

TENSIONS BETWEEN NEOLIBERALISM AND THE PROVISION OF HOUSING

Through the lens of Spain and the cases of Diagonal Mar and 22@ in Barcelona

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Abstract

This research takes its point of departure in the context of an increased difficulty to access to affordable housing as well as high level of commodification of housing and urban space due to imperative forces of neoliberalism. Therefore, using the effects of neoliberalism as an analytical lens with which to examine contemporary urban and community struggles to access to affordable housing allows to enlighten how neoliberalism is affecting the right to the city.

Spain is a relevant example to study as while neoliberalism was being set up in the western countries, Spain was facing a dictatorship period that led to a retarded instauration of neoliberal policies. Consequently, it is relevant to study the link between the political history of Spain and the historical shortfall of social housing.

The research is conducted through three different analyses. The first analysis shows how neoliberalism has shaped the policies as well as the provision of housing in Spain, revealing five neoliberal different trends like the promotion of homeownership, the easy access to credit, the decentralization of the state and promoting housing expansion policies to overcome the crisis considering housing as an investment. The second analysis exposes the neoliberal signs in the development of two case studies, Diagonal Mar and 22@ and how these signs affected the provision of social housing. The analysis reveals that even though both developments are influenced by neoliberal trends and Diagonal Mar has no social housing, thanks to the local associations' involvement, the provision of social housing could be improved in 22@. The third analysis, takes into account the previous analyses focusing on the rationales that have challenged the right to the city through the housing perspective. The outcome shows that the right to the city is challenged through two different levels of rationales, from endogenous rationales – the one attached to the historical institutional and regulatory framework and endogenous rationales – related to the case-context.

Preface

This report is the final thesis project of the Master Programme in Urban Planning and Management at Aalborg University. All of the work presented henceforth was carried out in Copenhagen and Barcelona. The research as well as writing have been conducted from 1st February until 1st of June of 2016. The report examines the effects of neoliberalism in housing policies, focusing in the Spanish policies and analysing two cases located in Barcelona: Diagonal Mar and 22@.

The references in this report are cited according the Chicago style (author's surname and the year of publication). The sources that have the same author and year of publication are distinguished adding a letter at the end of the annotation. The complete list of references and the corresponding sources could be find in the bibliography list at the end of the report. Abbreviations are given in parenthesis after introducing the complete term the first time. In addition, as many Spanish words are used, first the English translated term is written followed by the actual Spanish term in brackets and italics.

I would like to express my most sincere gratitude for the advice and support of my supervisor, Daniel Galland, who has been really encouraging during the whole process giving suggestions and constructive critical feedback.

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1.0 Introduction

The housing system in Spain is facing great difficulties to ensure the right to a decent and affordable house, but it seems that these difficulties are not a recent trend, as they have been manifested for many years. These difficulties, paradoxically, are not motivated by a lack of offer. Nowadays, this shortage is being shown as a rise in people at risk of poverty or social exclusion.

This research started with the motivation of understanding the rationales behind the provision of housing in Spain, as since the burst of the economic bubble in 2007-2008, with a great repercussion in the housing sector, the lack of affordable housing has been manifested with special cruelty by the difficulty to access to housing by the most endangered sectors of society. From an initial research, it has been found that the public expenditure dedicated to social housing in Spain has decreased in the last 10 years. With a new socio-economic reality that is increasing the inequalities with the different social strata, the provision of social housing is of great importance when it comes to improve the way cities are developed. Therefore, looking at the past to understand the rationales that has brought to the current situation may help providing better solutions for a better future.

1.1 Background

Housing is recognized as a basic right by the International human rights law (Naciones Unidas 2016). It is the responsibility of the States to promote and apply policies to ensure that the right to housing is covered. Nevertheless, over the last few decades European Western and North-America countries have witnessed a general change in housing and urban policy agendas, influenced mainly by the driving forces of globalization and neoliberalism. In general, this change is characterised by a withdrawal of states from the housing sector, putting into effect policies with the purpose of creating powerful market-based housing finance models. Consequently, the new paradigm has implied that housing is no longer seen as a right and has undertaken a process in which it has been commodified, and used as an investment asset. On the other hand, since 2007 a financial and economic crisis is affecting most of the aforementioned countries, increasing the pressure on the budget of households. Therefore, the issue of housing affordability raises increasing interest (Rolnik 2013).

Traditionally, Spain has one of the weakest affordable-housing policies of Europe. It is estimated that only 1-2% of the housing estate is social housing, compared to the 32% in the Netherlands, 23% in Austria, 18% in UK or 17% in France (Amnistia Internacional 2015). In the context of economic crisis in which policies regarding affordable-housing are of high interest, local to supra-national governments have approved different policies focused on austerity, being a regression to the right of housing (Amnistia Internacional 2015). For example, between 2008 and 2015, the national budget allocated for housing was cut by two and Catalonia is the Spanish autonomous region with more foreclosures (Ara.cat 2016).

Nevertheless, the provision of social housing in Spain has been compromised not only by the last years, as it seems to be a problem deeply rooted in the society. Spain was under an autarchy period that lasted more than 40 years. So it seems legit to understand the way housing policies have been shaped from that period onwards, and how it has bounced off on nowadays' situation.

On the other hand, Barcelona is a great example of the tensions on the paradigms of neoliberalism and planning. In this sense, it raises interest the renewal of the District of Sant Martí. This district,

formerly filled by industries and worker-housing, it is the area of Barcelona concentrating the biggest developments which started with the 1992 Olympic Games. Nowadays, the industrial landscape and worker-housing are being replaced by high-rise buildings, with high-standing housing and offices, while social housing seems to be secondary in the political agenda.

1.2 The research focus

As mentioned before, to have a major comprehension of the actual lack of public housing, it is interesting to understand the provision of housing from a historical context. Therefore it is interesting to analyse neoliberalism from the country's perspective and grasp how neoliberalism has been manifested specially in the provision of housing. Second, to have a better understanding of the process, it is also interesting to analyse it from a closer perspective. Therefore, analysing the rationales behind two cases in Barcelona, that are considered to be developments that break with the immediate past, will provide a major comprehension of the outcomes of neoliberal projects. To study the tensions between neoliberalism and the right of housing, two different developments in the same district will be used. The first one, Diagonal Mar, a finished development with the event of "el Forum de les Cultures 2004" as its flagship, it is one of the best examples of neoliberal development and commodification of housing. This development seems to contradict democratic urban planning values, as it denies or not promote the continuity with the urban grid, the accessibility to the public space or the social and functional mix (Borja 2009).

