

The case of Barcelona, Spain

by Alex Walker and Bernardo Porraz

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I INTRODUCTION: THE CITY

Barcelona is a Mediterranean port city. The capital of the Autonomous Region of Catalonia, it is the second largest city in Spain after Madrid, with 1.5 million inhabitants in the municipality of Barcelona, and more than 4 million in the metropolitan region. It has two official languages, Catalan and Castilian Spanish, as well as which it has a rapidly increasing population of immigrants, mainly from North Africa and Latin America. While Barcelona, along with the rest of Spain, has greatly increased its wealth relative to that of the rest of the European Union since the transition to democracy in 1976, there are still important sectors of the population who suffer from poverty, and different degrees of social exclusion.

A. THE URBAN CONTEXT

1. National Overview

After the civil war (1936-1939) Spain underwent an extended period of social, political and economic stagnation, and the 1940s and 50s are often called "the lost decades" (Roca 1997). Ruled as a military dictatorship, there was heavy cultural censorship, and the official economic policy until the end of the 1950s was one of autarchic self-sufficiency. Furthermore, condemnation by the international community resulted in Spain's

exclusion from the Marshall Plan in the post war years, which put it at the margin of the general European economic recovery. However, after the dictator's death in 1975, the country underwent an ultimately successful transition to democracy, which also entailed a relaxation of tight social control, and a progressive opening of the economy. In 1978 a political decentralization process was initiated, culminating in the creation of the 17 autonomous regions into which Spain is divided, with local, directly elected governments with extensive fiscal autonomy, and extensive control of health, education, urban, social and environmental policy. The national elections in 1982 were won by the Socialist Party, which many saw as the final confirmation of the transition to democracy. In 1986 Spain joined the European Union, since when it has undergone almost continuous economic growth. It now has a real GDP per capita of \$18,079 (1999) (Revuelta, 2002). Nevertheless, despite the success of its political and economic transition, Spain continues to suffer from important regional and local inequalities, with the bulk of the wealth concentrated in Madrid, and the industrial cities of the Basque country and Catalonia, while there are important concentrations of poverty, notably in the rural areas of the south and west, as well as in declining industrial and mining areas such as Asturias. Furthermore, differences in relative wealth appear to be growing within Spanish society: according to figures of the Instituto

Nacional de Estadística (INE), 19.7% of Spanish households were considered to be poor in 1991, an increase from the figure of 12% in 1974 (the definition of poverty being those households with per capita incomes of under 50% of the national average) (Oliver, 2001).

Spain was still a predominantly rural country after the end of the civil war. However, the post-war economic recession hit the rural districts especially hard, and there was widespread hunger especially in areas such as Galicia and Andalucía throughout the 1940s, and the post-war years saw large-scale emigrations to Latin America, and Northern Europe (see **Table 1.2**). In the early 1960s, the success of the IMF sponsored stabilization plan resulted in a sudden burst of economic growth and industrialization.

The combination of agricultural mechanization and the shortage of labour in the cities resulted in a massive process of internal migration, the main destinations being Madrid and the cities of Catalonia and the Basque Country, principally Barcelona and Bilbao. Spain now has a 77% urban population (Revuelta, 2002). The urbanization process has been accompanied by a rapid process of social development, which has brought the country close to the European averages, as shown by indicators such as literacy rates and net disposable income (see **Tables 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5**).

Nevertheless, despite continuous improvements in health, education, democracy, etc, Spain continues to face problems of high unemployment, and social inequality (see **Tables 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8**).

2. The History of Barcelona

Barcelona was founded by the Romans on the site of a previous agricultural settlement. It was later ruled by the Visigoths, and subsequently came to form, for a short time, part of the Moorish Caliphate of Cordoba. After the Christian conquest in the late 9th century, it became the seat of the counts of Barcelona, and subsequently the capital of the Kingdom of Catalonia and Aragón. For centuries it was the central port in an extensive Mediterranean trading empire.

Barcelona grew to be a typical dense medieval city, with narrow streets, locked inside defensive walls. However, in contrast to most similar European cities, it was unable to expand beyond its medieval walls until the middle of the 19th century, because of military restrictions imposed in 1714, after the War of the Spanish Succession. The result was an intense densification of the city, which had 83,000 inhabitants in 1818, 140,000 in 1821, and 187,000 in 1850, in an area of not much over 2 million square metres (Permanyer, 1990). These conditions caused severe problems of disease and overcrowding.

In 1854 permission was given for the walls to be demolished, and the *eixample* (expansion) of the city was undertaken in 1859 on the grid-pattern plan of

Table 1.1 Spain, general figures (2000)

Total population	40,202,160
Foreign residents	801,329 (2%) (1999)
Inflation	3.4%
Average annual income (1995) in Euros	Household 14,736.7 (\$13,734.6) Individual 4,625.6 (US\$4,311) Consumption unit 6,045.8 (US\$5,634.6)
Unemployment	14.07% (male unemployment 9.74%) female unemployment 20.51%)

Source: INE 2001

Table 1.2 Spain, net immigration

1900-1909	1930-1939	1950-1959	1990-1999
-430,000	+202,000	-692,000	+846,000

Source: INE, in Platón (dir) 2002

Table 1.3 Spain, literacy rates

1900	1920	1940	1960	1980	2000
45%	57.1%	76.8%	86.3%	93.6%	97.17%

Source: Tortella, in: Platón (dir) 2002

Table 1.4 Spain, net disposable family income/capita, in 1998 pesetas

1900	1920	1940	1960	1980	2000
234,322 (\$1,312.2)	307,580 (\$1,722)	302,400 (\$1,693.4)	503,340 (\$2,818.7)	1,091,477 (\$6,112.3)	1,720,000 (\$9,632)

Source: Inchausti, in: Platón (dir) 2002

Table 1.5 Spain, convergence of income with European union (%)

1959	1963	1967	1971	1975	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999
58.34	66.8	72.35	75.27	81.39	73.04	71.57	73.72	79.07	79.17	83.17

Source: Fundación BBV, in: Platón (dir) 2002

Table 1.6 Spain, unemployment (%)

1939	1973	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
5.36	2.72	12.44	21.67	16.11	23.91	14.07

Source: INE 2000

Table 1.7 Spain, households which can't allow themselves certain expenditures, 1996 (%)

Adequate heating in the home	Holidays at least 1 week per year	Renew part of the furniture	Buy new clothing	Invite friends for meal at least once a month
53.4	50.5	59.1	11.1	16.1

Source: INE 2000

Table 1.8 Spain, household incomes (1996), distributed by income in pesetas (%)

< 66,000 (\$369.6)	66,000 - 132,000 (\$369.6 - \$739.2)	132,001 - 198,000 (\$739.2 - \$1,108)	198,001 - 264,000 (\$1,108 - \$1,478.4)	264,001 - 396,000 (\$1,478.4 - \$2,217.6)	> 396,000 (\$2,217.6)	no reply
9.9	26.1	22.0	15.2	15.7	10	1.1

Source: INE 2000

Ildefons Cerdà. As a result the old city, which had been the entirety of Barcelona previously, gradually became an industrial district, with large quantities of slum housing, and stagnation in terms of urban development, while the richer sectors of the population moved to the new areas.

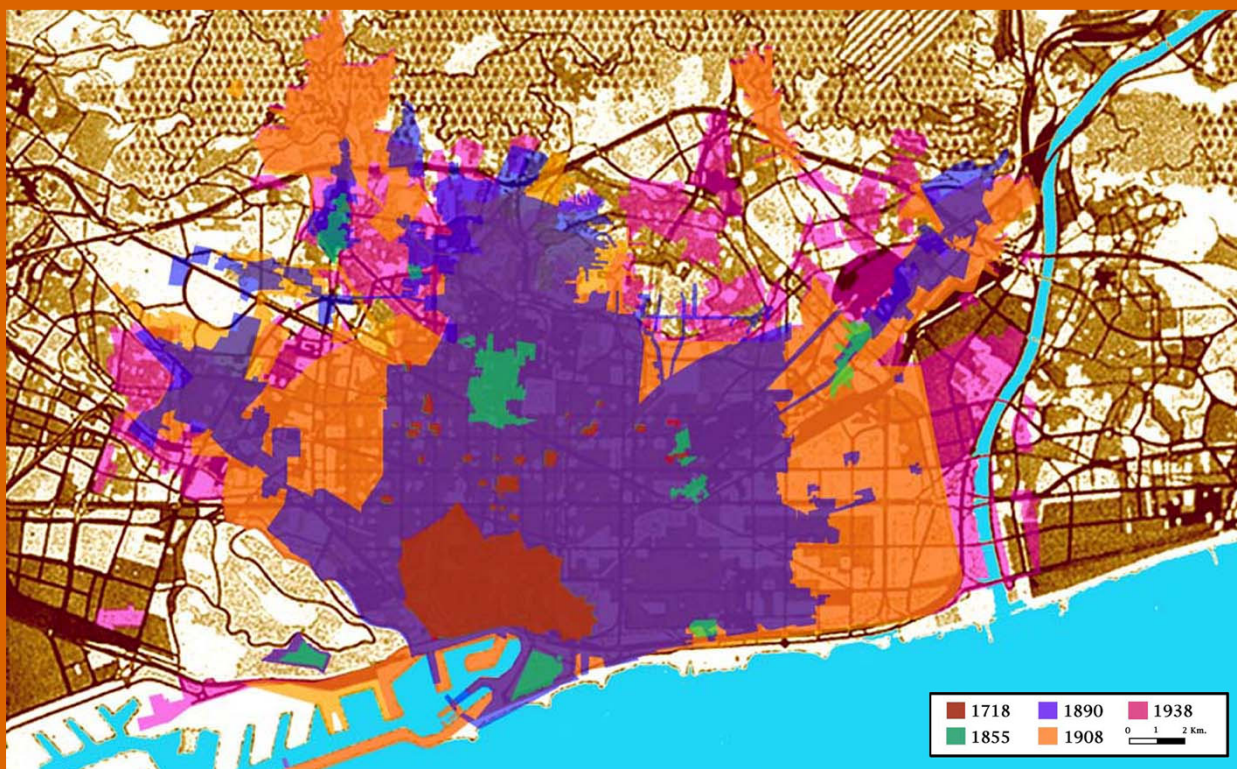
A new burst of urban growth was set off by the 1929 world exhibition, especially around the Plaça d'Espanya. This small urban boom brought an important influx of migrants, mainly from Aragón, Múrcia and Galicia. Since there was very limited housing infrastructure for these new inhabitants, many of them began to live in shanty towns on the central mountain of Montjuïc (Roca i Blanch 2000).

Barcelona underwent very little urban growth in the civil war years (1936-1939), or during the early 1940s, when Spain was plunged into a deep recession. But as from 1945, a new wave of industrialization helped to create a second industrial ring, concentrated around

the towns of Badalona, Montcada and Santa Coloma de Gramanet, drawing in tens of thousands of immigrants a year, especially from Southern Spain.

Large quantities of often very poor quality housing were built to house the new inhabitants of the city, but the chronic housing shortage continued, and in the early 1960s there were more than 50,000 people living in shanty towns on Montjuïc alone (Roca i Blanch 2000), as well as many others spread around the city, notably the gypsy settlements of Somorrostro and Camp de la Bota along the seafront, and those of La Perona in the Ronda de Sant Martí de Provençals, and the Verneda near Roquetes, which were still in existence in the 1980s. From the 1950s on, the Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge (Municipal Housing Fund), began to build estates both to re-house the shantytown dwellers, and to cater for the massive influx of migrants from the south of Spain. Many of these housing polygons were placed on the wasteland formerly occupied by the shantytowns (La Mina, El

MAP 1: Barcelona, historical growth.



Source: Drawn by Alex Walker and Bernardo Porraz from historical maps of the city

Polvorí, Can Clos, La Vinya, Can Tunis, Torre Baró etc).

The 1970s saw the development of a third ring of industrial and housing development, at a metropolitan scale, taking in the towns of the Baix Llobregat, and the Vallès - the region on the other side of Collserola from Barcelona. This process was aided by the development of new major transport infrastructures, in the form of a tunnel through the mountains and the motorway along the coast.

