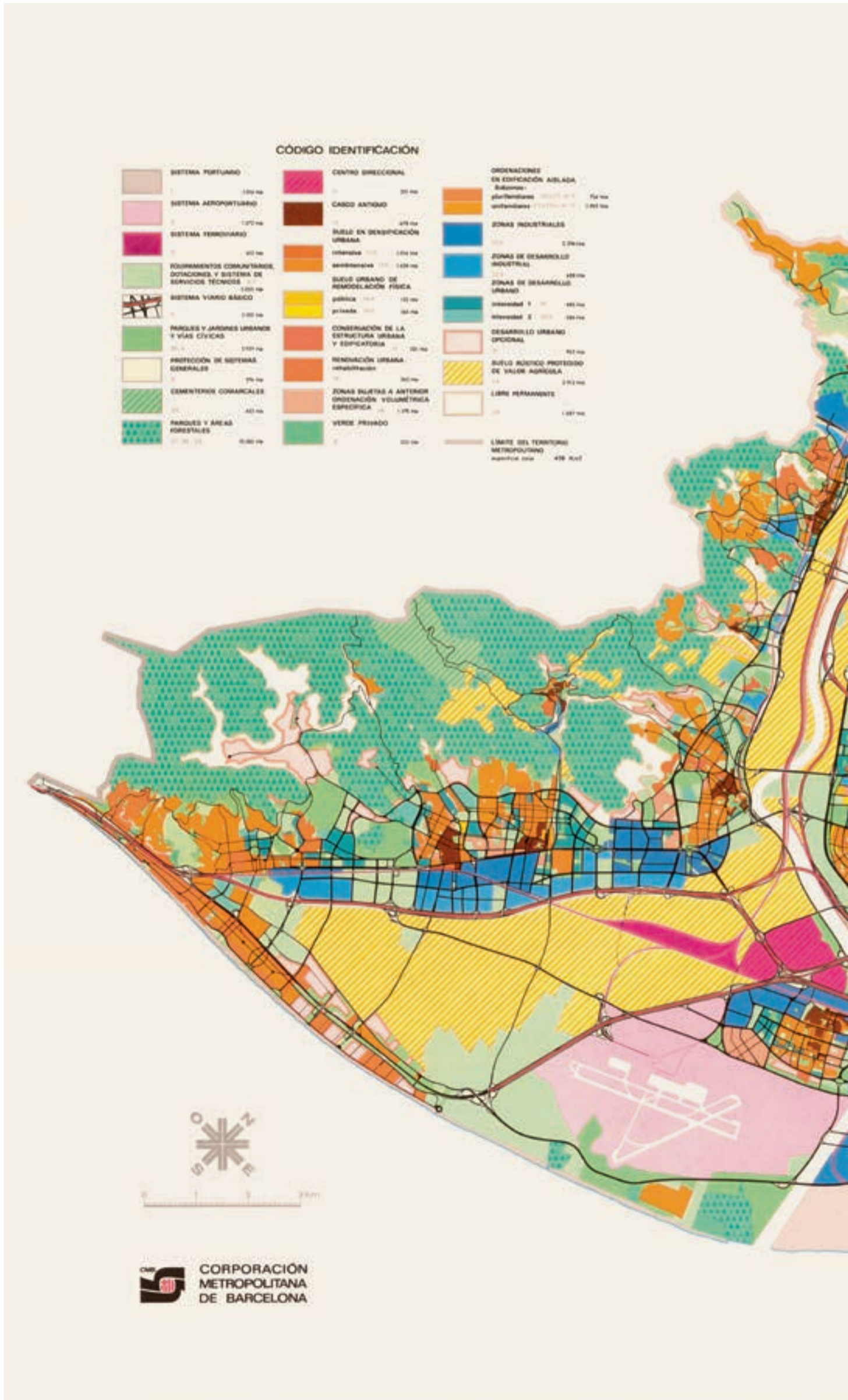
After a fierce public struggle to amend its initial 1974 version, the adoption of the General Metropolitan Plan in 1976 at the time of the political transition altered the parameters of the previous 'developmentalist' period which had triggered the mass housing boom. The General Metropolitan Plan marked the start of gradual urban restructuring. The Plan put an end to urban densification, restricted building heights, recovered land for open spaces and amenities and brought in substantial housing improvements. Housing estates already in place were covered by a specific regulation which also entailed their recognition and freezing of their built-up area while awaiting urban planning solutions to sort out their connection with the city, although these would not come along for some time yet.

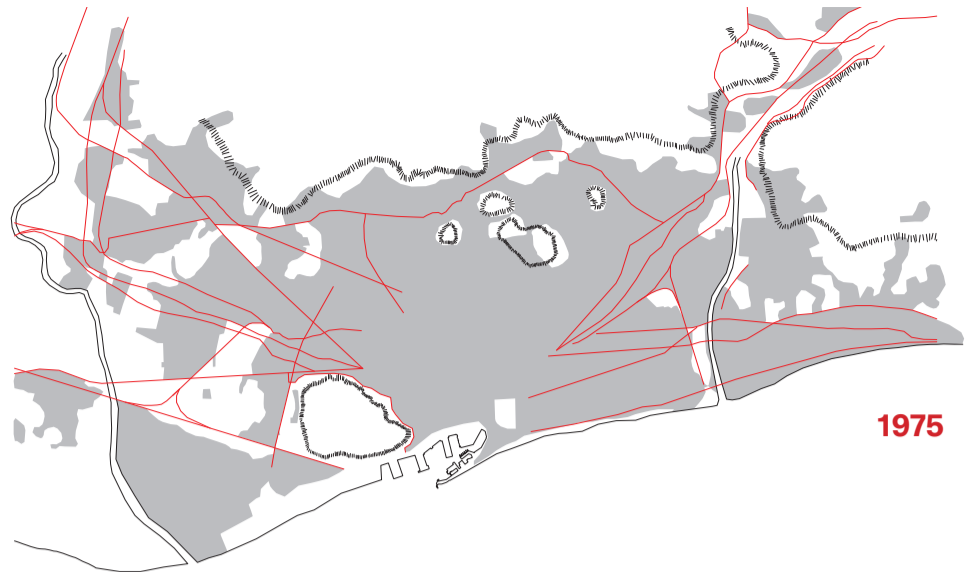
1 The Ribera Plan was submitted to Mayor Porcioles in the summer of 1966 by the developers' association led by Pere Duran i Farell and made up of the industrialists who owned large plots of land in Poblenou when the factories closed down or moved out. It sought to develop the entire Poblenou waterfront by remodelling the existing historic neighbourhoods and thus significantly swell real estate profits. The counterplan drawn up by the Urban Planning Laboratory at the Barcelona School of Architecture, which was backed by the Poblenou Residents' Association, brought the project to a halt. In the end, the General Metropolitan Plan did not include the initial proposals. LUB. Editorial Gustavo Gili. Barcelona, 1974

2 Summary of the proposal drawn up by the Urban Planning Laboratory at the Barcelona School of Architecture led by architect Manuel de Solà-Morales

3 The evolution of entrances to the city between 1926 and 1975 accounts for Barcelona's metropolitan expansion and locating housing estates further and further away from the city's central areas. 1996. Amador Ferrer Archive. Redrawn by Eulàlia Gómez