The second one, "22@", is currently being redeveloped. The aim of this development is to transform the "Catalan Manchester" (Barcelona.cat 2016) into an innovative neighbourhood "*offering modern spaces for the strategic concentration of intensive knowledge-based activities*" (22 Arroba BCN 2006). In contrast to Diagonal Mar where no social house was taken into account, social housing was considered in this development thanks to a great public involvement. Nevertheless, this issue has been controversial since the beginning, and several cuts have happened. Finally, it is interesting to objectify the neoliberalism consequences by analysing the effects on the right to the city.

1.3 Structure of the research report

The report is structured into ten different chapters that include from the introduction to the outlook. Chapter 2 explains the research questions as well as describing the context in which they will be framed and the object of their analyses.

Chapter 3 elucidates the methodology. This chapter has been split in two main parts. First, the use of case study as the overall research strategy is explained and second, the research design is outlined. The chapter ends with the methodology limitations that are briefly explained as well as the way they have been overcome.

Chapter 4 offers the theoretical framework employed that will help building the structure for carrying out the analysis and will explore the lines of theoretical inquiry. This will explore neoliberalism theory narrowing down until uncover the different phases of neoliberalism and its consequences in cities. The second part of the chapter elucidates on the right to the city and how housing is related to it. The chapter ends operationalizing the concepts explored in the way to be used on the analyses.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the analyses of the research report. The first analysis explains the evolution of neoliberalism in Spain, both in general as well as concretizing in the housing provision. The second analysis starts by setting the context in which both cases are located, Sant Martí. Then the description of the empirical data found on both cases is carried out by ending with a cross-analysis of the

neoliberal signs found. Finally, chapter 7 combines both first and second analysis findings to open up the discussion on how neoliberalism has affected the right to the city through the provision of housing. Therefore, the three analysis are framed as a sand clock, as from the general context of Spain, is narrowed down until the case studies and open up again with the analysis of the right to the city.

Chapter 8 presents the reflection on the analysis carried out, outlining the main findings as well as intertwining them by answering the research questions.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions, which are drawn from a synthesis of the findings of the different analyses and the reflection. Chapter 10 shows the outlook of the report, where the main limitations found are described, as well as topics for further research. These are based both on the limitations and topics that have been opened up during the research but according to the timeframe given could not be carried out.

2.0 Research Question

For everything aforementioned, it raises interest to analyse how neoliberal processes can affect the provision of social housing and the role that the different governments have played in the commodification and financialization of housing. To understand these processes and operationalise the research, the following research questions have been formulated:

“How neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain?”

Spain's housing provision raises a particular interest as Spain has a different condition than the rest of the Western Europe. In particular, Spain was subdued to a dictatorship for 40 years at the same time that the rest of Western Europe was raising from the Post-War period and neoliberalism started to flourish. With this question, it is intended to find how neoliberalism has been unfold in the recent history of Spain, and in particular how it has affected the provision of housing by determining the neoliberal signs found in the Spanish housing sector.

“What are the rationales behind the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?”
“Which role has social-housing played in the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?”

The district where Diagonal Mar and 22@ are located, Sant Marti, has always been considered a working-class district that has embraced the different immigration waves that has happened over the recent history. It is interesting to understand how this district, filled with low-budged housing it is turning into a middle-high class area, with skyscrapers in less than 20 years. By analysing the rationales behind, first, a finished development – Diagonal Mar, and second, an on-going development – 22@, it is intended to find the priorities of the different governments when developing the area, and which role has social-housing played in each of these developments.

“How the right to the city, from the social housing perspective, has been influenced by neoliberal projects? How neoliberal processes can affect the provision of social housing?”

With these questions, it is intended to open up the discussion by analysing the consequences of neoliberalism in the different processes studied. This is going to be carried out by using the outcomes from the analysis of neoliberalism in Spain as well as the outcomes of the analysis of the cases to observe how the right to the city from the housing perspective has been affected.

3.0 Methodology

This chapter aims to settle the operational measures being used to constitute an integrated strategy of research in this project. Firstly, the choice of method and what approaches and techniques used to collect and analyse data will be discussed along the limitations, reliability and validity. Secondly, the research design will be explained and in what way the research will be carried out by ending with the methodological limitations.

3.1 Case study as the overall research strategy

The aim of this research is to reveal how neoliberalism has influenced in the provision of housing, looking at the specific cases of 22@ and Diagonal Mar in Barcelona. Despite there are multiple research methods and each one has its own strategies, undertaking a multiple-case study is the method that fits better. It highlights particular contextual analysis of a finite number of events and their connections, also revealing the logics of a complex issue, such the District of Sant Martí in Barcelona (Soy 1996).

Yin (2003) defines the case study method as an empirical inquiry that examines a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context, as in essence it intends to illuminate a set of decisions behind a development. In this project two real-world cases will be studied and it is aimed to understand in which context they operate. Doing multiple-case studies increases the coverage of the research providing more information, resulting in an increase of the reliability. Doing more than one case study can strengthen the outcome of the research (Smithson 2008). For instance, by studying the variations of two different neighborhoods in the same district allows to examine whether the phenomenon occurs in either cases, replicating or producing contrasted results. Therefore, using multiple cases studying different contextual conditions, could expand the findings generally applicable (Smithson 2008).

3.1.1 Unit of analysis

More precisely it has been chosen to work with a multiple case-study including a cross-case analysis of the results. Yin (2003) presents two different uses of this method. The first one when the analysis of a phenomenon refers to different case studies to illustrate, so the cases are not shown as separate cases. The second and chosen one, is to treat the cases as single cases and present a final chapter with a cross-analysis, using pattern-matching word tables (Soni 2016). It has been chosen to study two developments placed in the same District in Barcelona, to establish the same point of departure and to have the same background to make them more comparable. However, they will be analyzed separately and the aim is to replicate the conclusions transversely (Yin 2003).