3. The Physical City

Barcelona is located in Northeast Spain, on the Mediterranean coast, at a longitude of 42° 25' N. It has a Mediterranean climate, with cool winters and hot summers, (average temperature, 17.2°, January average 9.9°, August average, 24.9°), relatively low annual rainfall (469.2 mm, 2000), and high relative humidity (average 78%) (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001). In the 19th century, Barcelona was administratively restricted to the old city and the Eixample, but in 1898 it expanded, absorbing a number of surrounding municipalities (Gràcia, Sant Martí dels Provençals, Sant Gervasi, etc.). The present day municipality of Barcelona, measures 99.07 km² and has a population of 1,508,805 (1996) (ibid). It is located on a plain between the Collserola mountain range (412 m) and the sea, and between the Besòs River to the north, and the Llobregat to the south. The restrictions posed by the mountains and the sea have tended to limit the physical expansion of the city, this being one of the main causes of Barcelona's relatively high population density (15,230 inhabitants/km²). However, since the 1970s, the city has expanded beyond these barriers, and has physically merged with other cities. In physical terms, there now exists a more or less clear urban continuum, defined by uninterrupted buildings at high densities, which occupies almost the whole of the coastal plain stretching from Montgat in the north to Garraf in the south, and taking in the valleys of the Llobregat and Besòs Rivers (Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1995).

Administratively, as well as Barcelona municipality, this area also includes what is normally referred to as the first ring of influence, corresponding to the area of the old *Corporació de Barcelona*, and comprising 27 municipalities, with a total area of 585.3 km², and a total population of 3,037,763 (1991 figures) (ibid).

4. Demographics

Barcelona started the 20th century with a population of 537,354, grew to 1,081,175 in 1940, reached a peak in 1974, with a population of 1,816,623, and has since fallen steadily, due to a combination of reduced birth rates and emigration to other surround-

ing towns, a process related to the relocation of industry to the peripheral areas, cheaper housing prices outside the central city, and improvements in transport infrastructures, specifically local rail lines, the metro, buses, motorways, and especially the road tunnels built through the mountain behind the city, allowing rapid access to Sant Cugat, and other towns of the Vallès. The 2000 population of the Barcelona municipality was 1,512,971, of which 805,188 were women, and 707,783 men (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001). The age structure shows a top-heavy pattern, with a high proportion of older age groups (see **Table 1.9**). This is partly a reflection of the tendency towards greater longevity and

Table 1.9 Barcelona, age structure of population (1996)

	TOTAL %	MEN%	WOMEN%
TOTAL	100	100	100
0-14	11.9	13.1	10.9
15-29	21.6	23.4	19.9
30-44	20.5	21.3	20.0
45-64	25.3	25.4	25.3
65 +	20.7	17.0	23.9

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona 2001

falling birth-rates in Spain as a whole, but the specific figures for Barcelona also reflect a tendency towards the emigration of young people from the central area towards the peripheries of the metropolitan area, drawn by lower housing prices, and densities (Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona 1995; Nel-lo 2001).

Although Barcelona has undergone a process of de-densification since the 1970s, with large scale emigration to surrounding towns, it has never ceased to be an important destination for immigrants from other parts of Spain throughout the 20th century, and more recently from overseas, mainly the European Union, Latin America and North Africa (see **Table 1.10**)

The general patterns of immigration can be seen in the figures of place of birth. In 2000, 58% of the popula-

Table 1.10 Barcelona, net immigration in selected years

YEAR	1902	1917	1929	1935	1964	1980	1990	2000
IMMIGRANTS	5,540	11,387	5,619	22,464	44,296	8,919	14,962	23,650
EMMIGRANTS	1,708	7,771	937	12,402	26,426	16,780	28,936	39,092
NET IMMIGRATION	+3,832	+3,616	+4,682	+10,062	+17,870	-7,816	-13,974	-15,442

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona 2001

tion was born in Barcelona, 8% in the rest of Catalonia, 27% in the rest of Spain, and 7% abroad. Of these, the most important donor regions are Latin America and North Africa. Of the Latin American immigrants, more than half (56%) come from Ecuador, Peru and Colombia, and there are significantly more women than men, a reflection of the destination of many of the migrants in domestic work. Of the African migrants, 71% are from Morocco, and 60% are men (see **Table 1.11**).

Table 1.11: Barcelona, ethnicity by sex, 2000

total population by place of birth	MEN	WOMEN
TOTAL 1,512,971 (100%)	707,783	805,188
SPAIN 1,438,890 (95.1%)	670,868	768,022
EUROPEAN UNION 12,726 (0.84%)	6,734	5,992
EUROPE, OTHER 3,551 (0.23%)	1,775	1,776
AFRICA 9,997 (0.66%)	6,045	3,953
AMERICA 35,530 (2.3%)	14,865	20,665
ASIA 12,141 (0.8%)	7,423	4,718
OCEANIA 112 (0.007%)	58	54

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona 2001

tourism (**Table 1.12**).

The city's commercial activity is largely centred on the port, which, in 2000, had a transit of 12,006 ships, of which 8,647 were merchant vessels, the rest being ferries, cruise liners, fishing boats and pleasure craft (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2001), with a total of 29,804,892 tonnes of merchandise passing through the port, of which 11,015,245 tonnes were loaded, and 18,789,647 were unloaded (Ajuntament de Barcelona

Table 1.12: Barcelona, economic activities by sector 2000 (millions of pesetas)

Agriculture	7(US\$39,200)
Industry	14,133(US\$79m)
Construction	11,428(US\$64m)
Commercial	54,134(US\$303m)
Services	73,249(US\$410m)
Professional	44,050 (US\$247m)
Total	197,001(US\$106m)

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona 2001

5. The Urban Economy

Barcelona has been an important maritime trading centre since Roman times, and was at the centre of an extensive Mediterranean maritime trade throughout the Middle Ages. Although the Catalans were initially prohibited from trading with the new Castilian colonies in the Americas, by the 19th century they had established important trading networks with Latin America, notably Cuba. The industrial revolution had a major impact in the area, and Barcelona, together with towns such as Terrassa, Sabadell and Granollers, developed a number of industries, including textile production and heavy engineering. The first railway line in Spain ran between Barcelona and Mataró. Later Barcelona was to be an important centre of automobile manufacture. In 1949, the Seat factory in Barcelona was the largest factory of any type in the whole of Spain (Roca, 2001). Today the main products manufactured in the city are "textiles, precision instruments, machinery, railroad equipment, paper, glass and plastics" (Barcelona: Renewal Project for the Ciutat Vella District 2001).

More recently, Barcelona has followed the trend of Western European cities towards terciarization. Today Barcelona continues to have important industrial and commercial components, but has a larger service sector, a growing proportion of which depends on

2001). The country list of trading destinations of the ships passing through the port runs to more than 100.

While the traditional trade has been through the port, trade on the stock market has also grown in importance in recent years, with the effective volume of trade negotiated growing from 16,251 million Euros in 1996 to 80,458.5 million Euros in 2000 (ibid), reflecting the growing integration of the city economy with the global economy, a process which follows the globalization experienced at the national level (see **Table 1.13**).

Table 1.13 Spain, degree of openness of foreign trade (sum of imports and exports as % of GDP)

1930	1935	1940	1955	1975	1990	1998
20.87	11.65	5.43	10.82	21.66	28.69	42.69

Source: Inchausti, in: Platón (dir) 2002

While Barcelona's wealth per capita is somewhat higher than the average for Spain, unemployment is lower, and inflation is slightly higher, it follows the general trends for the rest of the country - see **Table 14**

6. Governance

Spain is a constitutional monarchy, with a directly elected national government, based in Madrid, with two houses (the Senate and Congress). The most important national political parties are the ruling conservative *Partido Popular*, and the main, left of centre, opposition party the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*. A number of other parties are represented at national level, including *Izquierda Unida* (United Left), and several regional parties.

In the 1980s, the country underwent a national decentralization programme, resulting in the formation of 17 autonomous regions. Each of these regions has an elected local government, with extensive control over health, education, local transport and agricultural, urban and environmental policies, local police forces, and cultural and social policy, although the divisions of responsibilities and fundraising potential vary both between regions and over time, in a process of constant negotiation (interview with Nuria Benach and Rosa Tello).

In Catalonia, the local government has been presided over by Jordi Pujol of the Catalan nationalist coalition party *Convergència i Unió* since the first elections in 1980. The main opposition party is the *Partit Socialista de Catalunya*, the Catalan Socialist Party.

At the municipal level there are also directly elected governments in Spain, presided over by mayors, with extensive control over urban, environmental and transport issues, as well as some control over education, municipal police forces, and some local tax raising powers. Again, the extent of the powers and responsibilities varies depending on the size of the municipality, and the negotiation processes. In Barcelona, the municipal government has been presided over by a Socialist party mayor since the first democratic elections in 1979. The present mayor is Joan Clos. The main opposition party is the Catalan nationalist coalition *Convergència i Unió*. Although there have been a number of other important concerns, including economic stimulation, and social policy, the major preoccupation of the munic-

ipal government, at least since the preparations for the 1992 Olympic games in the late 1980s, has been urban regeneration, and the international marketing of the city (interview with Nuria Benach and Rosa Tello).

As part of the preparations for the Olympics, a large-scale urban project was undertaken, which gave access to the seafront, previously cut off from the city by redundant railway lines and industry, cleaned up the beaches, and built a new, high income housing area, the Olympic Village on the site of an old industrial zone. Also, a new ring road around the central city was built, adding several entrances to the city to the two highly congested ones already in existence. In general, these works helped to give Barcelona an international image, and to turn it into a major tourist destination. Subsequently a number of important urban interventions have taken place, notably in the old city, where numerous new squares have been created, and neighbourhoods have been cleaned up. There is an important campaign encouraging the renovation of old buildings.

II. SLUMS AND POVERTY

Even taking account of the broad definition of slums used by UN Habitat, there is a widely shared opinion that, insofar as the term implies homogeneous extensions of sub-standard housing, it is difficult to talk about slums as such in Barcelona, except for a few isolated cases. Rather, there are areas of the city with higher indices of poverty and social inequalities, and these are the areas in which the highest concentrations of substandard housing also tend to exist. What makes it difficult to talk about slums is that, in most areas, housing in slum conditions is intermixed with housing which cannot be considered to be slum housing (interviews with: Jordi Plana; Martí Abella; Oriol Nel-lo; Núria Gispert; Beatriz and Chelo). For this reason, rather than talking about slums, the discussion will be centred on areas in which slum conditions exist.

Table 1.14: Barcelona, socio-economic indicators 2000

GDP (1996)	4,906,877 million pesetas (\$27,633 million)
GDP/inhabitant over 16 (1996)	3,740,400 pesetas (\$21,064)
Gross disposable family income/inhabitant over 16 (1996)	1,954,000 pesetas (\$11,004)
Registered unemployment (2000)	6.1%
Estimated unemployment (2000)	10.2%
Inflation (2000)	4.0%

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2001

B. TYPES OF SLUMS

1. Types

In broad terms there are four contexts in which slum conditions, according to the general definition given by UN Habitat, can be found in Barcelona.

i) The first context is composed of degraded housing in the centre of the old city, concentrated in a few areas which are characterized by old housing, in a poor state of repair, with inadequate urban services, and high concentrations of social inequality and marginal activity: drug addiction and trafficking, prostitution, petty crime. Traditionally there were large numbers of illegal hostals

in this area for immigrants, and people who were unable to afford proper housing. Although not so common as before, these illegal pensions continue to thrive in this area (La Vanguardia, 8 June 2002 reported on the discovery of a number of illegal hostals for elderly people, run by a single landlady, in which people paid 20 Euros per month for rooms in flats in substandard conditions).

ii) The second type is a form of slum housing which was of immense importance in the city until the 1960s, but which, from the end of the 1980s has become effectively vestigial. This can be described as shantytown housing, normally self-built in areas of wasteland around the then edges of the city. The results varied from extremely precarious constructions without urban services, and with extremely poor conditions of crowding and contamination, to buildings which were gradually built to a high physical standard, with solid materials, and all urban services installed.