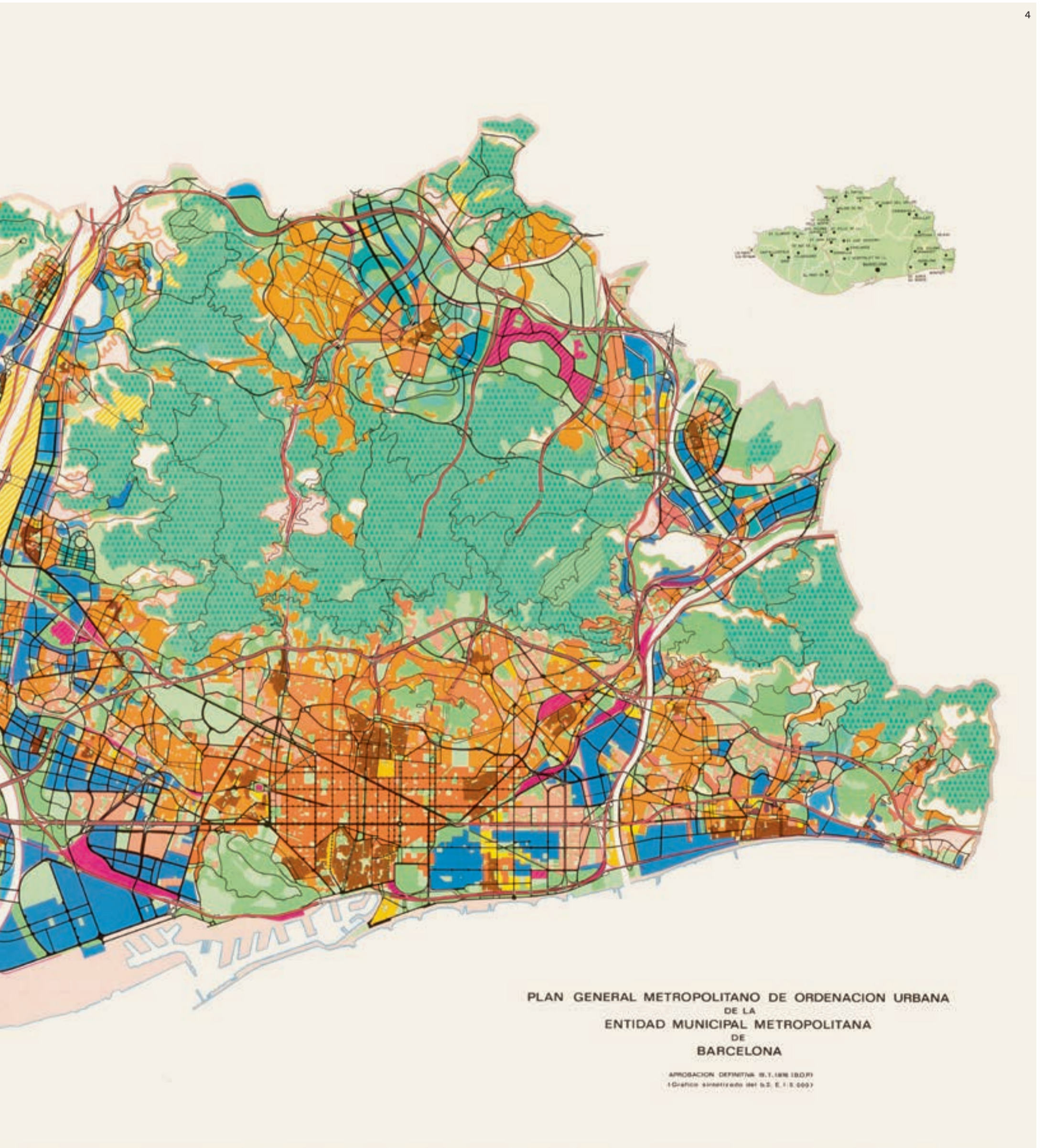
4 Map summarising the zoning in the General Metropolitan Plan adopted in 1976. Josep M. Blay. AMB Archive





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THE METROPOLITAN CITY (1976-1997)

The crisis of 1975 marked the end of 'developmentalism' with runaway inflation which threatened the transition to democracy. By the 1970s, most migrants had already managed to get hold of a property, often on the free market or in various forms of subsidised housing. Unemployment was high and a flat was the most precious asset for many families. Under pressure from the residents' movement, demands for urban development and amenities were being met. However, the rising cost and lack of new housing pushed people to move towards the outer areas of the metropolis.

Spain joining the European Economic Community in 1986 brought the confidence to tackle new crises, such as the 1990s recession after the Olympics. Yet a new period of growth and inflation began in 1997 when cheaper mortgages were associated with strong demand for housing and eye-watering price increases. Thus the 20th century ended in a huge housing bubble which was to burst in 2007 leading to an unprecedented crisis.

The Trinitat junction, a symbol of attempts to integrate major infrastructures. 1998. Colita, AFB





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El Gobierno destina 12.000 millones para pagar el 30 % de la aluminosis en Cataluña

VIVIENDA
Según las proyecciones previstas por el MOPT, el coste mínimo de las rehabilitaciones urgentes asciende a 65.000 millones de pesetas

JOSÉ MARÍA CASTRO
MADRID. — El Consejo de Ministros debe ser la institución que se encargue de la rehabilitación de viviendas afectadas por aluminosis, según se desprende de la "Vanguardia" de esta mañana. De este fondo, 11.000 millones se destinan a Cataluña, correspondiendo desde luego a ella la mayor parte de la inversión de un importe mínimo de viviendas afectadas.



El desplome de un bloque del Turó provocó la alarma

Discrepancias con la propuesta de la Generalitat

La propuesta que hoy estudia el Consejo de Ministros contrasta con la posición defendida por la Generalitat en cuanto al reparto de la carga financiera entre las administraciones para hacer frente al problema de la aluminosis. Mientras el plan del Ministerio de Obras Públicas supone que el Gobierno central cubra hasta el 30 por ciento del coste de la rehabilitación de las viviendas públicas afectadas, la Generalitat se compromete con "La Vanguardia" del 27 de junio de 1976 en favor de que el Estado cubra el 40 por ciento de dicho coste. Felipe Puig, director general de Adquisición, dice entonces que la Generalitat está dispuesta a hacer cargo del 40 por ciento del coste de la rehabilitación, mientras que la sola inversión en la obra que la administración autonómica paga el 30 por ciento.

En cuanto al resto de viviendas, de promoción privada, la Generalitat, mediante la Dirección General de Inspección e Inspección, ha dicho que está dispuesta a cubrir los porcentajes que asuma cada administración y los propietarios privados debidos, así como una cierta proporción del avance del problema, al resto de viviendas afectadas y no afectadas. De este modo, la proporción y construcción privada debería asumir una gran parte del coste de las reparaciones.

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Catalunya

Sorias consiguió el acuerdo con los vecinos del Besós

Una importante victoria pone final a la ocupación del Patronato de la Vivienda

Maestros i El festival infantil fue un é



Una concentración en la plaza Sant Jaume apoyó las reivindicaciones con Sorias y el presidente del Patronato. Foto: Robert.