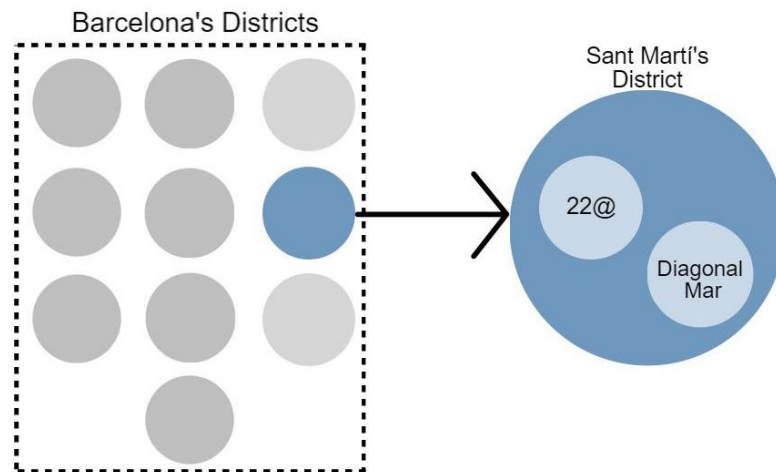


Figure 1 the two neighbourhoods belong to the same district (own produced)

The selection of the cases obeys to different rationalities. Firstly, both cases are considered to be prominent contemporary cases undertaken under the neoliberalism stream, as explained in the introduction, they seem to contradict democratic urban planning values, as it denies or not promote the continuity with the urban grid, the accessibility to the public space or the social and functional mix (Borja 2009). Therefore, they will help providing “*deeper causes behind the given problem*” (Flyvbjerg 2006, 12). Secondly, both cases are from Barcelona. Barcelona is the biggest city of Catalonia, and the second largest city of Spain (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2016). Therefore, as a general rule, data is more widely and easily available for larger geographic regions (Wang and vom Hofe 2007). Thirdly, the selection also obeys to the personal involvement of the author both personal as professional with the city.

3.1.2 Data collection

In order to accomplish a well-conducted case study, combining different data-gathering methods will increase reliability and compensate the constraints of rather using one single method. Later in this chapter the different reliability and validity strategies will be explained.

Different types of evidences or data relevant to the research will be taken into account, both qualitative and quantitative. Yin (2003) addresses six sources of evidence, though only four have been used in this research.

In the next sections, the main data sources that have been used in the research will be explained. Despite the data collected by the different methods is used indiscriminately in the entire report, in the theory section, books and academic articles are mainly used, while in the context and analysis section documentation and interviews are mixed. The main idea of combining the methods is that documentation can corroborate and amplify the evidences from other sources, as well as backing up the facts that have been observed (Yin 2003).

- *Documentary evidence*

This method is considered the main source of evidence of this research and is composed of gathering and analyzing different empirical documentation, such as “*administrative reports, agendas, letters, minutes and news clippings*” (Soy 1996, 3) for each of the cases. In one hand, official documents released by the Municipality of Barcelona, and other known institutions will be used due to their

reliability and validity (Yin 2003). On the other hand, scientific books and articles will be used for the theory in regard to neoliberalism, welfare, housing and other theories relevant for this research. Additionally, the use of other authors' research will be used, as different doctoral theses have been written documenting the area as well as the facts that has happened in Barcelona.

Stability is one of the strengths of this source of information, as it is possible to review it frequently. It can also contribute with exact facts and references of a long span of time in history, as it contains exact names, references and precise details improving the reliability of the case study.

On the other hand, the collection of documentation may be incomplete, due to a deliberate hidden access, biased selectivity or may reflect bias of authors (Yin 2003). For example, Municipality's and other institutions documents may have biases concerning their predictions or information favoring their positions. In the *Table 1* the different sources linked with the research questions could be traced.

- *Direct observations in the field*

In this report, two field trips were conducted. The aim of the direct observations was to document the area through pictures, as the analyses requires a systematic description of what was observed (C. Marshall and Rossman 1999). However, this source is considered secondary in the research, as no other uses were found for it.

- *Archival Records*

Consist in the information stored through existing channels such as newspaper news, television clips, mass media, and records maintained by public agencies (Yin 2003).

One of the strengths of this method, as well as the documentary evidence, is that it can be reviewed repeatedly, as well as it contains exact names and precise details of an event, providing accurate quantitative data (Yin 2003). The pitfall of this method is that there could be some bias in the way information is provided, as some media could be influenced by their choice of stories to be considered, questions to be asked or influenced by political ideologies (Yin 2003). Using more sources bearing the same information could help to corroborate it.

- *Interviews*

Interviews are deemed as being the one of the sources making possible to uncover invisible information hidden in plain literature review. In addition, interviews could be centered straight and targeted on the case study topic (Yin 2003). Contrarily, the validity of the interviews relies on the construction of the questions, as some bias could happen due to poorly constructed questions, as well as the way the interviewee answers, as the interviewee may say what the interviewer wants to hear or omit information favoring a certain point of view (Yin 2003). Additionally, it may be difficult to contact people who may be relevant for the case study, due to several reasons, among them, their political relevance.

In this research only one interview has been conducted. First, the response obtained from the actors involved has been low, and second, the research has been carried out in Copenhagen while the case studies are in Barcelona. Nevertheless, it has been chosen to interview Josep Xurigué, as he is a professor in the Master urbanism and cities in the Open University of Catalonia and his doctoral thesis was related to development and territorial marketing in Barcelona, focusing in the different events and developments that have happened in the city. It is relevant to state that his expertise field goes beyond, as during his research, he had access to relevant personalities regarding the cases analyzed in this research, such as interviewing former Barcelona's mayors, or Municipality urban planners. An interview guide has been elaborated and provided for the interviewee. The interview guide start with open

questions, while during the interview they turn more concrete and specific. As the research has been an iterative process, diverse follow-ups have occurred after the interview. The aim of the follow-ups has been to clarify certain aspects that during the interview were not specific enough and to ask further questions that came up during the analysis.

Additionally, the difficulty to access to the neighbors' associations, has been intended to be substituted with the review of the magazine released by the Poblenou's neighborhood association, as well as reviewing academic and press articles written by members of neighbors' associations.