A number of settlements of the latter type still exist, but apart from their irregular origins, and their uncertain future, as they are mostly earmarked for demolition, they hardly fit, any longer, within the definition of a slum.

iii) The third context in which slum conditions are found in Barcelona consists of multi-family residential blocks, built from the 1950s onwards, to house immigrants from other parts of Spain, and to re-house the inhabitants of the shantytowns which were being demolished. A number, although by no means all of these new estates rapidly turned into slums of a new kind, especially those which were built to re-house the poorest shantytown dwellers. Although nowhere near as precarious as the settlements they replaced, these settlements tend, in physical terms, to be poorly built, poorly maintained, (especially the privately-built ones), relatively isolated from the rest of the city, often situated in inaccessible locations such as between motorways and industrial wasteland.

In social terms these settlements are often characterized by high levels of social marginality: drug dealing, petty crime, prostitution, long term unemployment and poverty. The majority of these settlements are located around the periphery of the central city, many of them near the new ring road that was built in the late 1980s (see Map 3).

iv) The fourth type of slum settlement consists of temporary gypsy encampments in areas of waste ground in and around the city. These consist, normally, of variable numbers of lorries, sometimes more than 30, parked on the waste grounds. The inhabitants live in the lorries, and the settlements lack all formal urban services. How long a settlement stays in one place depends



Photo 1. Housing in a Part of the Raval under Reconstruction.



Photo 3. Gypsy Encampment in Poble Nou. (Bernardo Porraz)

on the activities of the inhabitants and their need to move on, or on the reaction of the owners of the land, or the police. The camps are also located in abandoned factory buildings. Although very little is definitely known about this type of slum settlement, it is possible that there are several thousand people living in these temporary camps at any one time (interview with Albert Viladomiu).

port, has been characterized by high concentrations of marginal activities, and the highest levels of poverty in the city (see [Map 4](#)). It has also traditionally served as the gateway for new immigrants to the city, providing cheap lodging in very poor conditions, in the form of illegal boarding houses, dormitories, and sub-divided apartments. The conditions which were noted by the



Photo 2. The Mina Housing Estate, in Sant Adrià del Besòs.

Finally, it should be pointed out that Barcelona, like most European cities, has a population of homeless people, with a total of about 3-400 at any one time (interview with Jordi Plana).

2. Location and Age

The location of the settlements is closely related to their age, and to the historical development of the city discussed in [Section 1](#).

The **first type** of slum context is located almost exclusively in the district known as the Ciutat Vella or Old City. This area, as explained [Section 1](#), was the whole of Barcelona until the mid-19th century expansion, and had developed very high housing densities, and severe problems of lack of light, air, open spaces, etc. After the expansion of the city, most of the better-off sectors of the population moved out of the Old City, and slum conditions developed in a number of areas. This process has continued to the present day.

Slum conditions can be found in several neighbourhoods, including the Barri Gòtic, Santa Caterina and the Barceloneta, but the highest concentration is to be found in the neighbourhood known as the Raval, and most concretely the Raval Sud, or Southern Raval. This area was traditionally known as the Barri Xino, or "Chinatown", and, partly because of its proximity to the

GATCEPAC architects in the 1930s are still relevant today. The buildings in this area vary in age, some being several centuries old. The existence of slum lodgings in the area can be traced back at least to the mid-19th century.

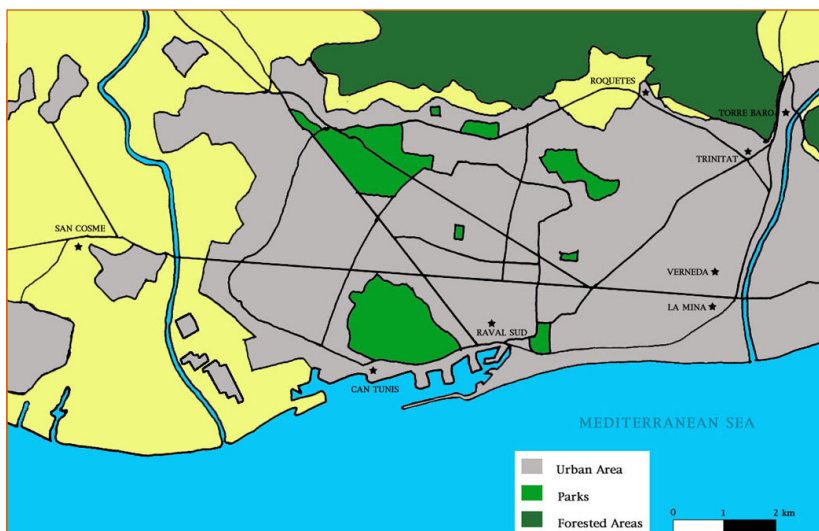
The second type of slum, the shantytowns, existed already, to a limited extent in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, but the first major development of this slum form occurred during the preparations for the 1929 world exhibition, which attracted thousands of migrant workers from other parts of Spain who, unable to find housing in the already overcrowded city, began to build shantytowns in several areas, but especially on the mountain of Montjuïc, near the centre of the city (Roca i Blanch 2000). Other areas where there were large concentrations of shantytowns were along the seafront, especially the shantytowns of Somorrostro and Camp de la Bota, with large gypsy populations, in the area of Can Tunis, near the port, and in the present day district of Nou Barris (see [Map 3](#)). In other words, the shantytowns were concentrated on wasteland around the then peripheries of the city.

The third type of slums, the multi-family housing blocks built to house immigrants and shantytown dwellers date from the 1950s to the early 1970s. In general these estates were located either on the sites of the shantytowns that were demolished (for example,

Can Tunis, El Polvorí, Verdum etc), or on empty sites around the edge of the city (for example, La Mina). Although many of these estates are no longer on the edges of the city, they tend to be in locations which are not particularly well connected to the main fabric of the city, and they also have a tendency to be isolated from their immediate surroundings, since they are characterized by not following the street pattern of the rest of the city, but rather having their own geometry, which is often delimited by features such as rivers, wasteland, indus-

trial estates or motorways (interview with Núria Benach and Rosa Tello).

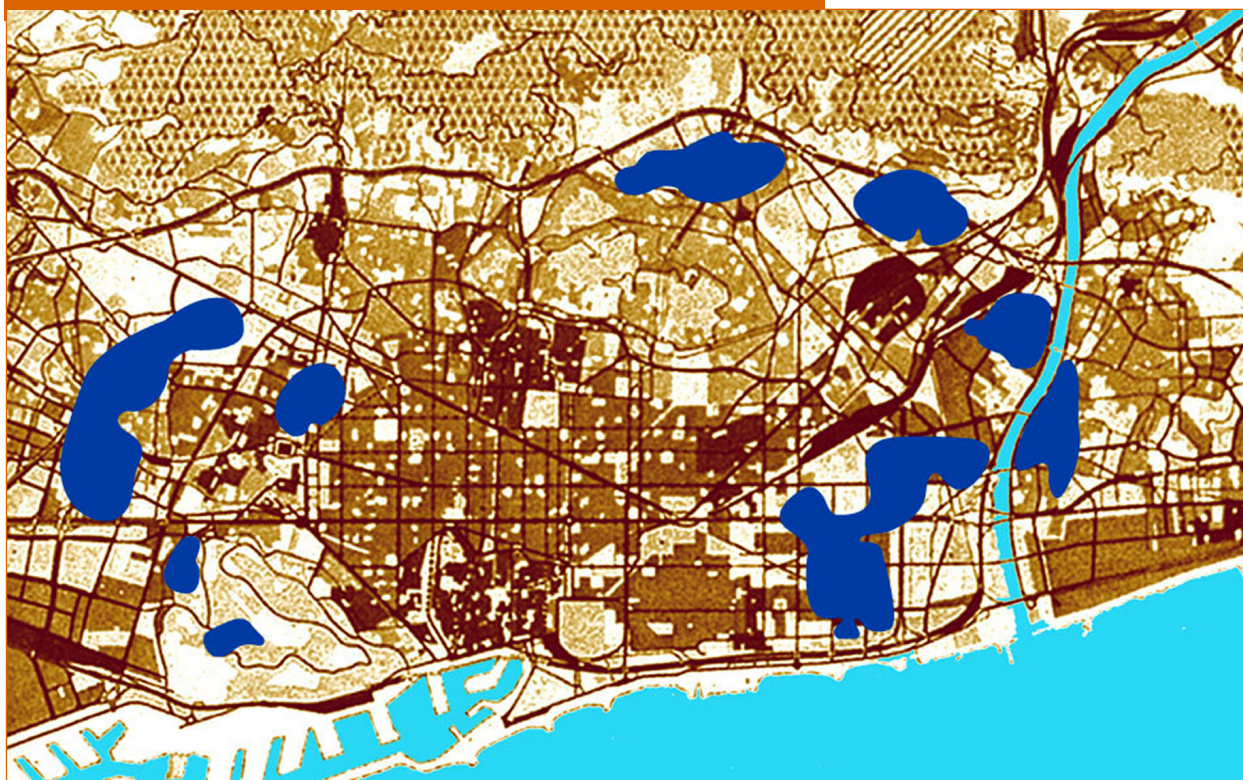
The **fourth type** of settlement considered, the gypsy camps, have existed for hundreds of years, but each one is, by definition, relatively new, as they are temporary. They are located on waste sites all around the city, but the most important concentration is in the old 19th century industrial area of Poble Nou, to the north-east of the city centre, where there are many abandoned factories, and large empty plots.



Map 2: Barcelona. Location of areas with main concentrations of slum housing.

3. Population Size and Characteristics

It is impossible to state precisely the slum population size in Barcelona. This is because slum settlements are not dealt with separately in census data, and since, as was previously noted, slum areas are not clearly delimited from the rest of the city, except in a few very limited cases, and in general the population living in slum conditions is intermixed with the rest of the population. An estimate can be made of the size of the slum population, based on the proportion of the population living in poverty in the city. This figure varies



Map 3: Barcelona. Location of Shantytowns in the 1930s, According to a Study by GATCEPAC. Source: J. Busquets, 1976 / drawn from data in Sobriquets i Callicó, 2001

from 9.6% of households living in poverty in Barcelona (Gabinet d'Estudis Socials, 1994) to 17.9% (Institut d'Estudis Metropolitans 1985-1990-1995) (both figures quoted in Balaguer & Hernández, 1999, both figures count families living in poverty as those who earn less than 50% of the average for the city).

Another indication, at least of the size of the area in which slum conditions exist, is the estimate that: "Very important areas of our cities suffer from grave urban and social problems. Among these areas, some are especially serious. Within the ambit of the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona, these areas make up 7% of the residential area, with some 400,000 inhabitants, and 180,000 housing units." (Govern Alternatiu, 2000, p. 1, author's translation). 400,000 inhabitants means almost 10% of the population of the Metropolitan Region. This figure, however, is the population of the areas which have been identified as requiring important public urban interventions. It does not imply, by any means, that all of the people in these areas are living in substandard conditions (interview with Oriol Nel-lo). In fact, the (as yet unpublished) results of the 2000 Enquesta Metropolitana (Metropolitan Survey), show that 99% of those questioned have not only running water inside their dwelling, but also bath or shower and flush toilet, as well sewage systems, electricity, etc. that is to say that the proportion of the population living in what could be referred to as substandard housing (*infravivienda*) is very low (Oriol Nel-lo, *ibid*).

The populations of the different areas with slum housing share certain basic characteristics, namely low average incomes, and relatively low levels of education. However, the populations of the different areas vary in a number of respects with regard to other indicators.

The Raval Sud, in the old city, the area with the highest concentration of poverty in the whole urban area, is characterized by two population groups: elderly people, often living alone, on low incomes, and immigrants, who make up more than 30 per cent of the population in the area (<http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/est02/t43.htm>, 27 June 2002).

The shantytown population was composed of a mix of the local working classes, Catalans and Gypsies, and immigrants from other parts of Spain. The population of the housing developments built to replace them have largely the same characteristics, with a much younger population than the old city. There is an increasing number of immigrants from other countries moving to these areas.

The Gypsy encampments are populated by Gypsies from both Spain and other countries, principally Portugal and Romania (Noguer 2002).

C. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

The Barcelona Municipal Government has no official written definition of slums, because it, in agreement with academics and NGO representatives (as discussed above) considers that the shantytowns, which constituted, historically, the main slums in the city, no longer exist, and that there are no slums (the Spanish term *barrios marginales*, or marginal neighbourhoods was used as the translation) as such, in the city. Rather, there are areas with higher indices of social inequality, but these cannot be considered to be slums, because they are represented by particular streets, or even buildings, rather than whole neighbourhoods.