Barcelona. — Ayer por la tarde finalizó la ocupación que venimos del Besós del Patronato de la Vivienda, después de una larga resistencia movida con el alcalde Sorias Hensbert sobre la problemática de los bloques de viviendas de estos barrios. Finalmente se llegaron a acuerdos que satisficieron a los vecinos, por lo cual se decidió abandonar la ocupación.

Los acuerdos fueron firmados por el Presidente del Patronato, Gual, acompañado así una de las principales reivindicaciones exigidas, que fue trasladada en varias ocasiones, puesto que al presente prometemos verlas realizadas en su totalidad.

Barcelona. — Ayer por la tarde finalizó la ocupación que venimos del Besós del Patronato de la Vivienda, después de una larga resistencia movida con el alcalde Sorias Hensbert sobre la problemática de los bloques de viviendas de estos barrios. Finalmente se llegaron a acuerdos que satisficieron a los vecinos, por lo cual se decidió abandonar la ocupación.

Barcelona. — C de personas, con que, participando infantil que, org maestros en horas por la mañana en del. El resto de la protesta fue por la y aborrecida por Escuela Municipal, los diversos zonas una serie de trah tiempo funciona que los niños real des de expresion en. La parte de esta estuvo controlada. Anso, Rois, los 1. Adquis, los bar Grupo 3. Nolas Barrio, Juan José Solá, Lluís P ACTA DEL MI por la noche se a cargo los comit el MIU y la Com res. Intervio de parte. Presidenti mondia 1977 que que había manifest fari la reivindicac interministerial q diando el proble desamplo.

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A CHANGE OF COURSE IN HOUSING POLICY

The slowdown in the large-scale Spanish migration of previous decades and growing unemployment led to a change of course in housing policy. When by the 1980s the main quantitative shortcomings had been sorted out and major flat building was no longer needed, the housing problem turned into one of access rather than scarcity. New needs began to emerge such as cutting the cost of financing, which skyrocketed in this period on the back of high interest rates; greater rental supply, which had been falling in previous decades, and refurbishing the housing stock, especially in poor quality public housing estates.

- 1 Protest by residents of the Besós estate against the dilapidation of housing in the new downtowns in Barcelona, 1976-1977. Pepe Encinas. Pepe Encinas Archive
- 2 Municipal Housing Board cabinet officer visits Sant Adrià de Besós in 1979. Galcerà. AFB
- 3 The spread of cement degeneration and the social unease it triggered forced the Catalan Government to take action in many affected buildings. *La Vanguardia*, 12 July 1991. AHCB
- 4 "A major victory ends the sit-in at the Housing Board" in *Diario de Barcelona*, 29 May 1977. AHCB
- 5 First issue of the Verdum Residents' Association's newsletter *9 Barris*, n/d. INCASOL Archive
- 6 On 11 November 1990, a block of flats on the Turó de la Peira housing estate partly collapsed. The response of the residents' association and pressure for an explanation of the causes of the incident led to 'cement degeneration' appearing on the cover of a Barcelona Residents' Associations Federation (FAVB) newsletter



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General Metropolitan Plan, 1976



Photomap, 1984



Raval Special Renovation Plan, 1985



Operations in the Integrated Rehabilitation Area (ARI), 1986



Raval Central Plan operations, 1986-2006



Photomap, 2006



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DEREGULATION AND LOSS OF HOUSING SUBSIDIES

Economic deregulation was increasingly affecting the system for funding subsidised housing, and from 1994 onwards it had a lasting impact on rent control. Land and housing prices in the city rose sharply in the second half of the 1980s. Baby boomers were finding it very hard to leave the parental home because of problems in getting somewhere to live. The housing production system was unable to accommodate these new generations, who in many cases moved to the outer areas of the metropolis where prices were lower. Barcelona's population was ageing.

1 Maps showing the evolution of urban planning and interventions in Raval Boulevard: General Metropolitan Plan (PGM) in 1976; photomap in 1984; Special Plan for Interior Reform (PERI) in 1985; Integrated Rehabilitation Area (ARI) in 1986; Implementation of the Raval Central Plan in 1986-2006; and photomap in 2006. Pere Cabrera i Massanés, 2007

2 A typical street in el Raval in 1980. Unknown photographer. AFB

3 Demolition work in the Ribera neighbourhood. Fonollar Street, 1995. Jordi Calafell i Garrigosa. AFB

4 Demolition work in Barceloneta, 1990-1995. Unknown photographer. AMDCV

5 Maps showing the evolution of urban planning and interventions on Barcelona's waterfront. Pere Cabrera i Massanés, 2007

General Metropolitan Plan, 1976



Operations in the Integrated Rehabilitation Area (ARI), 1986

Barceloneta Special Renovation Plan, 1985



Operations on Barceloneta's waterfront, 1986-2006

Photomap, 1984



Photomap, 2006

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A NEW TYPE OF URBAN DEVELOPER

The subsidised housing schemes drawn up in 1978 and the Catalan Government's newly-acquired exclusive authority over housing were the operational basis for the housing policy of the period. The private developers who had weathered the 1975 energy crisis switched their business to subsidised housing while new public operators, including INCASOL and ADIGSA, also came into play. They took over the entire Spanish government-owned public housing stock, had to continue with previous policies and, together with the municipalities, tackle the remodelling of neighbourhoods demanded by residents who were unhappy with the housing they had secured under Franco's regime. Barcelona City Council set up the state-owned enterprise Procivesa to refurbish the old part of the city which was followed by Proeixample and Pronoubarris.

1 Aerial view of the Polvorí housing estate during the remodelling and replacement of the housing blocks by INCASOL during the 1990s. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

2 The Polvorí housing estate as refurbished by INCASOL. 1990s. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

3 Demolition of the blocks on the former La Verneda estate affected by cement degeneration. The demolition work began in 1997 under the PERI approved in 1994 and was carried out over a number of stages. Antonio Herrera. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

4 Residents of a block on the Verneda housing estate in a passageway giving onto the inner yard at a time when the blocks were already shored up awaiting demolition. Antonio Herrera. 2010. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

5 The new Via Trajana neighbourhood (former La Verneda estate) after it had been remodelled by INCASOL. Ernest Gual. REURSA, S.A. 2010. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

6 In 1988, Mayor Pasqual Maragall visited the Cases del Governador housing estate which was to be remodelled shortly afterwards. REURSA, S.A. 1988. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