3.1.3 Constructing validity

In order to increase the validity and reliability of the research, triangulation has been implemented to develop concurrent lines of inquiry (Soni 2016). In order to proceed, three different triangulations have been carried out. The first triangulation is based on using different sources of data. In order to increase the validity of this triangulation, three main principles of data collection will be followed (Yin 2003). First, using different types of evidences allowing contrast, avoiding possible bias and achieve a deep knowledge of the phenomenon. Consequently, an adequate citation and referencing should follow the entire report. Second, creating a case study database to organize the data collected and having this information available, e.g. the place and time of an interview. Third, maintaining a chain of evidence as an external observer could be able to follow the origin of any statement.

The second triangulation method is theory triangulation, as multiple perspectives to the same data set have been taken into account. Finally, the third triangulation is the methodological triangulation, where different data, both quantitative and qualitative are used as well as employing more than one data collection strategy, to see if similar results are being found (Patton 1987). Despite using multiple cases could be more time consuming than a single case-study, and given the time to proceed with this research, some data from the first case study can be used to fill gaps from the second case study and the other way around.

3.2 Research Design

In this section, the research design of this project will be described, followed by the research questions linked with the theoretical knowledge and data collection sources employed. Finally, the limitations of the methodology of the research will be explained.

A qualitative social research is an iterative and reflexive process, which has to be open to possible changes and new discoveries along the research process (Maxwell 2009). During the process, certain agents as well as other new information may led to unpredictable interactions between the first main idea and the actual outcome. Therefore, being conscious about this issue, can serve to provide some space for accidental and unexpected results and the way to fix it.

The starting point of this research is the personal interest of the author on how the crisis have affected different stratus of society, and in particular, those who are less-powered and marginalized. After working several years doing real estate valuations, the housing market evolution in Spain could be traced in different conflicting ways. In one hand, the immense quantity of empty housing units owned by banks and credit entities and on the other hand, the impossibility to access to affordable housing by a wide part of the population. Therefore it is interesting to understand why this antagonistic phenomenon is happening, and as it seems, influenced by a neoliberal turn. The different considerations that have been taken into account could be observed in the following figure:

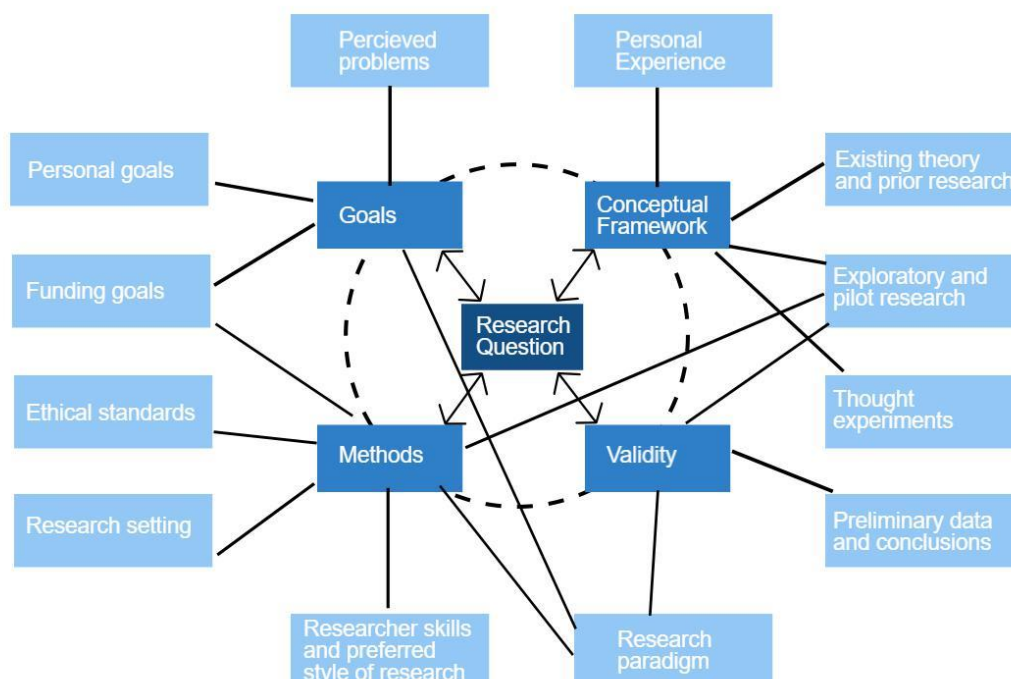


Figure 2 Research design considerations. Source: adapted from Maxwell (2009)

Therefore, the aim of this research is first to understand the rationalities behind the current housing situation and second, how it has affected the right to the city. To conduct the study, the following research questions have been outlined:

- How neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain?
- What are the rationales behind the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?
- Which role has social-housing played in the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?
- How the right to the city, from the social housing perspective, has been influenced by neoliberal projects? How neoliberal processes can affect the provision of social housing?

The first question is focused on analyzing the political, economic and urban space context that lead up to the cases. The second and third question are more descriptive inquiries, while the fourth question is more focused in the outcome of these developments.

To uncover these questions and operationalise them, a theoretical framework will be set. A useful theory helps organizing the data and can help fitting a wide variety of information that may seem unconnected in one framework (Smithson 2008). Consequently neoliberal theory will be provided as a lens setting the context to analyze in the cases. In addition, to get a better understanding of the outcomes, other theories related to the right to the city will be provided.

In the following table, the different sources used are related to the research questions as well to the theoretical or practical knowledge that these sources served to explain or support:

Table 1 Research questions, theoretical knowledge and data sources

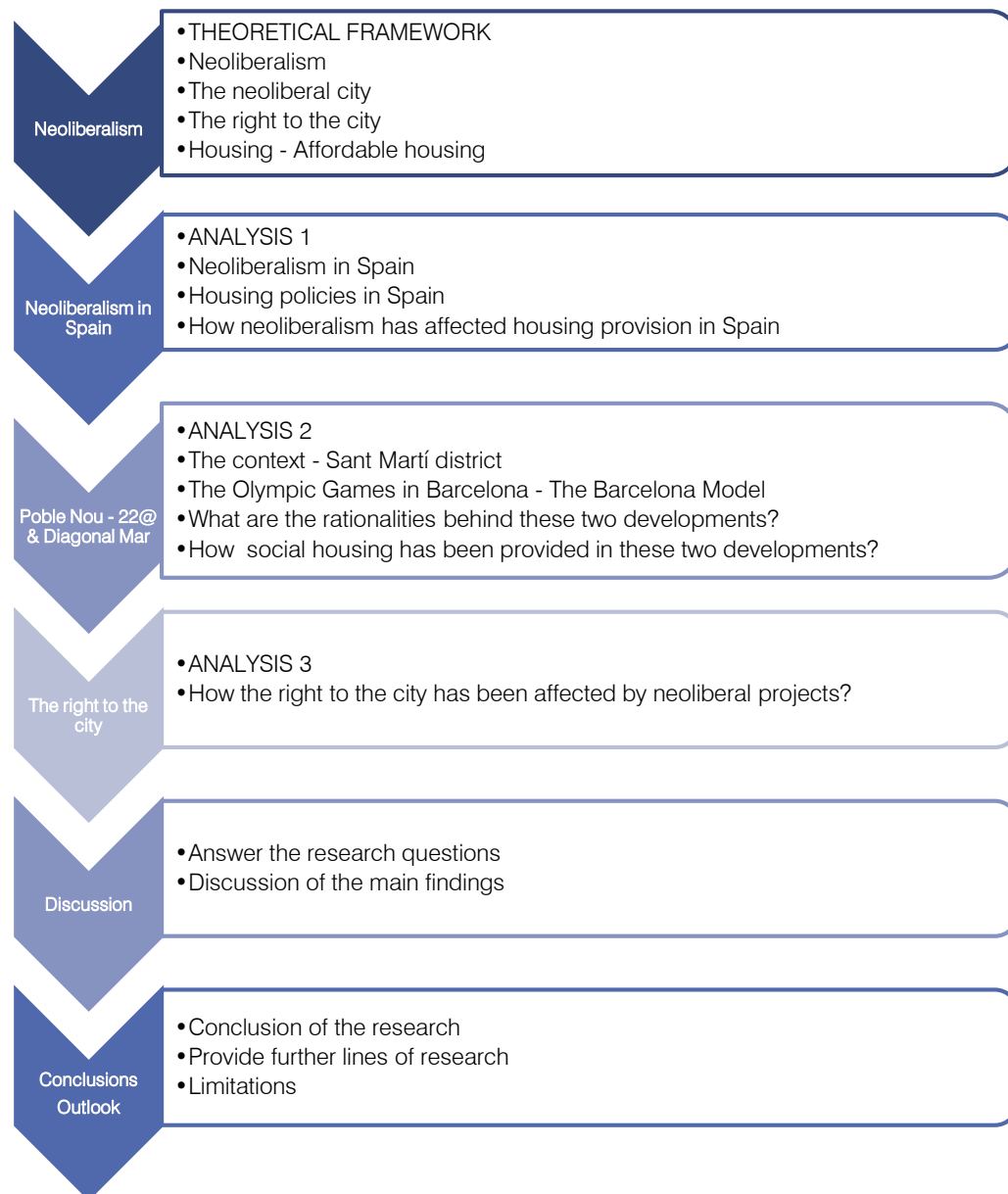
<i>Research questions</i>	<i>Theoretical/Practical Knowledge</i>	<i>Sources for acquiring data</i>
<i>How neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain</i>	Neoliberalism in General	(Leitner et al. 2007) (Allmendinger 2009) (Brenner and Theodore 2002) (Tickell and Peck 2002) (Hayek 2001)
	Neoliberalism in Spain	(Capel 1983) (Gómez 2004) (Etxezarreta 1991) (Mangen 2001)
	Housing policies in Spain	(Richards 1998) (Capel 1983), (Gómez 2004) (Betrán Abadía 2002) (Jefatura de Estado 1959) (Ministerio de la Vivienda 1963) (Cortes Españolas 1956)
<i>What are the rationales behind the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?</i> <i>Which role has social-housing played in the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?</i>	Historic context	(Marchena 2016) (Nel-lo 1992) (Carnicer, Grimal, and Mercè 2012) (Queralto 2016) (BTV 2014) (Alabart 2010) (Tejero Gil 1991) (Xurigué 2015)
	Statistics	(Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a) (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016b) (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016c) (AMB 2016)
	Information about the developments	(Capgirembcn.cat 2016) (Diagonal Mar 2016) (Geographyfieldwork.com 2016) (Borja 2009) (Fundació Forum 2016) (Barcelona2004.org 2004) (TDA arquitectes 1998) (Abc.es 2001) (Xurigué 2016) (Barcelona Turisme 2014) (Xurigué 2016; Botella 2002) (Clarós 2007) (Theguardian.com 2016) (Sindicatura de Comptes de Catalunya 2014) (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009) (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000) (Ollés 2009) (Mercè and Urbiola 2005) (22 Arroba BCN 2006) (22 Arroba BCN 2001)

		(Espai en blanc 2004) (Martí i Costa 2007) (Martí i Costa 2010) (Molas and Parellada 2010) (Comissió d'equipaments del Poblenou 2016) (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2013) (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2014) (Guillamón 2003) (Ribas 2011)
<i>How the right to the city, from the social housing perspective, has been influenced by neoliberal projects?</i>	General theory about right to the city and social injustice as well as the use of housing in the right to the city	(Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010) (Rolnik 2013) (Rolnik 2014) (Harvey 2008) (Harvey 1989) (De Mattos 2014) (Kadi and Ronald 2014) (Castells 1977) (Purcell 2002) (Aalbers and Gibb 2014) (Mitchell and Villanueva 2010)
	Housing	(UN Habitat 2009) (Milligan et al. 2009) (Pittini 2012) (Scanlon, Whitehead, and Arrigoitia 2014) (United Nations 2011) (United Nations, 2015) (Smith, 1970)
	Spain and Barcelona data relating to the right to the city and social injustice	(Bellart 2014) (Amnistia Internacional 2015) (Assemblea.cat 2016)
	Statistics	(Eurostat 2011) (Eurostat 2016) (Panel de desigualtats socials a de Catalunya 2016) (Observatorio social de España 2016) (Observatorio social de España 2009)

Special mention needs to be done in how the theoretical framework is organized. Spain is a special case within the neoliberalism development because the way that neoliberalism has been unfold it has differed from the other western European countries, as Spain was under a dictatorship when neoliberal started to be implemented. Consequently, it is interesting to analyze how, in particular, urban and housing policies have been affected and how have been applied. The complexity on the organization of the government's institutions and a recent democracy pictures an intricate context. To facilitate the understanding, first a general background will be provided to understand the general influences.