Another aspect of the lack of clear definitions of slums, is that the normal Spanish term for the phenomenon, "*barrio marginal*", implies a situation of marginality, and this term has fallen out of favour for some years now, being replaced by the term "social exclusion", and more recently the concept of "social inclusion", which is more in line with the European Social Agenda. (Information from interview with Jordi Plana). This explanation reflects that given by representatives of an NGO which works with the vulnerable population in Barcelona: "there is not a *barrio marginal* (the translation used of the word "slum" for the interview), there are groups of marginalized people, if you can call it that, dispersed throughout different neighbourhoods in the city (...) but the cases are dispersed throughout the whole city. There are not ghettos as such" (interview with Chelo and Beatriz, Fundación Escó).

D. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Popular Understandings of Slums

Different social classes' understandings of slum areas tend to vary according to their social and geographical distance from the areas in which slum conditions are found (which tend to be interrelated). As such, for a relatively large part of the so-called "up town" population (the better-off sectors living in the higher part of the city), the whole of the old city, and a large part of the periphery is considered to be, if not a slum, a dangerous, or at best disagreeable area, with a few exceptions of neighbourhoods that have been gentrified. Many people also think that shantytowns continue to be a problem in Barcelona, although, as has been mentioned, they have been virtually eradicated since the 1980s.

The middle and lower income social classes, especially those who live in neighbourhoods which border on the slum areas tend to have a more accurate understanding of the mosaic of different neighbourhoods, some with very poor conditions, some with better condi-

tions, which make up the central and peripheral areas of Barcelona. They tend to consider, more clearly, determined neighbourhoods as being poor, very poor, highly degraded, and so on. Whether they consider these to be a menace to the rest of the city, or a problem which requires solving, depends on personal perspectives.

The population which lives in the areas in which slum housing exists tends to have a much more precise conception of the phenomenon, and rather than whole neighbourhoods, tends to think in terms of particular streets, even buildings, which are in very poor conditions, or in which marginal sectors of the population are concentrated. They also tend to distinguish between the different social groups which live in the same area, some of which are considered to be "marginal", "dangerous", "unfortunate" and so on.

2. Relevant Local Language Terms

There are a number of local language terms used to describe the elements of slum conditions, but, as has been mentioned previously, in Barcelona, slum conditions do not occur in clearly circumscribed areas, but change between streets, buildings, and even apartments in the same building. The nature of the local language terms reflects this. Most of the terms given are in Spanish. Although they have Catalan versions, which are normally very similar, they have been given in Spanish, because this tends to be the more common language in the poorer areas of the city, where the terms are most often used. The most important terms are listed below:

- *Barrio Marginal* – marginal neighbourhood. A term commonly used to refer to all types of neighbourhoods which suffer from severe social and economic problems (the severity being judged by the speaker). A similar term is *barrio degradado*, or degraded neighbourhood.

- *Barraca* - self-built, illegal housing, made using non-durable material (cardboard, scrap wood and metal, etc). Hence *barraquismo*, the phenomenon of people living in *barracas*. The common term in the rest of Spain for the same phenomenon is *chabola*.

- *Polígono* – a publicly funded housing estate built on the peripheries of the city to house shantytown dwellers, immigrants, and other people in housing need. This term refers, however, to any low-income housing development and not merely to those considered to suffer from slum conditions. A popular word referring to the same phenomenon, but with derogatory tones, and as such used more to refer to the *polígonos* with marked social problems is *bloque*, as in "vive en un bloque" (s/he lives in a housing estate, ie not in a normal flat).

- *Barrio Chino* – China Town, a term traditionally applied to the neighbourhood of the South Raval in the old city, with implications of prostitution, crime, and low life in general. The term is increasingly falling into disuse, in part as a result of the efforts of the inhabitants of the area, and the Town Hall, who are trying to change the popular image of the area.

- *Finca vieja* – old building, used to refer to a building in an advanced state of decay, as opposed to *finca antigua*, which merely implies age.

- *Campamiento gitano* – Gypsy encampment. A description of this phenomenon, but also used in a derogatory fashion.

E. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

In Spain, as elsewhere, there exists an important debate relating to the measurement of poverty, centring on concepts such as relative and absolute poverty (Balaguer & Hernández, 1999). The main studies of poverty that have been carried out in the city use the approach developed by the European Union, which sets the poverty level at 50% of the mean income of the reference population, such that all those people with incomes below this level are considered to be poor (*ibid*).

There are a number of different public institutions which deal with the problem of poverty in Barcelona, the main ones being the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs, the Generalitat, or Catalan regional government, the Barcelona municipal government, and the town halls of the other municipalities which make up the metropolitan area. Each of these institutions uses its own definitions of poverty, which tend to vary depending on the context of the use. There are a series of official limits of poverty based on parameters of subsidies, for example, at the Spanish national level, based on the Interprofessional Minimum Salary or Non-Contributive Pensions, or, at the level of the Catalan regional government, the "PIRMI" (*Programa Interdepartamental de la Renda Mínima de Inserció*, or the *Interdepartmental Programme for Minimum Wages for Reinsertion*) (Mercader & Sarasa 2002).

However in general, and certainly as far as the Barcelona Town Hall is concerned, the definition of poverty for the purpose of practical application of policies has become gradually more complex and more subtle, and rather than depending simply on economic measurements such as minimum wages, or levels of income, it uses a series of social and economic indicators, for example levels of vulnerability, in order to select people who are in need of special assistance. In general, the different studies, and official institutions also make use of the concepts of social inequality and social exclusion,

which take into account factors such as unemployment, housing, educational levels, geographical origin or ethnic origins (ibid). Although such factors are extremely difficult to quantify, they are held to be of great importance in the practical application of policies aimed at social inclusion (Jordi Plana, interview). A particular instrument which is used in Barcelona is the *Índex Sintètic de Desigualtats a la Ciutat de Barcelona* (ISD) (City of Barcelona Synthetic Inequalities Index), which “has been constructed to establish a hierarchical ordering of needs in the city territory on the basis of aggregated macrosocial data. This (...) allows the ordering of small territorial areas on the basis of the criteria of relative need in such a manner that it is a useful tool for deciding criteria of assignation of resources within the territory” (Mercader & Sarasa ibid, author’s translation).

F. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. Popular Understandings of Poverty

The popular understandings of poverty closely reflect the popular understandings of slums, discussed in section D1, insofar as the further, both socially and geographically, social groups are from the areas of greater poverty, the more generalized and limited their understanding of poverty is. As such, there is a tendency in the high income areas of the city to think that the whole of the old area, and the peripheral areas of the city are sunk into poverty, linked to a certain ignorance as to the reality of the daily implications of poverty. The closer people are to the phenomenon of poverty, the more they understand the complexities, the variations, and the differences between certain social categories. There is also a generalized tendency for people to think of their situation of being one of not having as much money as they would like, and poverty corresponding to the people further down the social chain. This process tends to end with people who genuinely find themselves in a situation of poverty, and who cannot compare themselves favourably with others.

2. The Poor’s Perception of their Own Poverty

People who are genuinely, and indisputably poor, tend to have a very clear conception of their problems, combined with a rather pessimistic attitude to their solutions. For example, the interviews carried out during the preparation of this document clearly demonstrated that poor people living in slum conditions had very little knowledge of the contents of the policies aimed at improving the living and social conditions of their neighbourhoods, and certainly did not see these policies as representing solutions to their particular problems. This issue is discussed at greater length later.

G. ORIGINS OF SLUMS IN BARCELONA

1. Social, Economic and Political Forces

The origins of the different slum types in Barcelona has already been discussed in section B. To recap, there have been slum areas in the old city in one form or another for centuries, but the development of slum conditions in large parts of the old city dates from the mid-19th century expansion of the city, and the consequent removal of large sectors of the better of population from this area. The shantytowns, which no longer exist, date from the rapid growth of the city’s population during the 20th century, which was not accompanied by an adequate growth in available housing. The slum conditions in some of the new multi-family blocks built from the 1950s onwards dates from attempts to re-house the shantytown dwellers, but without dealing with essential problems relating to their social exclusion, and furthermore, by breaking up communities, and mixing people from different communities in the same blocks.

Despite economic growth in Spain from the 1960s on, in general the conditions in the slum areas improved very little until after the transition to democracy in the mid 1970s, when, gradually, policies were introduced aimed at solving both the physical and social problems of the city. The vast improvements in slum settlements in the following decades, which involved the eradication of all of the shantytowns, important improvements in living conditions in many of the large housing blocks, and, from the end of the 1980s, important improvements in many areas of the old city, can be attributed partly to the economic growth which Spain underwent after the transition to democracy, and especially after joining the European Union. But there can be no doubt that the interventions by the Barcelona municipal government, and by other public agencies have been extremely important in improving both physical and socio-economic conditions in many slum areas and former slum areas:

“when the Olympics were celebrated, they didn’t just make the Olympic Village, but they linked the periphery to the centre, [in the zone of] Nou Barris [...] I had been with mud to my knees, and now it’s integrated into the city, with everything it needs. [...] And when we talk of economy and poverty and those things, there is chronic poverty, and there is precariousness, and we have to be very clear about this, but the living conditions in Barcelona in comparison with when I was small have improved to an impressive degree” (interview with Núria Gispert).

The policies which are still underway, and which are planned for the future, although often contentious in a number of ways, continue to have important effects in improving living conditions, and reducing poverty. At the same time, however, almost all of the NGOs and citizens’ groups consulted, as well as most of the individuals interviewed agreed that the enormous increases in housing prices over the last few years, linked to the liberalization of the housing market, and rampant prop-

erty speculation, together with the precarious employment contracts given to increasing numbers of people have been responsible for significant increases in poverty and social exclusion in recent years.

H. DATA ON BARCELONA'S SLUMS

1. Maps of slums

Since, as has been noted, there are no clearly defined slums in Barcelona, but rather, areas in which slum conditions can be found, it is impossible to provide maps showing "the slums" of Barcelona. What has been provided is a map of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area, indicating the main areas in which there are concentrations of poverty and slum conditions (**Map 1**). Also a map has been provided showing historical locations of slum areas (**Map 2**).

2. Census Data

The censuses do not disaggregate data for slum areas in Barcelona, a process which would, in any case, be rather complex, given that, as previously explained, slum conditions are not, in general, to be found in clearly delineated areas, but are mixed in with other areas. For this reason, the discussion in this section will rely on the extrapolation of data from the whole city, as well as some data which applies specifically to areas with a high concentration of slum housing, concretely the neighbourhood of the Raval in the old city. However, as was mentioned previously, the 2000 edition of the *Enquesta Metropolitana* showed that 99% of the households interviewed had such basic services as running water, with hot water, bath or shower and flush toilet inside the house, mains electricity and connection to the sewage network.

2.1 Permanent structures. Although non-permanent slum structures were historically of great importance in Barcelona, such structures are now statistically insignificant. The structures in both the newer slums and in the old city centre slums are often decayed, or in poor conditions due to their age, lack of maintenance and poor quality materials and techniques used in their construction, but they are made of permanent materials.

2.2. Access to water. Access to water is effectively universal in Barcelona. All of the areas with slum conditions are served by water mains, and although some individual dwellings may not be connected, or, in the case of the Gypsy encampments, there is no piped water because the location is not permanent, statistically, these cases are extremely limited.

2.3. Access to sanitation. As in the case of piped water, all of the slum settlements, and effectively all of the households have access to sewerage systems, although there are buildings in the old city in which

more than one household has to share bathroom facilities. Statistics do not appear to exist as to the numbers of such buildings. Theoretically all of the slums, which are integrated into the physical fabric of the city, have waste collection services. However, there was recently a case in which precisely the withholding of solid waste collection was apparently used as a tool to get rid of slum dwellers resisting eviction. This occurred in the Can Tunis estate, recognized as being, as well as the main drug market in Barcelona, the worst slum in the city.