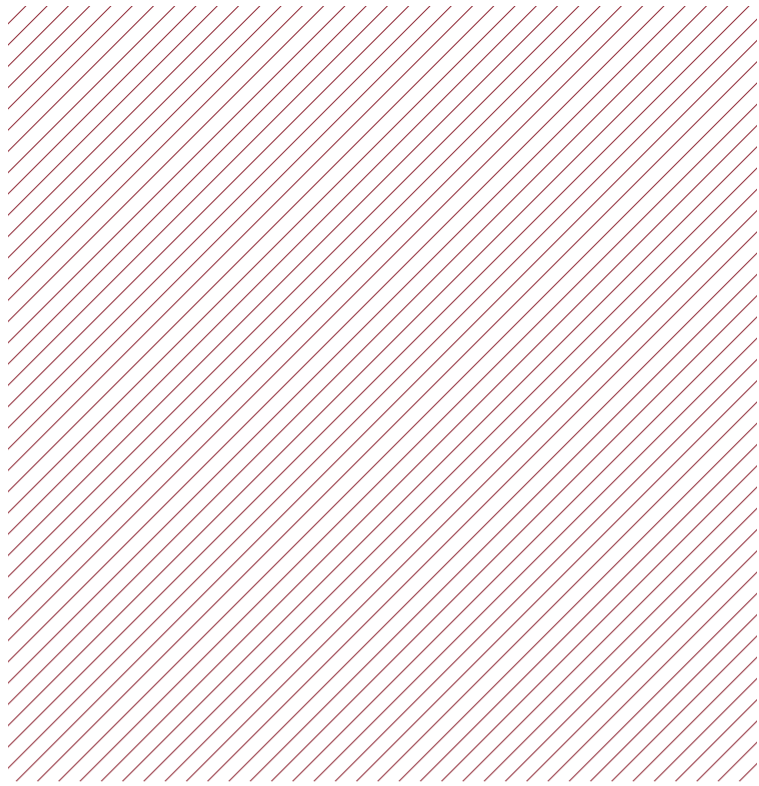
7 The Cases del Governador estate after it had been remodelled by INCASOL. REURSA, S.A. 2008. INCASOL Barcelona Archive

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THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE AND AFTER

The 1992 Olympic Games were a major urban and social turning point, including the construction of the Olympic Village, the opening up of the city to the sea, the ring roads and the metropolitan connections. However, urban renewal did little to foster subsidised housing and indeed had quite the opposite effect. The euphoria translated into huge demand for housing and a first price bubble with annual increases of up to 30%. The new global immigrants had great difficulty in finding accommodation as many landlords were reluctant to rent and flats overcrowded with immigrants became commonplace. Meanwhile, harassment of tenants paying old rents, which further increased during the second housing bubble, was also on the rise.

1 Aerial view of Barcelona's waterfront just before the remodelling of the coastal infrastructures and construction of the Olympic Village (1987). Unknown photographer. AFB

2 Demolition of industrial buildings and facilities in the area where the Olympic Village was to be built (1987). Unknown photographer. AFB

4 Building the Olympic Village in the Ciutadella metro station area, 1987. Unknown photographer. AFB

3 Building the Ronda de Dalt which together with the Ronda Litoral completed the Barcelona ring-road proposed in the Jaussey Plan in 1905. 1986. Colita. AFB

5 Barcelona 1992 Olympic Village. Eduard Olivella. AFB



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THE METROPOLIS GAINS IN IMPORTANCE

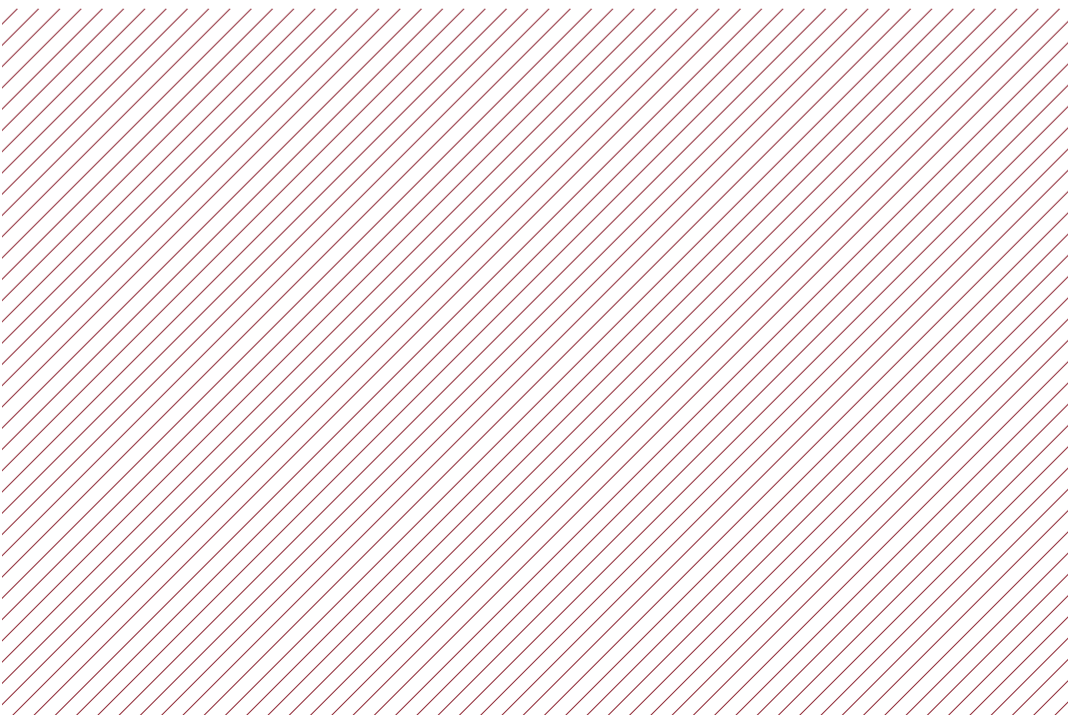
The General Metropolitan Plan changed the course of housing projects in the last quarter of the 20th century. The Plan was sufficiently robust to guide both growth and urban rezoning despite the Catalan Government's decision to wind up the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation in 1987. The policy of large housing estates was replaced by more controlled, better quality developments connected with the city. Refurbishing existing housing stock and replacing obsolete properties and improving the city's public spaces began. The Institut Català del Sòl embarked on building small enlargements, linear and tower block styles were improved and terraced houses were widely built under a whole new conceptual approach. New urban growth and renovated public spaces spread across Barcelona's metropolitan area.

1 The residential area planned by INCASOL in Sant Joan Despí is sited in seamless continuity with the city and connected to the new metropolitan road system. Amador Ferrer Archive

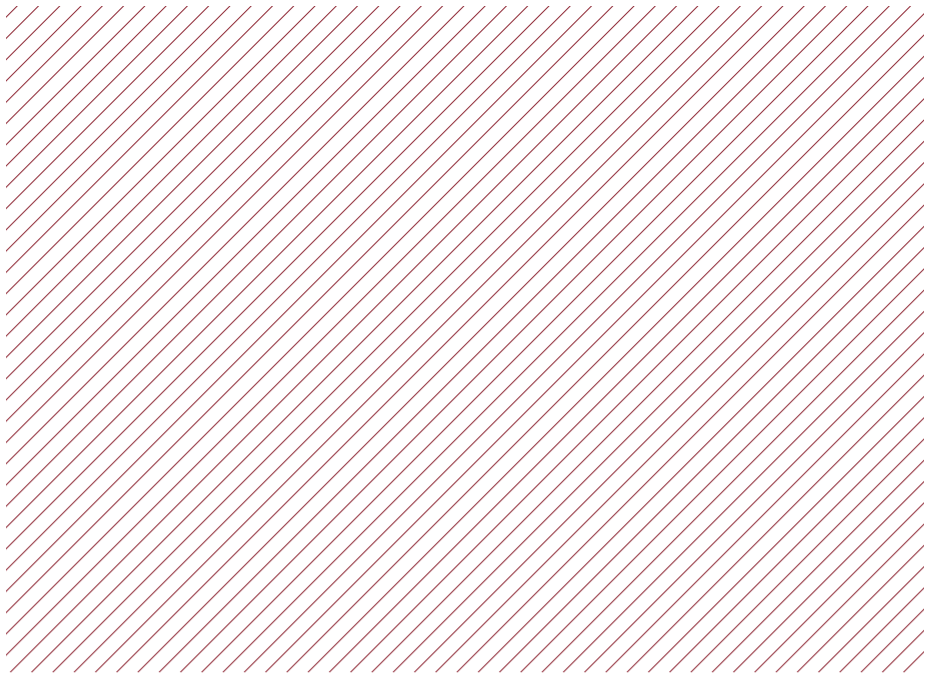
2 Poeta Boscà Square remodelled by PROCIVESA. 1990s. Eva Guillamet. Eva Guillamet Archive