Afterwards, the concepts and theory will be narrowed down until the district and neighborhood scale. Once the context will be framed by setting the economic, political and planning circumstances that surrounded the cases object of the analysis, the same analysis to the two different cases will be conducted. When the data will be collected and organized, it will be summarized for the purpose of supporting the theories above mentioned by describing connections and explaining causes (Wang and vom Hofe 2007). By analyzing the first case, Diagonal Mar, and later the second case 22@, it will be possible to observe how neoliberalism has affected the provision of social housing, using the evidence described in the previous table to build and explanation. As explained before, both neighborhoods belong to the same district, making them more comparable.

Finally a discussion will be carried out by panning out to the city level discussing what the findings from the two analysis and how is the city evolving now and how it is affecting in the right to the city. The process could be observed in the following picture:



3.3 Limitations of the methodology of the research

First, the research has been conducted from Copenhagen, while the case studies are located in Barcelona. Despite two exploratory visits have been performed, it has been difficult to schedule the interviews and visits in the assigned visit time. Therefore, this has entailed some limitations like the access of data (some books are just available in libraries in Spain) or the amount of interviews carried out. Specifically, some of the interviewees, as they could not be available when the visits were done, they refused a Skype interview or answering a questionnaire. In addition, some of the people involved in the process are still members of the political establishment, therefore it was impossible to reach them.

In order to maintain reliability and as explained in the interview section, two main strategies have been followed. First, despite only one interview could be performed, this was positively valuable as it opened up variegated information of the interviews that the interviewee conducted during his doctoral thesis research. That allowed grasping information of relevant personalities that otherwise would have been completely impossible to access.

Second, the use of different doctoral thesis as one of the data sources have improved the validity. Choosing research thesis of authors that demonstrate great knowledge of the field of study helps maintaining reliability as these researches have been conducted in a longer span of time, having the opportunity of access to more information as well as more actors involved. In addition, the thesis have been supervised by renowned scholars.

4.0 Theoretical context and theoretical concepts

This chapter seeks to provide a context for which the research is conducted within – more specifically the context of neoliberalism and the right to the city. In order to understand and analyse the process in which neoliberalism has affected the provision of housing it is necessary to understand the context of which it derive. Therefore, the neoliberalism and its influence in the right to the city is explained.

4.1 Neoliberalism

4.1.1 Neoliberalism forces influencing Western Countries' economy

During the mid-1970s and early 1980s, Neoliberalism started to far-reach western European countries and North America, being the political contestation to the continued global recession of the former decades. The basic state of welfare of the “*post-war settlement*” and the Keynesian welfare policies implemented at national and local states, began to be disassembled as western countries were facing the declining of traditional mass-production industries. In exchange, different policies applied throughout all sectors of society started to be mobilized pretending to widespread the market-based promotion, rivalry and commodification (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Consequently, neoliberal principles were extended to vindicate the diminish of state control over “*major industries, assaults on organized labour, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocality competition and the criminalization of the urban poor*” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 350).

Neoliberalism as an economic philosophy emerged in Europe by liberal scholars in the 1930s, and was contoured by Britain and the United States after 1945 (Brenner and Theodore 2002). At that time, Soviets where increasing its leverage, hence the alarm of an upcoming communism permitted Hayek's thoughts to gain relevance when its work *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) was published. Hayek stood in opposition to the idea of a partnership between government and business in state capitalism. Therefore, the state-led capitalism governments managed by Keynes in Britain and Roosevelt in the United States, would be moving closer towards communism (Hayek 2001).

Fordism, as a model of economic development and technological growth based on mass production (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013), was not as prevailing as it seemed during the post-war, and was questioned on various fronts while it existed. Whilst a great part of the first world society took advantage from Fordism (such as large corporations big labour, and the middle class), others were excluded: nonunionized workforces, small and medium enterprises, low-income populations (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

The Fordism-Keynesian modelling of capitalist development was founded upon specific set of rules that provisionally stabilized the conflicts and contradictions that are endemic to capitalism. Despite the implementation was unequal among the different countries, some generalizations can be connected based on the regulatory-institutional planning.

A keystone of Fordism administration, the welfare state, shifted towards unpopularity within the private sector, as it was considered as a drain on national wealth. In mid-1970s, Fordism lose energy as enhanced transportation and communication speeded up the reallocation of manufacturing.

Therefore, the rise of neoliberalism occurred followed by the different characters in diverse ways: Neoconservatives envisaged neoliberalism as a chance to increase individual liberty and

responsibility. Then, capitalists visualized it as a way to promote profits by lessening state intervention. Hence, States envisioned it an opportunity to address their fiscal critical juncture. On the other hand, eastern socialisms were entering into different crises, as well as their residents were tired of the over control of their states. That caused that state socialism turned out into variegated visions of democratic alternatives (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Since mid-1980s, neoliberalism had become the dominant political and ideological form of capitalist globalization (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Nevertheless, the global imposition of neoliberalism has been highly uneven (both socially and geographically), and socio-political and institutional forms have varied significantly across spatial scales. In *chapter 5.0*, the Spanish Neoliberalism will be further explained.

4.1.2 The different phases of neoliberalism and its consequences

Neoliberalism has been characterized by different phases. According to Peck and Tickell (2002), two different phases can be identified. The first one, a destructive moment, the “*roll-back neoliberalization*”, was characterized by “*the destruction and discredit of Keynesian-welfarist and social-collectivist institutions*” and the introduction of cuttings. The second phase, a creative moment, the “*roll-out neoliberalization*”, delineated the “*neoliberal economic management and authoritarian state forms*”(Tickell and Peck 2002, 384). In the *chapter 5.0*, the different phases of the Spanish neoliberalism will be studied to give a background for understanding the housing situation in Spain.

Arguments in favour of neoliberalism

Hayek's provides the ground base for which neoliberalism should be applied. In the following, several points of his theory will be remarked. First, Hayek considers that central planning causes an extensive state's intervention and that diminishes personal freedom. Second, the heterogeneity and stratification of the society is unsolvable by planning. Third, the market could not be directed by planning as the market mechanisms, as well as society, are complex. In addition, certain security is needed for the market to work, and bureaucrats affect the security by self-interested decisions. This is considered as problem as governments are over-supplied with bureaucrats who mediate in the market based on their own expectations and needs. Nevertheless, Hayek's states that the intervention of the state is necessary only at a local level to handle negative externalities such as contamination or noise (Allmendinger 2009).