The demolition of the estate began in July 2001, as part of an expansion programme for the port (*El Periodico de Catalunya*, Monday 24 September 2001, page 33). Negotiations had been going on for some time to expropriate the houses on the estate, and the 110 families, mostly ethnic Gypsies did not, in general, accept the offer of between 6 and 8 million pesetas for the expropriation of their housing. They argued that it would be impossible to buy a flat elsewhere in the city for less than 15 million pesetas, and demanded to be provided with social housing instead (*ibid*, and *El Periodico de Catalunya* Friday 15 July 2001). Then, in October 2001, the municipal cleaning services stopped collecting solid waste from the estate, as a result of which it accumulated on the streets and on the surrounding wasteland, at the same time as the eviction negotiations broke down (*El Periodico de Catalunya* Friday 26 October 2001), which was interpreted as being a strategy by the Town Hall to facilitate the eviction procedures (*News Report on Canal 33*, October 2001).

2.4 Access to electricity. All of the slum settlements are connected to the electricity network, and theoretically all households have electricity, unless they have been disconnected.

2.5 Transport and delivery. All parts of the city, including those with high levels of social inequality are connected to the street network, and apart from a few pedestrian streets and streets with staircases, all are accessible to motor vehicles.

2.6 Access to healthcare. Public healthcare is free in Barcelona, including, after a recent legal case, to illegal immigrants. While the health centres in the areas with higher levels of social exclusion tend to function under greater pressure, healthcare is nevertheless available.

2.7. Access to education. Public education is free and universal in Spain, and there are schools in all parts of the city. Once again, the schools in the areas with higher concentrations of slum areas tend to have more problems of non-attendance, violent behaviour, immigrant children who do not speak the language, etc., but they do exist.

2.8. Mortality rates. There are no figures for slum areas in Barcelona as a whole, but the mortality figures for the Raval Sud (with the highest concentration of poverty in the city) give some idea of the variations within the city:

Life Expectancy at Birth, 1991-1995

	Raval Sud	Barcelona
Men	68	73
Women	78.1	81.1

Main Causes of Premature Death 1991-1995

	Raval Sud	Barcelona
Men	AIDS Overdose and poisoning Lung cancer	AIDS Lung cancer Motor vehicle accident
Women	AIDS Overdose and poisoning Circulatory and lung disease	Breast cancer AIDS Motor vehicle accidents

Incidence of the main diseases that are obligatory to register in the Raval Sud and Barcelona, as annual average incidence /100,000 pop)

	Raval Sud	Barcelona
AIDS		
Men	429.7	87.4
Women	133.2	34.6
Tuberculosis		
Men	651.9	94.0
Women	183.2	34.6
Hepatitis A		
Men	18.5	10.4
Women	19.7	6.8
Hepatitis B		
Men	12.1	5.0
Women	6.0	1.5
Malaria		
Men	13.0	3.7
Women	-	2.3

Source: all figures in this section from Pasarín et al, 1998

2.9. Density of population. Barcelona is a city with a high population density in general – 15,200 inhabitants per km². Within the city there is a great variation of densities. It is certainly true that the lowest population densities tend to be in the highest income areas (4,500 in Pedralbes, 7,300 in Sarrià), but they are not especially high in the areas with the highest concentrations of social inequality. For example, 31,800 in the Raval,

30,400 in Roquetes-Verdum, 24,100 in Barris Besòs. Compare these to the highest densities in the city: 45,000 in Sant Antoni, 46,800 in Sagrada Família, and 45,400 in Poble Sec, none of which are neighbourhoods with any significant concentrations of slum conditions.

The area with the worst slum conditions in the whole city, Montjuïc, which contains the housing development of Can Tunis, has a density of 2,000 inhabitants per km², but this figure is highly distorted by the fact that the area measured includes the whole mountain, and a large area of industrial developments near the port, while the population of the neighbourhood is 1,081 people, mostly concentrated in three blocks of buildings. (all figures in this section are from Gómez, 1999).

2.10. Secure tenure. Security of tenure in the slum areas is threatened principally by two agents: landlords in the case of rented property, and the municipal government.

A significantly larger proportion of the inhabitants of slum areas are tenants than in the rest of the population, although reliable figures do not exist. The shortage of figures is largely due to the fact that in these areas subletting is extremely common. Tenants with rental contracts in Spain have legal protection for their rights. However, especially in the slum areas, the majority of tenants do not have any sort of written contract, and, as such, have limited rights in the face of unscrupulous landlords, and tend to be ignorant of the rights they do have. As such, they can be rapidly expelled from their dwellings for no reason, and are subject to random increases in rent, lack of maintenance on the part of the landlord, violence and other similar abuses.



Photo 4. Can Tunis Estate (Bernardo Porraz)

The threat to tenure from the municipal councils stems basically from the need to repossess housing for the purpose of urban renewal programmes. For example, in order to build a square or a new road, it is necessary for the council to repossess and demolish the buildings which are in the way of the project. Such a process has formed an important part of the redevelopment process which has been under way in the old city since the late 1980s. Although the official policy in the case of Barcelona municipality is to re-house the inhabitants in the same neighbourhood, this policy does not apply (and would be extremely difficult to apply) to people who have no proper contracts, and these, as was mentioned earlier, form a large proportion of the inhabitants in the slum areas. As such, when the building they are living in is repossessed, they are obliged to look for housing elsewhere.

I. POVERTY IN BARCELONA

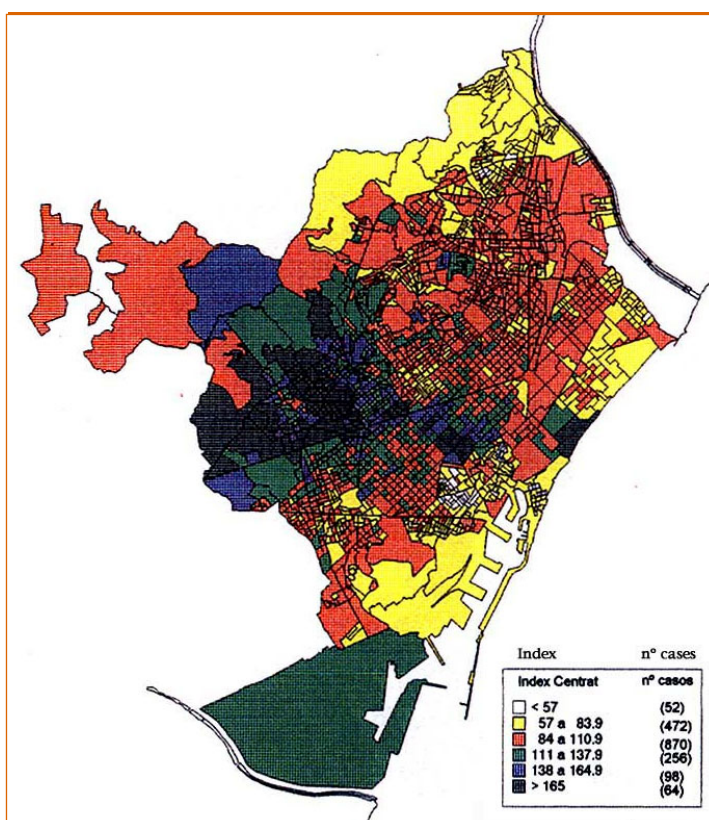
1. Maps

Three maps have been provided showing the distribution of income groups in the Barcelona municipal area, showing the distribution of the Economic Capacity Index. In this index, 100 is the average for Barcelona, and the areas shown in white are those with an index of

less than 57, ie the poorest areas of the city. The first shows the distribution of the Economic Capacity Index for the whole of the Barcelona Municipality. The second shows the distribution of this index in Ciutat Vella, which is the poorest district of the city, showing the main concentration of poverty in the Raval Sud neighbourhood. The third map shows the development of the index by municipal districts over three years, 1988, 1991 and 1996. All of the maps are taken with permission from Ajuntament de Barcelona, Alcaldia, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació (1999).

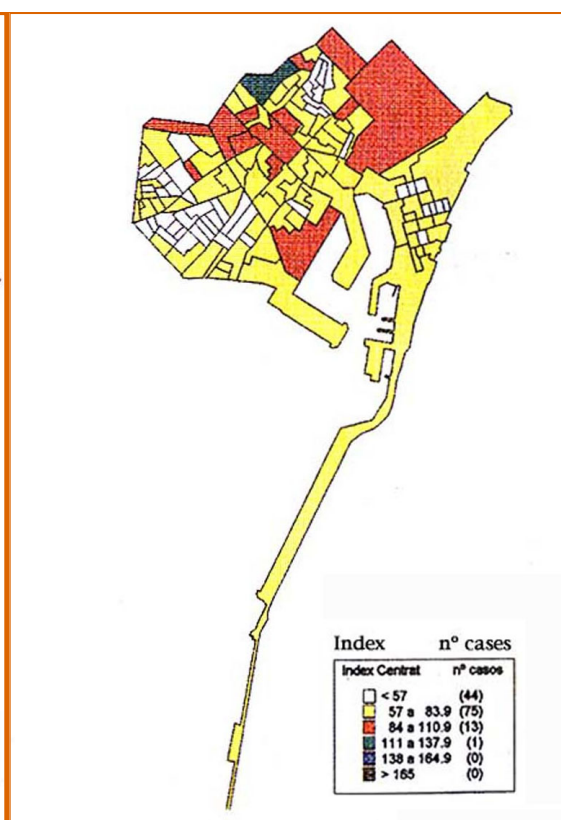
2. Census Data

Data have been collected in Barcelona municipality at the neighbourhood level, in order to construct a Synthetic Index of Social Inequalities. The data are not disaggregated by sex or ethnic group, and (for reasons that have been previously discussed), they do not deal precisely with slum areas, but a comparison of the data for the neighbourhoods which have the highest concentration of poverty and inequalities, with those for Barcelona as a whole, and with the highest income neighbourhood in Barcelona (Pedralbes), gives a generalized understanding of the differences in conditions in the city. (see **Table 15**)



Map 4: Barcelona Economic Capacity Index 1996

Source Ajuntament de Barcelona, Alcaldia, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació (1999).



Map 5: Ciutat Vella Family Economic Capacity Index by Censal Sections 1996

Source: Departament d'Estadística

These figures demonstrate that the highest concentrations of poverty in the city are undoubtedly in the Raval, in the old city, and that the highest levels of social inequality are in the Raval and in Montjuïc (which basically means the housing complex of Can Tunis). The other areas shown (apart from Pedralbes) are all areas with high concentrations of new multi-family housing built to house immigrants and shantytown dwellers. While the various social indicators demonstrate higher levels of poverty and inequality here than in the city as a whole, these are less marked than in the old city.

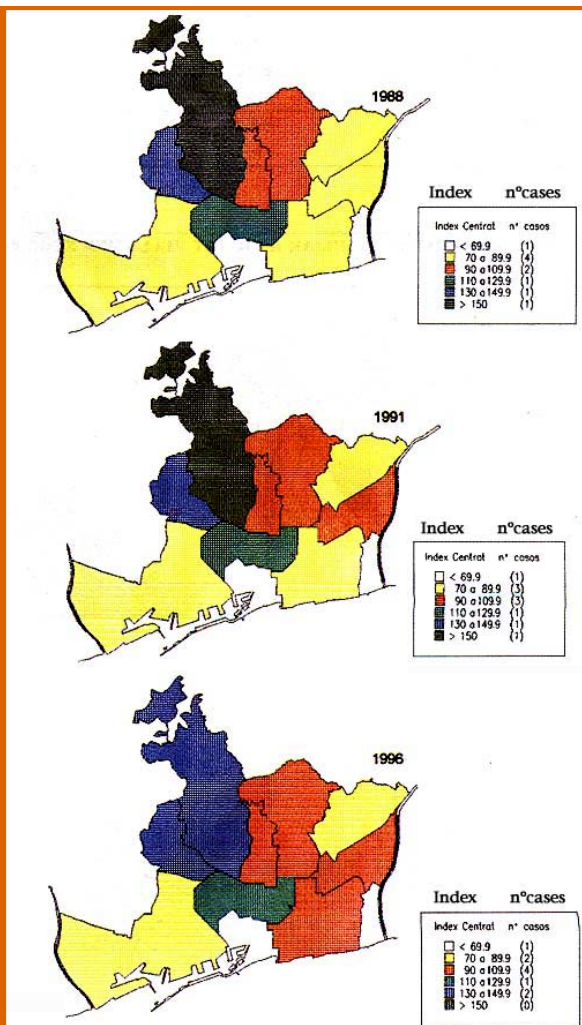
J. THE INHABITANTS OF THE SLUMS

This section contains edited interviews with two people resident in the Raval Sud neighbourhood of Barcelona. The first interview is with a woman in her

50's who represents a rather typical case in the neighbourhood of the Raval. She migrated to Barcelona from a small village in Central Spain, when she was 17, to work in the city's factories. She was selected partly because she is a person who has been provided with one of the new flats built at the upper end of the Rambla del Raval when the building she lived in was demolished for the project. Her comments about her concerns with the numbers of extra-community immigrants in the neighbourhood were heard in all of the interviews with Spanish residents in the neighbourhood, and reflect a growing concern in a neighbourhood in which, in only three or four years, the immigrant population has grown to represent a very high percentage of the total population (officially 36.2% in January 2002, (<http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/est02/t43.htm>, 27 June 2002) but large numbers of the immigrants are not registered, and the actual figure is probably substantially higher). Concerns with this issue were also given prominence by the president of the Raval Neighbourhood Association, who said that "the main thing is the excessive massification of foreigners, from immigration, which in the last 10 years has gone beyond almost all expectations. This, for me, is the greatest problem at the moment, because it results in a zero relationship between the immigrant and the autochthonous inhabitant, and there is an excessive number of immigrants in the neighbourhood of the Raval. (...) between 15 and 20 thousand immigrants in an autochthonous population which was previously 40 or 45 thousand, and which has diminished due to this problem". (Interview with Josep García, President of the Raval Neighbourhood Association).