3 i 4 Via Júlia, metal structure and streetlight sculpture by architect Antoni Roselló. The improvement of public space in Barcelona's neighbourhoods finally meets the demands of local residents. The "monumentalisation of the periphery" advocated by Oriol Bohigas, an architect and urban planning officer at Barcelona City Council, consisted of a programme of sculptures and landmarks in many of the parks, gardens and avenues of the period. 1988. Unknown photographer. AFB

5 Residential expansion in Sant Feliu de Llobregat, designed under the new metropolitan regulations of 1976. Mas Lluhí sector. INCASOL.



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THE END OF THE CYCLE

Urban quality improved in Barcelona and its metropolitan area in the 1980s and 1990s due to the development of streets, parks and gardens and the construction of amenities, and this upgraded the neighbourhoods built in the 'development' years. The residents' movement helped to push this process forward and safeguard the value of the properties which families were just then finishing paying for. A historical cycle of growth and rezoning over four decades on the city's outskirts was thus coming to an end. There were still issues to be tackled and fresh ones were emerging: the first decade of the 21st century signals the beginning of the present for housing.

1 The new Prim Boulevard changed the general urban structure and quality of the Besòs neighbourhoods. 1990s. Rafael Escudé. AFB

2 : Improving public space is one of the most significant features of Barcelona's urban planning in the years before and after the 1992 Olympic Games. This process went hand in hand with new public housing developments. Can Zam Park in Santa Coloma de Gramenet, developed by the City Council and the Barcelona Metropolitan Area Association of Municipalities in 1996. *L'Espai Públic Metropolità, 1989-1999*. Mancomunitat de Municipis de l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, 2001

3 The urban planning schemes undertaken by Barcelona City Council built on their predecessors and kicked off a step change in interventions in the city. The PERI Prim by architect Emili Donato is an example (1999). *Urbanisme a Barcelona*. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Amador Ferrer Archive

4 The Indústria Gardens in Barcelona's Eixample district, laid out between 1989 and 1990, are one of the many examples of the policy of improving public space which led to a significant increase in the number of parks, gardens, spaces inside blocks and urban avenues in Barcelona in the decade that closes the cycle. *Barcelona, espai públic*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1992. Amador Ferrer Archive

5 Urban projects at the end of the 20th century pointed to new urban space organisation on a general scale and with metropolitan value. The development plans for urban renewal in Poblenou which had begun at that time gave rise to the 22@ District a few years later. The picture shows the first overview of the urban planning criteria for the area (1997). *1999, Urbanisme a Barcelona*. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Amador Ferrer Archive



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EPILOGUE. RECENT TIMES

At the beginning of the 21st century, the housing issue changed cycle with the great upheavals prior to the mortgage crash of 2007: rising prices were coupled with widespread incentives for banks to give cheap mortgages until the global economic meltdown came along. Housing was always a crucial issue to the point of being a key factor in the changes in municipal governments which have taken place in recent times. However, here we can no longer engage in historical analysis because we have reached the present.

1 Maresme District Festival, 2016. AVV Barri Maresme

2 Palmera Square, 2021. Mónica Martínez

3 Eviction at 470 Carrer Gran de Sant Andreu stopped under pressure from local residents. 14 June 2011. Albert Garcia/Photoaisa

4 The new Bon Pastor blocks under construction, 2020. Mónica Martínez



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Present and future questions

DENSITY

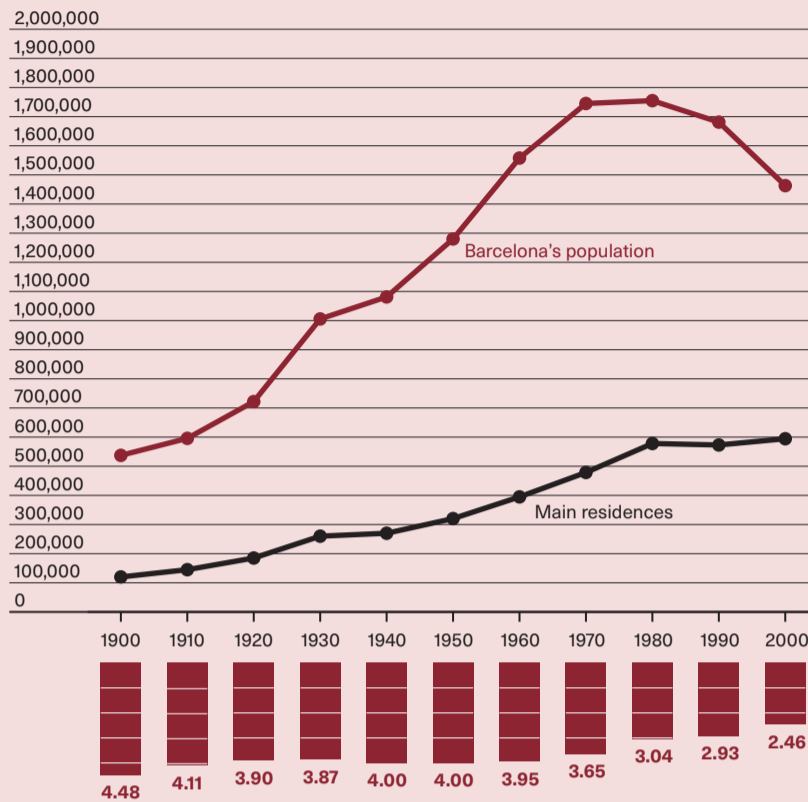
Why do we need more and more homes if the population isn't growing?

Population growth and the number of households have not kept in step. Since 1950, the population of the municipality of Barcelona has grown by 48%, while the number of main residences has risen by 153%.

Average household size has declined from 4 to less than 2.4 people per home, and this has meant that since 1960, 200,000 new properties have been built even though the population density has stayed the same.