Therefore, the capitalist structuring in the whole-range of the institutional field, has been greatly influenced by the neoliberal political project (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Institutions like the OECD and the European Commission, which are oriented towards neoliberal goals such as deregulation, magnified capital mobility, the liberalization of trading and the expansion of commodification, have played a big role. In addition, “*lean bureaucracies, fiscal austerity, enhanced labour market flexibility, territorial competitiveness, and the free flow of investment and capital*” have been put into effect largely into a great variety of political programs (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 361).

Ideological pitfalls of neoliberalism

At the present time, neoliberalism is framing the social relations enforcing market rule and its ideas have been applied to public policy planning all over the world. Nevertheless, several pitfalls are being contested. The utopia of free markets not constrained to the state interception, it has in practice occasioned an intensified intervention of the state imposing market rule on all aspects of social life (De Mattos 2014). While Hayek and other libertarian thinkers widely agree about the need for some

kind of intervention in urban land markets, there is less agreement on the mechanisms by which this should be achieved (Allmendinger 2009).

Neoliberal doctrine represents states and markets as if they were diametrically opposed principles of social organization, rather than recognizing the politically constructed character of all economic relations (Leitner et al. 2007). Neoliberal ideology presuppose that markets will self-regulate, allowing resources and investments to be optimally allocated in its “one size fits all” model of policy implementation, imposing that exactly alike outcomes will follow on the implementation of market-oriented reforms. On the practice several market failures have occurred, creating social-spatial inequality, centre-periphery polarization an uneven geographical development (Leitner et al. 2007). Capital’s implacable mission to open up new spaces for accumulation is inherently speculative, in that the establishment of a new spatial fix is never guaranteed; it can occur only through “change discoveries” and provisional compromises in the wake of intense socio-political struggles. Capitalism has been characterized by historical wavering. During periods of crisis, the acquired frameworks of territorial organization may be destabilized, as the infrastructures are no longer secure for providing a steady capital accumulation (Rolnik 2013).

In many cases, neoliberal theory have been also applied into urban policies, in an attempt to improve some economies “*through a shock treatment of deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and enhanced fiscal austerity*”(Brenner and Theodore 2002, 368). In this context, cities—including their suburban peripheries—have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from “*place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public–private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus*”(Brenner and Theodore 2002, 368). The goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to promote the city’s growth through economic driven practices (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Table 2 Arguments in favor and against neoliberalism (Allmendinger 2009)

Arguments in favour of neoliberalism	
1)	Personal freedom is diminished by the market intervention
2)	Inequality and stratification of society is the result of human action and cannot be fixed by planning
3)	Planning cannot regulate the market mechanisms for allocating resources due to its complexity
4)	State intervention is needed just at the local level to handle “externalities” such as pollution, noise.
5)	Markets needs certainty, and bureaucrats create uncertainty
6)	Government is oversupplied with bureaucrats who intervene in the market for their own motivations
Ideological pitfalls of neoliberalism	
1)	Free markets are an utopia
2)	Market failures have occurred creating social-spatial inequality an uneven geographical development
3)	Speculation
4)	Capitalism has been characterized by wavering periods. Crisis may destabilize acquired frameworks
5)	Urban policies under neoliberalism promote city’s growth through economic driven practices and in “one size fits all” model
6)	The right to the city is being challenged

4.2 The right to the city

As explained in the previous chapter, neoliberalism is taking over the government decision making arena. Therefore, the outcome of this process seems to be challenging the right to the city. In the following, the right to the city is going to be explained, and its relation to the affordable housing provision.

4.2.1 What is the right to the city?

"The right to the city is both a cry about this intensified dominance of the private market in shaping urban space, and a demand to actively challenge and contest it" (Harvey 1989, 45)

In the recent years reactions to neoliberal urbanism and social injustice have been formulated in terms of the right to the city (Aalbers and Gibb 2014). Despite there is no agreement on what comprises the right to the city (Rolnik 2014), it has been framed by different scholars in terms of seeking to promote social justice, increasing empowerment and democratic processes (Aalbers and Gibb 2014).

It was the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre who came up with the sentence "*le droit a la ville*" in 1968. In his work, he establishes a two-fold definition of this right. First, a more abstract dimension as refers to the city as "*an oeuvre in which the space is object of appropriation and not of property*" (Rolnik 2014, 295), in other words, "*the right not to be alienated from the spaces of everyday life*" (Mitchell and Villanueva 2010, 667). Second, a more real dimension as it refers to a particular claim to certain urban services and rights, such as the "*right to education, work, health*" (Aalbers and Gibb 2014, 208). As Rolnik explains, not having appropriate access to housing is "*to be deprived of the very possibility to be part of and to enjoy the city life*" (Rolnik 2014, 295). The topic about the role of housing in the right to the city is going to be explained further in this chapter.

First part of Lefebvre's right to the city

It is raising interest among different politicians and scholars how neoliberal political and economic processes are restructuring cities and how is affecting the way residents enjoy the city. As explained in the previous section 4.1 *Neoliberalism*, social welfare systems that have been influenced by neoliberal strains prone to withdraw rights, such as public housing provision, pursuing urban restructuring through deregulation implying spatial manifestations of social imbalance (Kadi and Ronald 2014).

As explained by Purcell (2002), one of the primary problems of the neoliberal turn that cities are adopting is that the power to direct the developments and changes is being relocated from the elected governments to "*transnational corporations and unelected transnational organizations*" (Purcell 2002, 99). Therefore, these institutions are the "*architects of a neoliberal project that pursues a specific form of globalization: the increasing functional integration of all people and places into a single, laissez-faire, and capitalist world economy*" (Purcell 2002, 99). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the role of governance in neoliberal cities. The global restructuring that neoliberalism is causing has implicated specific changes in the way cities are governed. Purcell (2002) suggests that governance is rearranged in the three following ways.