My name is Brígida López Gúzman, I was born in León, in a small village, but I came to Barcelona when I was 17, because otherwise I had to work on the land, and I didn't want to, I preferred to work in the city. So I came to Barcelona, and I've made my life in Barcelona. I worked in an engine factory, I worked in a textile factory, I worked in a welding factory, in the factories that were in Pueblo Nuevo, here in the Plaza España, where the slaughterhouse was, there was a welding factory, and so I was working, and so I had my retirement, some time ago, well, not that long, but some time ago, because they operated on me, and they gave me the illness pension, but I'm better now. Here I had my daughter, I have two grandchildren, and here I'm living, in the Calle Cadena. My husband is Catalan, and he worked all his life, in transport, in factories, in what he could, because you can work. Now he works as a security guard in an office.

When they demolished our house, they said to us, we paid 8,000 pesetas in rent, but we had the flat very nicely arranged, we looked after it – that was 3, 4 years ago. And so they sent us here, and here we pay quite a lot more rent, quite a lot more. We pay a lot. There were a lot of people who owned their houses, and they gave them 2 million, or it depended on what the flat was like, or they gave them 1.5 million, and they gave them the flat, and now they're paying rent. They were owners, and now they are paying a very high rent. 20,000 pesetas, and 30,000, and more. And before they didn't pay anything, because the flat was theirs. And now they are



Map 6: Barcelona Family Economic Capacity Index by Municipal Districts, 1988, 1991, 1996

Table 15 Poverty indicators for selected neighbourhoods in Barcelona

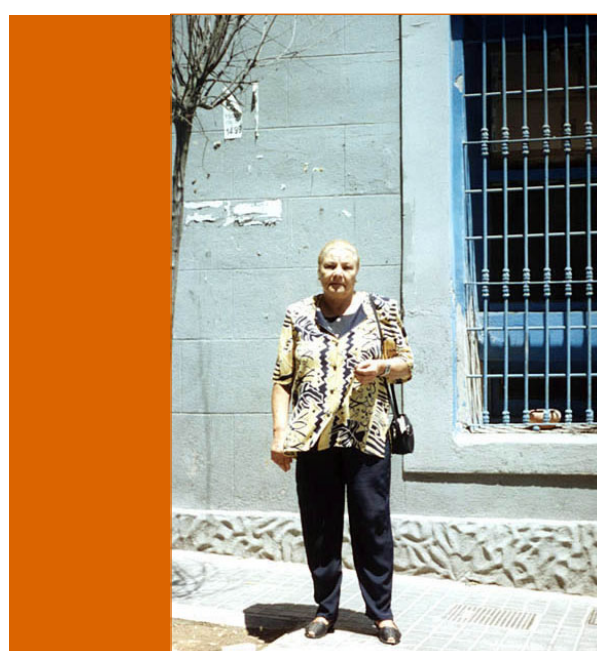
Neighbourhood	Children index	Over-aging index	Unemployment rate	Illiteracy rate (16-64 years)	Insufficient studies rate (16-64 years)	Immigration Index	Synthetic index of social inequalities	Index of family economic capacity
El Raval	10.3%	45.2%	33.3%	0.35%	16.45%	43.71%	152	59.16
Montjuïc	15.1%	36.2%	37.1%	1.04%	26.34%	32.65%	90	81.12
Roquetes Verdu	11.8%	34.9%	26%	0.30%	16.61%	44.29%	456	81.54
Ciutat Meridiana	14.5%	32.3%	30.2%	0.54%	20.12%	45.11%	259	76.8
Trinitat Vella	13.7%	34.8%	28.9%	0.31%	18.29%	47.11%	377	77.38
Barris Besòs	14.2%	31%	28.6%	0.21%	16.36%	40.71%	416	79.76
Verneda	11.6%	35.3%	22.9%	0.20%	11.76%	40.73%	577	89.93
Pedralbes	13.1%	34.2%	11.9%	0.12%	2.91%	26.57%	999	208.59
Barcelona	11.9%	42.1%	20.6%	0.06%	8.96%	32.49%	648	100

Notes: The children index is calculated with the formula population 0 – 14 years old/total population x 100. The overaging index is calculated using the formula population of 75 and over/population of 65 and over x 100. The insufficient studies rate refers to those people of 16-64 years of age who either do not know how to read and write or know how to, but have no more than 4 years of

schooling. The immigration index uses figures for all residents born outside Barcelona. The Synthetic Index of Social Inequalities is created using four indicators: rate of insufficient studies rate, rate university degrees, unemployment rate, and life expectancy at birth. The Index of family economic capacity uses Barcelona as a reference of 100. Source: all figures are from: Gómez 1999

paying, and of course, they aren't very happy. And so that's it. And so we are happy with the neighbourhood, of course we are, it's our neighbourhood, but what we aren't very happy about is with the people who have come in to live here, all these foreign people, because they don't behave correctly. They have shops. They have bars. They have hairdressers. They have everything, and listen, they kick us out. They're kicking us out of the neighbourhood. The Moroccans, and all these people who come, Palestinians, they're kicking us out of the neighbourhood. And it's not right that they do that. And they rob people. My husband went to work in the Calle Hospital, and they put two knives to his throat to rob him. And they've robbed him other times as well. And it's not right that these things happen, is it? There have always been robberies, and things, but not so many as now, not nearly so many. (...) In general the neighbourhood is very nice with what they've done. The Rambla del Raval is very nice, but they sit on the grass, which the Spaniards don't do, and they destroy everything. (...) The neighbourhood is nicer now than it used to be. Better, much better. Better in terms of attractive, let's see if you understand, the old houses they have demolished, they made the new ones, all of this is much nicer. But what we aren't happy about is with the people. But the neighbourhood is very good, because it is very central, everyone can come here, it is very accessible. You can go to all the places you want to go to. The new flats are a bit smaller than the old ones we had.

Yesterday I had some cousins with me from my village, who were staying, and I went with them to the optician, in the morning, then we went to the Zoo, to see the little animals, and then we went to Sants station, to get their ticket for when they leave. Yesterday I was being a tourist guide.


Photo 5. Brígida López

Alex Walker

The second interview was with an Ecuadorian immigrant, who did not want to give his real name, or to have his photo taken, as he does not have papers, and is worried about being arrested

My name is Juan. I came to Spain from Ecuador about 3 or 4 years ago to work. The situation in my country was very serious, and there wasn't any work. So I borrowed money to come here. At first I worked as a builder. I worked for 8 months for a company, doing building work. They had a house where we stayed, and they gave us food, but they always said that they would pay us when the work was finished, that they couldn't pay us yet. But after 8 months, one day the boss disappeared. No one knew where he was. The work was paralyzed, and no one would pay us. They said that they had paid the boss, he had to pay us. Some of my companions went to lawyers, but since I didn't have any papers, they said I couldn't do anything.

I worked in other things, but it is very difficult, if you don't have your papers, it is very difficult to get work, and they pay you badly, or they don't pay you at all, and they say that if you complain they will call the police.

Now I work for myself. I collect metal that is on the streets – tins and pieces of machinery, and anything I can find. I sell it to a scrap metal dealer. I don't make very much money, but at least they pay me for the work that I do, and no one controls me. I want to get work as a carpenter, because that is what I am, but I can't do it, because I don't have any papers, and without papers I can't rent a workshop, and I can't save up money to buy tools. The situation is very difficult for people who don't have papers. I have always lived here in the Raval. There are problems in the neighbourhood, but it is the only place where I could live, because people don't bother you here, they leave you alone, and also it is very central, and I can go wherever I want to.

I would like to return to Ecuador, to save up money and return, and build myself a house and get married, but I can't return now. I don't have any money saved up, and the situation in my country is much worse than here. Even if you have papers there, you can't get a job. There isn't any work there.

I live in a room which I rent. I share it with some other people, and we pay 15 Euros a month. The other people are mostly Colombians. It isn't very good, the building is falling down, but at least no one bothers us, as long as we pay the rent.

K. HOUSEHOLD INDICATORS

Some secondary data exists regarding certain indicators relating either to sectors of the population which have been identified as marginal, or for areas of the city which are recognized as having high concentrations of slum conditions. Where this data is available, its use will be indicated. Otherwise, the data comes from a small survey carried out by the authors in a part of the neighbourhood of the Raval Sud (which has previously been identified as being the part of the city with the highest concentrations of social inequality). The specific area where the interviews were carried out was around the streets of Robadors, Sant Pau and Sant Ramón, which is an area recognized as concentrating very high levels of marginality, and slum conditions. However, this does not mean that all of the people interviewed were poor or marginalized, or that they lived in slum conditions, but rather that they live in an area where these conditions are predominant.

1. Household Types

Table 16. Percentages of household types found in the survey in the Raval.

Single person	Couple without children	Couple with children	Single mother	DK/	NA
29.5	12	23.5	12	23.5	-

2. Income by Quintile

Of the households which earned E150-300, all were single people. Those earning E300-450 were all single people and single mothers. Further than this, there was not sufficient material to be able to give meaningful discussions of the different income levels for different household types.

Table 17: Monthly Income by Quintile (%)

<E150 (\$140.5)	E150-300 (\$140.5-281)	E300-450 (\$281-421.5)	E450-600 (\$421.5-562)	>E600 (\$562)	DK/NA
0	17.5	26.5	6	47	3

3. Household Size

Table 18: Household sizes (%)

1 person	2 people	3 people	4 people	5 people	>5 people	DK/NA
29.5	15	3	20.5	9	23.5	-

4. Birth and Fertility Rates

Table 15 shows the children index for selected neighbourhoods in Barcelona, calculated using the formula $\text{population } 0 - 14 \text{ years old} / \text{total population} \times 100$. The results show that in the Raval there is a lower children index than in the rest of the city, reflecting the ageing nature of the population in the neighbourhood, and the high proportion of elderly people living alone. This tendency is also reflected in the high overageing index shown in the same table. The rest of the neighbourhoods with concentrations of poverty and social inequality show either a higher children index than the city as a whole (notably Montjuïc), or a similar one.

5. Types of Tenure

Table K.5. Tenure type in the survey in the Raval (%)

Owner-occupier	Tenancy with formal contract	Tenancy with informal contract	Other	DK/NA
15	26.5	47	6	6

NB, these figures can be compared with those for the Metropolitan Region as a whole, in which only 14% of the households live in rented accommodation (Interview with Oriol Nel-lo).

6. Literacy Rates

The literacy rates in different neighbourhoods of Barcelona with high concentrations of slum settlements have been discussed earlier, statistical data on slum areas. The figures presented there are much more accurate than those from the survey.

7. Occupancy Ratios

In the survey of the Raval, the mean number occupants per household was 3.6. The mean number of square metres per person was 15.7

8. Length of residency in slum

In the survey of the Raval, the mean length of residency in the area was 14 years.