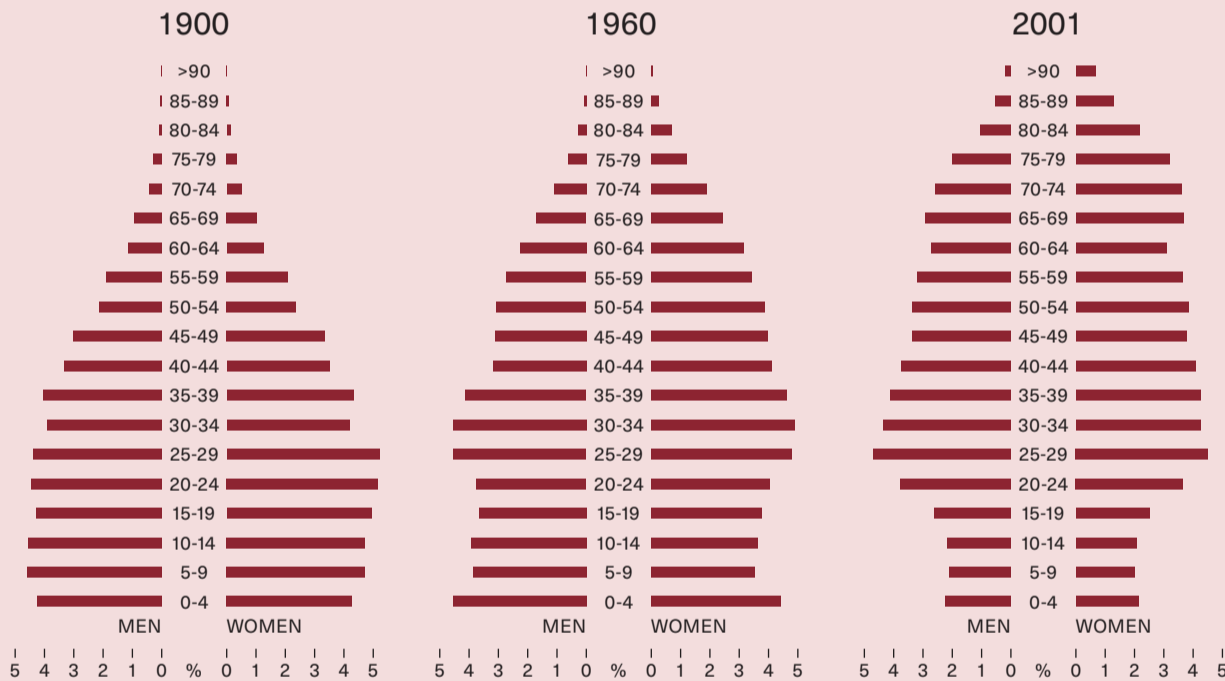
If this trend continues, when the municipality runs out of potentially developable land (some 60,000 properties) it will start to lose inhabitants.

How can we address the issue of density as a challenge and a solution to population loss and land use?



Comparative change in population and the number of houses in Barcelona

Sources: IDESCAT, anuaris històrics de la ciutat de Barcelona (1900-1940). INE, Fondo documental Censos de població (1940-1970). IDESCAT, censos de població i habitatge (1980-2001)



Age pyramids in 1900, 1960 and 2001, by Toni López-Gay, CED

Source: INE, cens de població

AGEING

Housing and demographics; two sides of the same coin

Barcelona has seen a demographic pattern similar to other European cities: firstly, large migratory movements (1950-1975) leading to its population increasing by 500,000 people and strong demand for housing, and secondly a baby boom (1965-1974) with over 90,000 newborns per annum who 25 years later would be looking for somewhere to live.

We have entered the 21st century with the smallest number of 18-35 year-olds in recorded history while life expectancy has lengthened, resulting in an increase in the relative share of the population over 65 which will rise from 19% today to 23% in 2030. Will later generations reach retirement age with lower pensions, mortgages still to be paid off and less affordable rents?

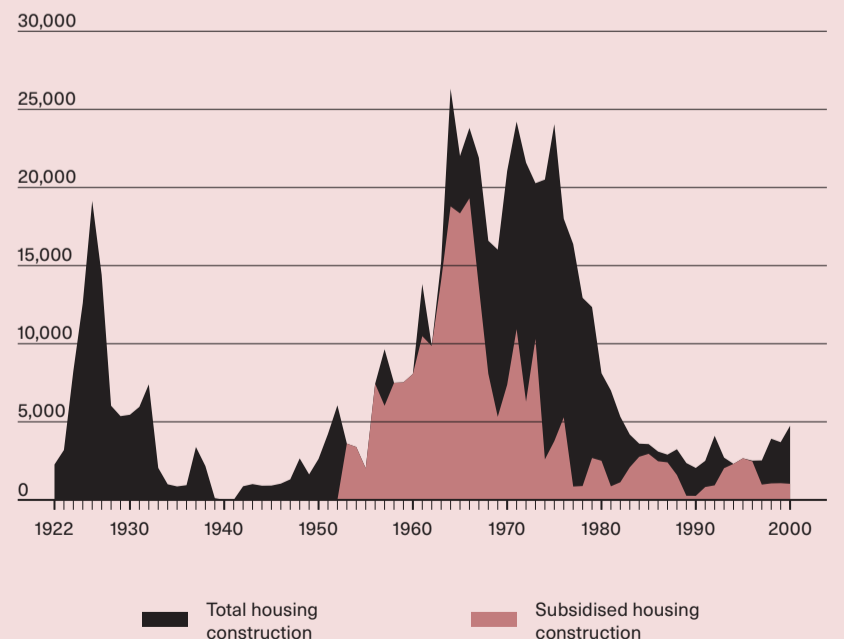
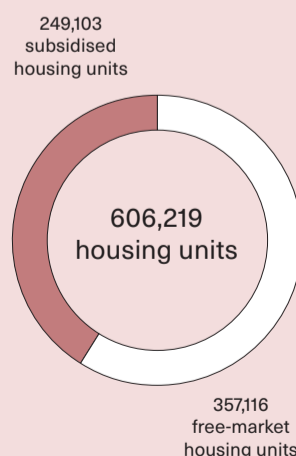
DIVERSITY

Does Barcelona's population have very diverse financial capacities?

Twentieth century housing policies sought to bring the cost of housing into line with families' financial capacities.

In 1960, 84% of people lived in rented accommodation. Rent freezes and compulsory rent extensions were introduced in an attempt to achieve stability, although this had the adverse knock-on effect of reducing rental housing stock. Plus after 1945, 250,000 properties were turned into affordable subsidised housing.

This resulted in a mixed and socially cohesive city with a diverse and affordable housing supply for large swathes of the population. However, the deregulation of rents since 1994 and the meagre public housing stock threaten this diversity.



Housing construction in Barcelona, 1922-2000

Source of data: population and housing censuses; architect's association approvals and final qualifications of subsidised housing

The history of housing and housing policies in the 20th century ended in 1997 with an unprecedented and spectacular mortgage and property bubble which shattered all previous patterns and was the prelude to the major housing problems in the early 21st century. We cannot understand why we are where we are if we do not ask about what happened beforehand. These are some of the questions which can help us to find our bearings.

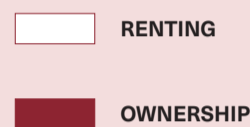
INCLUSION

What role does housing tenure status play in preferences and security?

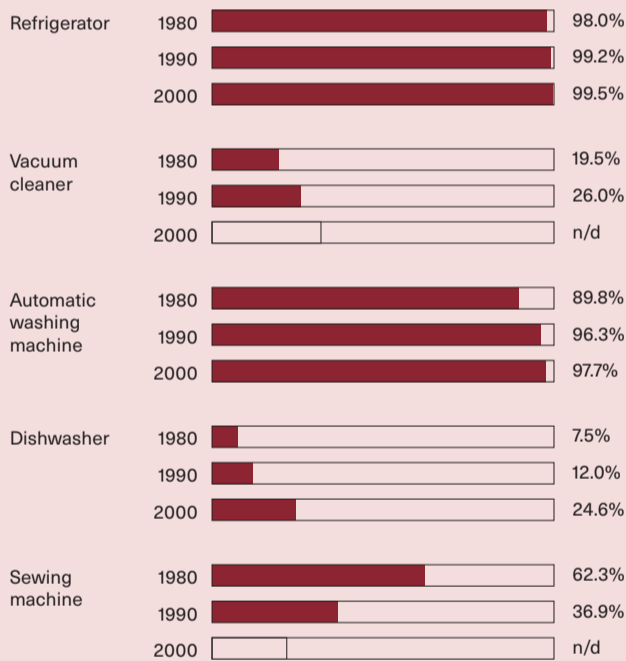
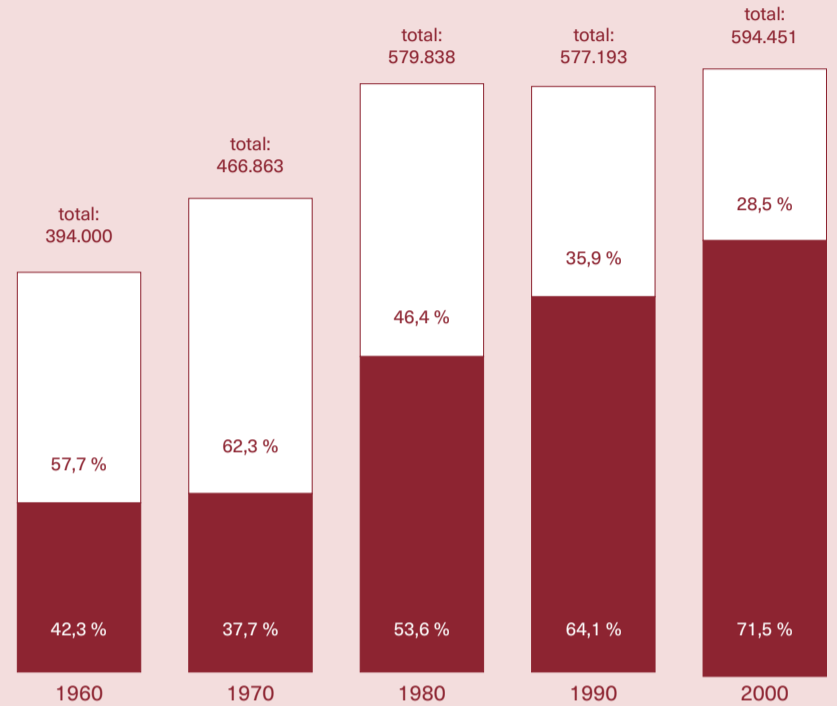
Barcelona has a high proportion of home ownership. This is the predominant option compared to renting, and the main reason is the guarantee of security it provides for the future. However, the 1997-2007 property bubble triggered a major social crisis when it burst, turning people's housing preferences and options upside down: the supply of subsidised flats has dried up as have the large financial facilities and public aid for buying one. The crisis brought about by the inability to pay mortgages also resulted in a sharp rise in the number of evictions.

This has led to unprecedented rental demand which might distort 21st century private and public strategies and residential stability.

Change in housing tenure in Barcelona 1960-2000

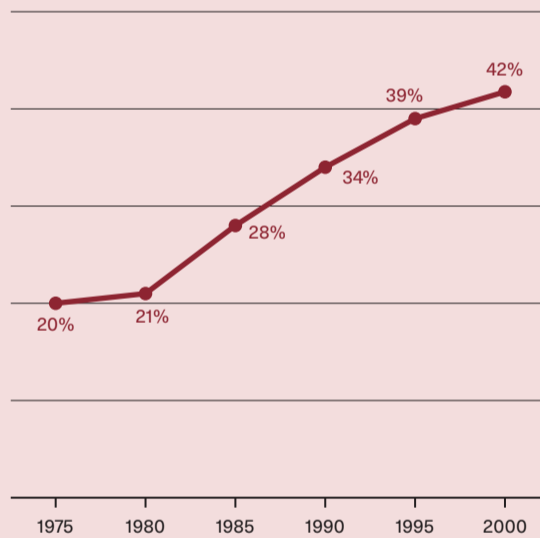


Sources: IDESCAT, anuaris històrics de la ciutat de Barcelona (1900-1940). INE, fondo documental censos de població (1940-1970). IDESCAT, censos de població i habitatge (1980-2011)



Change in household equipment

Source: Encuesta continua de presupuestos familiares. INE



Change in the married women's labour force participation rate

Source: Encuesta de población activa. INE

INNOVATION

Have ways of living together adjusted to new cultural, functional and environmental requirements?

Housing has undergone subtle and quiet changes which in retrospect have ended up being extremely dramatic: from closed, dark kitchens to bright, open ones, and from secluded rooms to shared spaces.

Today different forms of cohabitation are emerging such as alternative management models (co-living, urban work-for-rent, managed self-build) and flexible and versatile spaces are encouraged. We have diverse family models due to gender equality, sharing domestic work and caring for children, the elderly and the sick, and we are looking for sustainability in construction, zero energy usage, water cycle optimisation and health quality in buildings.