L. COSTS OF LIVING IN SLUM AREA, COMPARED TO CITY WIDE AVERAGES

1. Commuting to Work

The survey of the Raval indicated that the average cost of commuting to work was E3.2 (\$3). However, this figure is very unrepresentative, as 70% of the people interviewed were unable to answer the question. In most cases this was because they had no fixed work, and, as such, the figure of how much they spent going there varied with each new moment of employment.

2. Price of Water and Other Services

The urban services in the slum areas are provided by the same formal service providers as in the rest of the city, and as such, the prices are the same. Of course, relative to the inhabitants incomes they are higher, but they do not vary. The one possible exception is that the use of bottled gas is more common in the areas with concentration of houses than in the rest of the city, where piped gas is more common. Bottled gas is slightly more expensive per measure.

3. Rental Rates

The results of the survey in the Raval indicated that the average cost of rental of an apartment in the area surveyed was E202 (\$189), or E3.5 (\$3.25) per square metre. It is hard, on the basis of the number of cases in the survey to make any meaningful conclusions relating to the difference between formal and informal rents, as the main noticeable difference related to the size of the apartment, and not to whether the contract was formal (26.5% of those surveyed) or informal (47% of those surveyed). However, it is probable that whether the contract is formal or informal is a less important factor in determining the level of rental than the size of the apartment, its conditions, and, especially, whether the tenants are immigrants (it is generally accepted that foreign immigrants have to pay more for rent than Spaniards, as the result of a tendency to discriminate against them in the rental market, although no precise figures were available). A major variation in rental prices occurs with the subletting of apartments. For example, because of their precarious economic situation, combined with the difficulties they face in renting property, extra-community immigrants often rent individual rooms or beds in a large apartment. As such, to take an example, a flat may house 20 people, each paying 10 Euros per month, while the tenant in the flat downstairs pays 60 Euros per month for a flat of the same size (Interview with Oriol Nel-lo).

4. Availability of Housing Finance

Formal housing finance is available from banks and building societies. However, in order to be granted a loan purchasing a house, it is necessary to have money for a deposit of at least 10%, and collateral, normally in the form of a formal employment contract. These conditions are effectively impossible to meet for most of the people living in slum conditions. For this reason, very few people living in such conditions are owners. For the simple reason of their poverty, very few poor people have access to important loans either from family members or from informal moneylenders either. There do, however, exist informal moneylenders who lend smaller amounts for housing improvements, and other purchases, with all of the problems of very high interest rates, and threats of violence in the case of non-repayment that this implies. Such moneylenders are especially to be found within certain immigrant populations (for example the Russian and Armenian populations), but it is almost impossible to get reliable information about their activities.

There exists a related problem which affects many inhabitants of slum areas who are owners. These are often elderly people who practised right-to-buy either in protected rent apartments in the city centre, or in social housing in the peripheries. They often find that, although they are owners of their property, this property

is extremely difficult to sell, either because of structural problems in the blocks of flats which are the responsibility of the owners and/or local governments to repair, and which make the buildings officially unliveable, or because the building is condemned to be demolished for urban improvement projects which might take years to materialize.

In the survey of the Raval, 20.5% of the respondents had bank or building society loans, and 23.5% received loans from friends, family or neighbours. None claimed to have received loans from informal lending agencies, or from other sources.

5. Health Problems

The health problems in the Raval, which is the area of the city with the highest indices of poverty and social inequality, have been discussed.

6. Discrimination

In the survey of the Raval, 26.5% of those interviewed claimed to have suffered discrimination when looking for housing, 12% in employment, and 9% in looking for schooling for their children. It must be pointed out that all of the respondents who claimed to have suffered discrimination were either immigrants from outside the European Union, or Gypsies.

7. Victimization and Insecurity

As was discussed previously, there is an inbuilt tendency towards housing insecurity in the slum areas, because of the high percentage of inhabitants who do not have formal rental contracts. This puts them in a situation of insecurity both with regard to their landlords, and also with regard to possible evictions in the case of urban development projects, which are more common in areas with higher concentrations of slum conditions than in other parts of the city, because of the need for urban reform. This situation has become worse in the last few years with the rapid increases in housing prices, and rent levels.

The Gypsy communities who make their camps on areas of waste ground are susceptible to a very particular type of insecurity, based on the fact that their camps are always, by definition illegal, and they will always be evicted if they do not move on of their own accord beforehand.

The results of the survey of the Raval were that 58% of those surveyed claimed to feel insecure with regard to their future in their present home. In all cases the reasons they gave were either that they were worried that the landlord would raise the rent, or would evict them in order to sell the property, or rent it for more money, or that they would be evicted in the process of urban renewal projects.

8. Financial expenditure of typical slum households

The results of the survey of the Raval indicated the following average monthly figures for expenditure:

- Housing: E202 (\$189)
- Food: E93 (\$87)
- Transport: E24 (\$22.5)
- Bills (water, electricity and gas): E78 (\$73)

M. ASSETS AVAILABLE TO SLUM DWELLERS

1. Social Capital

There are a large number of civic and community organizations, some of which relate to particular social groups across the whole of Barcelona, including religious and cultural organizations, others of which deal with issues of particular interest to specific neighbourhoods. Insofar as problems of housing and urban conditions are concerned, the most important of these groups are the "Associacions de veïns", or neighbourhood associations, which represent particular "barris" or neighbourhoods, and which are linked together in an umbrella organization at district levels, and at the urban level. As well as the formally organized associations, there are myriad other small associations which have been set up to deal with very specific local problems. There has been a particularly important role played by the so-called "urban social movements" in influencing urban policy in Barcelona since before the transition to democracy (cf Domingo & Bonet, 1998).

2. Financial Capital

As discussed, the main source of loans that the respondents had access to were bank loans, and loans from family and friends. Other than this, the only source of financial capital that was mentioned in the survey was that of household savings.

3. Human Capital

The survey carried out in the Raval did not produce any results of sufficient strength to draw conclusions in this regard. Only one respondent was (or admitted to being) illiterate. None had working children, and the survey did not deal with health within the household, although the figures show that there are more serious health problems in the Raval than in other areas of the city.

4. Physical Capital

The question of security of tenure has already been discussed. It was pointed out that the most common

problem faced is that of evictions of tenants by landlords, and for urban improvement projects.

There were no interviewees in the survey carried out in the Raval who had home based enterprises.

Basic services and urban equipment are available, as was mentioned earlier, effectively to all parts of the city, although they tend to be of poorer quality in some areas than in others.

5. Supportive Public Policy

There are a number of supportive public policies, aimed both at the improvement of living conditions in general, and at the alleviation of poverty, and social reinsertion of people who have been identified as being socially excluded. These policies are discussed in the policies section.

However, the survey demonstrated rather clearly that most people who consider themselves to be poor do not see these policies as representing a solution to their problems. Not a single one of the respondents of the survey carried out in the Raval, when asked to comment on the policies of which they were aware, considered these to be positive. A selection of comments might best illustrate the general opinions that were given:

■ *I don't know the policies well, but they have demolished the building where someone I know lived. They say it's to improve Barcelona, and to make it more habitable.*

■ *They speculate with the flats, and increase the rents without warning, whenever they want, they do it to get rid of us, and they will sell the buildings easier. It is a racist approach.*

■ *We are looking for help from the Patronato de Vivienda, because we have been told to leave this flat ... they aren't equitable in the cases in which they give help.*

■ *All of the remodeling has made the neighbourhood dirtier, and the people feel more attacked.*

■ *It just makes the neighbourhood more expensive with the new speculative buildings.*

■ *I don't know about policies, and it doesn't interest me, they are only interested in getting benefits for themselves, and they don't help people like me.*

■ *To make new flats they are demolishing the old ones in the Rambla del Raval as well. That's good, but they don't give the new flats to the people who need them.*

■ *The Rambla del Raval plan and those which will happen in the future will leave many more people without a home. They are very advantageous for the Town Hall and for the construction companies who work with them.*

■ *They don't pay any attention to old people, and they are very irregular when they decide who to give help to.*

IV. SLUMS AND POVERTY: THE POLICIES

N. THE POLICIES AND ACTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN TO IMPROVE SLUMS & ALLEVIATE POVERTY

1. Locational Targeting

There has been a series of programmes in the whole of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area which have specifically targeted areas with particular physical and socio-economic problems. These programmes, as a rule involve co-ordination between 3 levels of government: the central state, the Catalan regional government, and local municipal governments. They also often have an input of varying importance from the European Community, as well as private sector participation. An important recent example is the PERI (*Pla Especial de Reforma Interior - Special Plan for Inner Reform*), in the Ciutat Vella district, which is an integrated urban improvement plan aimed not specifically at slum eradication, but which included an important element of this. Within the plan specific areas with high concentrations of degraded housing were selected for demolition, and replacement



Alex Walker

The Rambla del Raval

by public spaces and services, such as the Rambla del Raval, a wide avenue created by demolishing an entire block of houses between two existing streets.

The programme also contained an important social element, with social and personal services offered through new Civic Centres and Personal Attention Centres, aimed at social inclusion. The locational targeting element is fundamental to the idea of the PERI: "The PERI are operations which, comparatively, owe more to the regenerational proposals of the GATC-PAC than to traditional reform projects. As in the spirit of the 1930s proposals, it is a question of acting in the interior of the most depressed zones, with the conviction that they had to be recovered for the city, to save them from decay. With the PERI, the *regenerational intervention*, that is to say, powerful actions in the most needy spaces, but with respect to the values of the historic centre, imposed themselves over reforms understood as the penetration by means of large rectilinear roads,

of the values of the new city over those of the old" (Fuster, no date, no page number, author's translation).

Another example is the PERI reform programme now under way in the neighbourhood of La Mina. This housing complex was built in the 1970s just over the border of Barcelona municipality in Sant Adrià de Besòs, to re-house the inhabitants of some of the worst shantytowns in the city (Can Tunis, Camp de la Bota, Somorrostro), and, despite constant efforts on the part of residents groups, it has acquired the reputation for being one of the most marginalized areas within the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. The PERI has focussed on the complex with an important project which involves co-operation between the municipal governments of Sant Adrià de Besòs and Barcelona, the Catalan Regional Government and the Spanish state. This programme includes an important urban renewal element, with the partial demolition of oversized multi-family housing blocks, the opening of roads and public spaces, and the

creation of new urban infrastructure. It also has an important social component.

2. Socio-Economic Targeting

Although, as was earlier mentioned, the Barcelona Town Hall does not recognize the existence of slum areas (*barrios marginales*) as such, it does recognize the existence of areas of the city with concentrations of social inequality. Most of the large urban renewal projects are specifically targeted at these areas, as discussed above. All of the programmes aimed at urban renewal in specific areas have a major social component aimed at combating poverty and other related problems. Traditionally these programmes have fallen within the Poverty and Social exclusion Programmes, but since the approval of the European Social Agenda in Nice in 2000 the Town Hall has shifted towards programmes of Social Inclusion (Sector de Serveis Personals, no date). These programmes are based on giving financial help (in the form of the PIRMI – Programa Interdepartamental de la Renda Mínima de Inserció) to the members of the most vulnerable population groups, as well as employment, educational and re-orientative programmes (Jordi Plana, interview). As well as these geographically focussed programmes, there is a decentralized poverty alleviation programme at the Barcelona municipal level, which is in the process of becoming a programme of social inclusion, which supports the decentralized programmes (*ibid*).



Photos 7 and 8. The "La Mina" Neighbourhood

3. Non-Governmental Interventions

There are a large number of NGOs and CBOs working in Barcelona, at the neighbourhood level, and at the level of vulnerable groups and individuals. In general terms, while the government institutions tend to deal with major urban redevelopments, and large-scale programmes, the NGOs tend to work at the level of individual or community support. Some examples of NGO interventions are given below.

Fundación Escó works with groups who engage in marginal activities, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, begging and petty crime, specifically with families with children. Their work is based in the Raval neighbourhood, and their aim in general is to improve the quality of life, and the social situation of the families of this neighbourhood, and to prevent the social conflicts generated by social marginalization. All the cases they take on require special and personalized attention to bring about the integration of the recipients into an active working life. They have a summer home for children from needy families, in which they impart academic recovery courses, and workshops, sporting events, etc. they also feed them, and later follow up sanitary aspects for each family in a condition of social risk. They have a large voluntary workforce to implement these programs. (Sources: interview with Chelo and Beatriz, and Fundació Escó 2001).