FRAGMENTATION

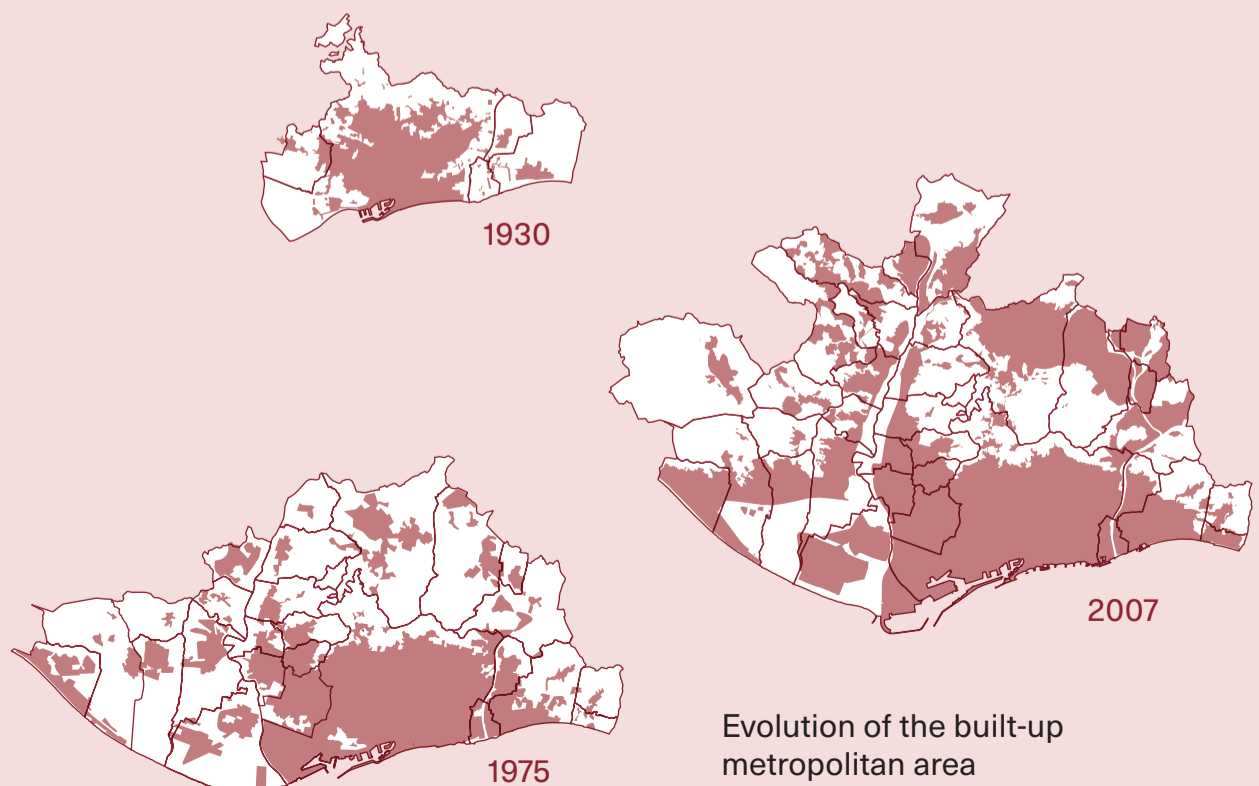
How can you access housing in a multi-municipality city?

In Barcelona, available space and building capacity are practically exhausted.

Residential movements between metropolitan municipalities are commonplace. Many people have left the city in search of less dense towns, better prices or living conditions more suited to their needs.

However, there are barriers to mobility in public or subsidised housing because the supply is restricted to people registered in the town, and this penalises people on low incomes in municipalities with less land.

The metropolitan area fosters urban cohesion. The essential ingredients of the city metropolis are public transport, socially balanced housing patterns and public policy coordination.



Evolution of the built-up metropolitan area

Key points and challenges of housing in Barcelona

The challenges of 20th century housing in Barcelona. Full interviews available on MUHBA's YouTube channel. More information on the website: barcelona.cat/museuhistoria

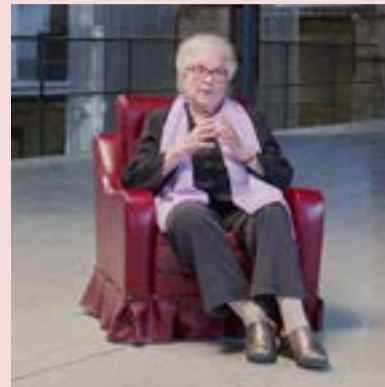


Carme Trilla Bellart
Economist and chair of the Barcelona Metropolitan Housing Observatory and the Hàbitat3 Foundation. Curator of the exhibition

"We set out to review the history of housing in the city with a patchwork of perspectives, drawing on the expertise, knowledge and experiences of specialists in a range of fields."

Antonio López-Gay
Geographer and demographer. Researcher in the Department of Geography (UAB) and the Centre for Demographic Studies

"Social cohesion was the driving force of many neighbourhoods in the 20th century."



Custodia Moreno Rivero
Former chair of the Carmel Residents' Association

"It's been 50 years since we started fighting to get rid of shantytown and we're still talking about housing as a problem."

Pere Cabrera Massanés
Architect and executive director of the Ciutat Vella Integrated Regeneration Unit (1991-2005)

"While the 19th century left the debt to the historic city and the implementation of the renovation, the 20th century left for the 21st century the duty to address the right to housing."



Mercè Tatjer Mir
Geographer and historian. Emeritus professor at the University of Barcelona

"In the first third of the 20th century there was great mobility in housing and it was common to see people with a wheelbarrow chockfull of household utensils looking for something cheaper to rent."



Maribel Rosselló i Nicolau
Lecturer in the Department of the Theory and History of Architecture of the UPC

"The increasing density of built-up areas has a big impact the liveability of the environment. [...] However, a dense and packed street, yet with numerous services, can be a much more cohesive place with greater social quality than more open but neglected spaces."

José Luis Oyón Bañales
Architect and professor of town planning at the UPC specialising in urban history

"The 1931 rent strike can be traced through the eviction records. It began in June and by August it's estimated that around 90,000 families were not paying their rent, accounting for 80% of the working class population of Barcelona at the time."



Oriol Nel·lo i Colom
Lecturer in the Department of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona

"Separation has increased considerably in scale; it's no longer just between neighbourhoods in the city but also between towns in the metropolitan area and even along metropolitan arterial roads [...] and this highlights the problem of the lack of a metropolitan-scale housing policy."

Amador Ferrer i Aixalà
Architect and curator of the exhibition

"The predominance of owner-occupied housing allowed Barcelona to achieve a higher degree of social interaction than other European cities, but one of the legacies of the 20th century is today's limited public housing stock."



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EXHIBITION AT MUHBA OLIVA ARTÉS. From 30 June 2022. **Organisation and production:** Museu d'Història de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura, Barcelona City Council. **Project director:** Joan Roca i Albert. **Curators:** Amador Ferrer and Carme Trilla.

Exhibition coordinators: Marta Iglesias and Mònica Martínez (Viureart). **Research and documentation:** Marta Delclós and Nil Boix Besora. **General review:** Joan Roca i Albert. **Museum design:** Espai E. **Graphic design and layout:** Andrea Manenti. **Preventive conservation and restoration:** Lúcia Font (coordination), Anna Lázaro, Núria Miró and Carla Puerto. **Document and image management:** Marta Iglesias and Mònica Martínez (Viureart). **Language review and translations:** Addenda. **Graphic production:** Ce.Ge. Creaciones Gráficas. **Transport and assembly of pieces:** GROF. Exposicions i museografia, S.L. **Insurance:** XL Insurance Company and Marsh S.A. **Pieces loaned by:** Arxiu Contemporani de Barcelona, Amador Ferrer i Aixalà, Arxiu Històric de Roquetes-Nou Barris (AHR-NB), Bestraten Hormias Arquitectura, Maribel Rosselló, INCASOL (Institut Català del Sòl) and Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge. **Audiovisual The challenges of 20th century housing in Barcelona.** Script: Amador Ferrer and Carme Trilla. Interviewees: Pere Cabrera, Antonio López-Gay, Custòdia Moreno, Oriol Nel·lo, José Luis Oyón, Maribel Rosselló and Mercè Tatjer. Coordination: Marta Iglesias and Mònica Martínez (Viureart). Revision: Joan Roca i Albert. Editing and postproduction: Broadcaster Content Agency.

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Barcelona, June 2022