Càritas is a church-based NGO which works with poor people in general. It has a number of programmes: Shelter; Childhood and families; Elderly; Learning and workforce insertion; Migration; Homelessness; Mental health and drug addiction; and Basic resources. It has important programmes in Ciutat Vella and in Torre Baró, one of the multi-family housing areas built on the edges of Barcelona, which has a high incidence of adolescent marginalization. They principally work in a process of social reinsertion. So, for example, they work with 14 year old mothers and teach them how to be mothers, how to look after the child, help them to find work, help them to take the child to a nursery. They also follow adolescents in Torre Baró, taking them to school or to sports centres. They have a flat for adolescents many of whom arrived in the country hidden in a lorry, and they give them training, follow their progress, help them to find work and rent flats. Many of the people they work with need following 24 hours a day. They also work with elderly people. (Sources: interview with Núria Gispert, and Càritas 2001).

Cuarto Mundo, a commission within Arquitectos sin Fronteras, works at the request of other NGOs or any other groups or associations when a problem has been detected relating to "*habitatge*" (housing). They have worked most in the old city, in the Raval and the Ribera, but also in San Vicens dels Sols, in Baix Llobregat. In their work they diagnose housing in deficient conditions, which also means pockets of poverty and marginalization and infra-housing, since the two are linked. They

see that normally sub-standard housing goes together with social destructure. They have noticed the emergence of new groups in need in Barcelona recently, especially young people, who are unable to leave home and rent housing because of precarious contracts, and immigrants. They have also seen a tremendous increase in problems since 1999, which they relate to the enormous increases in housing costs, together with the liberalization of the housing market, with very little officially protected housing. The immigrants, they have noticed, suffer particularly from the fact that it is very difficult for them to rent housing even if they have the money, as a result of discrimination. (Source: interview with Elsa López, co-ordinator of Cuarto Mundo, within Arquitectos sin Fronteras, Demarcación Cataluña).

O. THE IMPACTS OF THE EFFORTS

1. Success Stories

All of the public institutions and NGOs have success stories to tell. The difference tends to be the scale, since the success stories of the public institutions are at the larger scale at which they work, while the success stories of the NGOs tend to be at the individual scale, which is the scale they work at. A few success stories will be summarized below.

The main success story claimed by the Town Hall is the PERI intervention in the Ciutat Vella, (discussed in section N1 above) which, although not yet complete, is fairly advanced. "The whole programme of intervention in Ciutat Vella was carried out to improve the living conditions of the residents of the neighbourhoods. New public spaces were created, new resources (for the elderly, young people, health centres, social centres, sports centres, cultural centres...). The infrastructure was renewed (electric, gas, water telephone networks...). Policies were developed to give preference to pedestrian use of the streets, social and personal service programmes were developed to help the sectors of the population with problems" (Martí Abella, Foment Ciutat Vella, author's translation). As Jordi Plana from the Town Hall says, the whole of the Ciutat Vella intervention can be considered to be a success, if the situation there is compared with that in 1985, from an urbanistic point of view and in terms of the eradication of poverty. Then it was a marginal neighbourhood. Now, even though there are still some concentrations of social inequality, and evidence of poverty, the most extreme situations of marginalization and homelessness have been eradicated. (Jordi Plana).

Cuarto Mundo explains one of its success stories: "This experience was shared with So de Pau which is another NGO with a rent mediation programme for immigrants in the face of the problems they have with

renting. They received a case of some people who lived in the Raval in a building which was in a critical state of deterioration, and the occupants were very worried. So de Pau asked us for a technical report, we did it, and indeed the building was in a serious state. With this report we began the process of sending letters to the Town Hall, they sent them to the owner, who didn't have money to repair it, and meanwhile the bathrooms in the building collapsed. Fortunately without any injuries, but the fire brigade had to come and remove the occupants from the building, at which point another problem emerged, which was that neither the Town Hall nor the Generalitat [the regional government] has anywhere to put the people who have been affected in cases like this, so they pay a week of hotel or pension, which doesn't resolve the problem, and then the people have to sort things out as best they can, and the problem continued because So de Pau decided to negotiate with the owner, and she said she wouldn't do anything, that the building could fall down as far as she was concerned, and it was one of the buildings which was waiting to be bought by PROCIVESA or FOCIVESA as it's called now, to be made into a new building.

The determination of the people to remain in the neighbourhood where, despite being immigrants they had lived for years, brought them to negotiate with the owner, who finally sold them the flats, at a very low price, and they, being owners, were able to ask for the help packages for Ciutat Vella, and then we came in, making a study of the building, later for the construction project, and we managed to get the Ciutat Vella rehabilitation programme to give the money. With a great deal of pressure on the Town Hall to let them off the construction licence fees, and they contracted a company which didn't do everything, but did the majority: the structure, and channels, and then each occupant did his own work, and now the building is fine, and the occupants are happy. The building was saved and the people did not have to leave the neighbourhood, which was their aim". (Source: Elsa López, co-ordinator of Cuarto Mundo, within Arquitectos sin Fronteras, Demarcación Cataluña).

Càritas considers that it has success stories in all of its programmes, for example that previously mentioned of continuous help to adolescents in marginal conditions in Torre Baró. However, as they say, not all the balances are successful, since each young person is a different case, and they do not always achieve the social insertion which they would wish for, but the majority have been positive experiences.

2. Reasons for Successes and Failures

In general, all of the institutions consulted, both NGOs and official institutions agreed that the main reasons for success are careful planning, co-ordination between different organizations and the participation of

the affected groups. For example Martí Abella explained that the reasons for success in the interventions in the Ciutat Vella were "To have a clear programme for the intervention, which was fully accepted by the municipal administration, to encourage the participation in this process of the regional and state administrations, and citizen participation in the decision-making process" (interview with Martí Abella, author's translation). Fundació Escó explained that "the processes are slow, and the mutual help between different associations is basic in order to advance (...) the volunteers we have are the main reason for the success of certain operations. They are people from different professions (...) and it is through interdisciplinary work that we can measure the success and failure of our foundation". (Interview with Chelo and Beatriz, Fundació Escó). Similarly, Elsa López from Cuarto Mundo explains that "the co-operation between NGOs is very important for us, because it is through other organizations that we are able to act in the specific problem of housing" (interview with Elsa López, Cuarto Mundo). Càritas explains that often they have failures with individuals because, despite all their efforts, they are unable to make any headway with them. For an NGO dealing with individual cases, she explains, "what we do is to learn from each case depending on the background of the case". (interview with Núria Gispert).

3. Lessons Learned

3.1 Importance of context

Not surprisingly, each association or institution notes aspects of the context which have a direct bearing on their work. So, Càritas notes that "there is a social context which results from the culture, there are people who don't know how to read or write, because they could never go to school, then with foreigners there is the problem of papers, so that even if there is work available, they cannot take it." (interview with Núria Gispert, author's translation). Cuarto Mundo notes that "the context of Barcelona (...) has liberated the market for house owners to be able to speculate. And this has brought about an increase in costs of housing in general. The programmes of controlled housing are not sufficient for the existing demand for this type of housing." (interview with Elsa López, author's translation). Martí Abella suggested that in relation with the context "it is necessary to think about the zone and the people who are going to undergo the consequences of the process, and then enjoy the results if everything turns out well" (interview with Martí Abella, author's translation).

3.2 Importance of enablement

While the word "enablement" is not used in the Spanish NGO and policy making fields, most of the programmes involved in improving living conditions in the slum areas of the city directly or indirectly address

this need. This approach is clearly spelled out in the aims of the Fundació Escó: “we seek the implication of the person in her process of change, making her conscious of her reality, and trying to make it possible for her to provide the personal tools necessary for escaping from it” (Fundació Escó 2001 author’s translation). The example given above of a successful intervention by Cuarto Mundo is an example of an enablement approach – by placing the ownership of the property in the residents’ hands, it enabled them to have access to the funding necessary, as well as the long term interest to repair the building. I was unable to find explicit policy references to enablement in municipal documents.

3.3 Importance of leadership

Once again, the perspective on leadership varies according to the type of institution, and the types of programmes they carry out. The public institutions tend to be involved in large-scale projects, and Martí Abella explained with reference to the PERI de la Ciutat Vella that “when one wants to carry out a very complicated process, which will require the participation of diverse sectors, it is very necessary to have a strong leadership, which is very clear about its objectives, and which isn’t scared of forcing the partners’ decisions. In Ciutat Vella, the Town Hall took the lead of the project from the beginning, and has always taken responsibility for it” (interview with Martí Abella, author’s translation). The NGOs tend to place a higher importance on co-operation between different agencies, and to understand the concept of leadership in terms of community leadership. For example “I think that Barcelona would not be what it is today if there hadn’t been, in the 1960s, a series of neighbourhood leaders” (interview with Núria Gispert, author’s translation). Similarly, “leadership is very important, there is an important foundation movement, and leadership has stopped processes and has achieved things” (interview with Chelo and Beatriz, author’s translation).

3.4 Importance of various types of capital

Once again, the public institutions see the question from the perspective of large projects, and the question of financial capital is important, but not central: “the very complexity of the programme means that it is useful for the municipal administration to seek the participation of other entities in the project, such that the decision making process is shared with civil society. The financial contribution of the private sector was important at the beginning of the project (1988), but it isn’t any longer. Social participation continues to be necessary.” (Martí Abella, author’s translation). The NGOs tend to emphasize other forms of capital: “We have a priceless capital which are all the volunteers in the whole diocese, we have 5,000 volunteers who work with us” (interview with Núria Gispert, author’s translation). The other NGOs

made the same point.

3.5. Importance of correct targeting

The need for targeting, and proposing concrete objectives was generally shared: “if we don’t have clear objectives we cannot progress at all, and the groups don’t function. To evaluate them later is basic. We make a strategic plan and on the basis of this we define our lines of action”. (interview with Núria Gispert, author’s translation), and “a very ambitious programme, such as that of Ciutat Vella has to have very clear objectives, which, on the other hand, can be modified during its development to adapt to new general and social conditions” (Interview with Martí Abella, author’s translation).

P. COMMITMENT TO MONITORING, FEEDBACK AND ADJUSTMENT OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

1. Policy Commitments

Although such commitments tend to vary in how explicitly they are presented, there is generally a tendency to monitoring and feedback within large projects, as indicated by the quote from Martí Abella in the previous paragraph, who went on to say that “during the first 14 years of the programme the diverse stages of the initial programme have been developed and enriched with the new proposals and changes and adjustments necessary” (Interview with Martí Abella). A more recent neighbourhood intervention plan spells out the monitoring policies more explicitly: “Control and public following of the plan. The control and following of the Pla Comunitari will be made by a Following Commission, in which will be represented institutions, services and associations (formal or non-formal) which undertake activities in the neighbourhood (...) among its functions will be: (...) exchange of information about the plan and its development from the different work groups. Carrying out the following and public supervision of the process, enriching, reorienting and proposing new lines of action and projects” (Àngel et al, 2002, p. 15). In the case of the NGOs, feedback and adjustment of plans is effectively inevitable, as they tend to work at the level of individuals and groups, and therefore are obliged to adjust their programmes to the situations that they find (Fundació Escó).

2. Commitment of NGOs to Monitoring Slum Conditions

Some of the larger NGOs have investigation departments which monitor the conditions of the population groups or areas where they work. For example Càritas publishes documents which outline the “Evolution of the social situation in the Diocese of Barcelona” (Càritas 2002) which gives data on the social and cultural condi-

tions of the receiving population. However, the majority of the NGOs do not have sufficient resources to monitor slum conditions to a greater extent than that of recording their actions. There is a plan within the Town Hall of Barcelona to set up a "Poverty Observatory", in collaboration with various university departments, the aim of which will be to monitor the conditions of the poorest sectors of the city's population, in order to guide policy.

3. Commitment of International Co-operation Agencies

The main international agency which has commitments to projects aimed at alleviating poverty and slum conditions in Barcelona is the European Union, through the use of its cohesion funds, which have contributed an important proportion of the funding in most of the urban projects.

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