- First, governance is being rescaled. It is argued that, through neoliberalism, governance is shifting towards empowering sub and supranational institutions. In the sub-national scale, it means that the nations are transferring the responsibility to local and regional institutions. Therefore, the local governing institutions are becoming the responsible for the provision of housing, infrastructure, economic control and social support (Painter and Goodwin 1995).
- Second, and as a part of the rescaling, some of the functions that have been part of the state's duty, are relocated to "non-state and quasi-state bodies" (Purcell 2002). In particular, this rearrangement pertains to the shift from government to governance.
- Third, competition plays a big role in policy orientation. Policies are no longer planned to improve distribution, but are oriented towards a global rivalry. In this neoliberal framework and with the aforementioned empowerment of local governance, local institutions have targeted their policies towards keeping their economic competitiveness and ensuring an effective racing in the global economy (Harvey 1989). One of the consequences is that local governments, drive their policy-making towards the economic development and competitiveness. Therefore, local governments are moving away from demand-oriented redistribution towards supply-oriented competition, promoting, for example, public private partnerships among other structures, to fulfil their functions and improve their efficiency (Krnwholz 1999).

Accordingly, governance could be seen as been driven by the commanding capitalist accumulation, resulting in a complex network of institutions administrating local urban areas. Purcell (2002) mentions that one of the fears of these new network of institutions could dismiss local inhabitants from the city-policy decision making processes.

The Neoliberal City

The axis of the neoliberal stream relies on the trustiness in the open-competitive and unregulated markets, unconstrained from any state interference. The economic liberalization was backed up by a new thought, as in order to recover from the crisis originated from the previous Keynesian-system, it was necessary to commercialize with all those processes of the economic and social life affected by Keynesianism. Despite capitalism differs from every country, there are several processes that are constant, for example the neoliberalized city. (De Mattos 2014).

The neoliberalized city is firstly envisaged as an entrepreneurial city, whose objectives are economic success while being in competition with other cities for financing, innovation and “creative classes”. Secondly, it is a city where the social-section of the municipal administration is being replaced by “*professionalized quasi-public agencies*” (Leitner et al. 2007, 4) pursuing economic development and privatizing urban services. Definitely, the actions taken by the local-government are driven by cost-benefit calculations while social-welfare is left. Thirdly, residents are responsible of their behaviour, successes and failures, as being expected to behave entrepreneurially and prudently (with the social obligation to make their expected contribution to the collective economic welfare) (Leitner et al. 2007).

The urban housing markets are characterized by the freedom of rent and the abolition of project-based construction subsidies, with a lessening of the investment on public housing and other forms of lower-rent housing. On the other hand, it opens the door for new opportunities of speculative investment in central-city real estate markets (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Second part of Lefebvre's right to the city – the right of appropriation

However, the right to the city entangles two different right for the city citizens: “*The right to participation and the right of appropriation*”(Purcell 2002, 102). The first one entails the role of the citizens to be a part of the decision-making process in the urban space arena. The second one is the right of appropriation, become a part of the physical city.

This way of advocating for the right to the city is focusing in the right to occupy and use and access to the urban space as well as being able to access to appropriate housing. Nevertheless, Lefebvre elucidates this right as a broader meaning. Is not only about the appropriation of the already-created urban space, it is also about creating urban space that fits the necessities of citizens, as “*appropriation gives inhabitants the right to full and complete usage of urban space in the course of everyday life*” (Purcell 2002, 103).

In this sense, neoliberalism has commuted the perception of the urban space, turning it into private property, a valuable commodity. The commodification of urban space has been considered a crucial strategy for capital accumulation considered by neoliberalism (Castells 1977). Housing itself became a fictitious commodity when it was taken over finance. Housing represented one of the most dynamic new frontiers of late neoliberalism during the decades of economic boom, and at the outset of the

crisis was converted into one of the main Keynesian strategies to recover from it (Rolnik 2013). Therefore, is in particular to this phenomena what the right to appropriation stands against (Purcell 2002).

Backed by the political force of homeownership ideology deeply rooted in some societies, and by the “socialization of credit”, with its inclusion of middle- and low-income consumers into financial circuits, *“the takeover of the housing sector by global finance opened up a new frontier for capital accumulation, allowing the free circulation of values across virtually all urban land”* (Harvey 1989, 96). The new paradigm was primarily based on the implementation of policies designed to create stronger and larger housing-based financial markets to include middle- and low-income consumers. Therefore, is in the reshaping of housing policies that these are a key influence in what kind of housing and social housing is available, to whom, the price, etcetera. The neoliberal state turn is a central topic to understand the *“exclusion of the poor in the context of expanding private market influence”* (Harvey 1989).

4.2.2 Housing and the right to the city

As analysed in the previous section, housing plays a central role for the creation of the sense of belonging to the city. With the neoliberal turn, more housing activists and scholars are advocating for the use of the idea of the right to the city to delineate the struggles in accessing to housing and how evictions, gentrification and privatisation threats on the security of low income people to access to affordable housing (Rolnik 2013).

It was already in the 90s when the World Bank released a report about housing, named “Housing: Enabling Markets to work” (World Bank 1993), in which it was summarized the new stream of thinking about housing policies for the governments and the guidelines on how best design proper policies for their nations. Therefore, the shift towards the housing as an asset increased dramatically in developed countries and is in the commodification of housing, merged with the globalization of the financial market pushed by neoliberalism that have affected the provision of the right to adequate housing (Rolnik 2013).

Housing – A definition

Definitions of housing are often stressing the economic aspect of housing as an economic good and the concept of housing markets. However, besides this understanding of housing as a commodity it can also be seen as a social good, as it is a basic need for performing living activities, providing shelter and privacy for the inhabitants (Smith 1970). Housing is also a human right, constituted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights under Article 21, which includes the right to adequate housing (United Nations, 2015). The right to adequate housing regards housing as a social good and sets criteria to define when housing is to be considered as adequate. These criteria are: security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location and cultural adequacy (UN Habitat, 2009, 4).

The right to adequate housing, as constituted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights under the article 21, is a human right (United Nations 2011), but it should not be apprehended as having a

protecting shelter as the concept it is much broader. As a human right, the right to housing has to be understood as a mean to secure all different sorts of occupation and protect against dispossession or forced evictions. In addition, to provide basic services such as, for example, potable water, electricity, waste disposal, affordability and the “*right of participation in all stages and processes of decision-making related to housing*” (Rolnik 2014, 294), prioritizing the needs of those who have been kept away from the decision making process.

Affordable housing

Social housing is indeed often associated with affordable housing. Affordability is considered a criteria to the human right of adequate housing, stating that housing is not adequate if its price hinders the occupant in the enjoyment of other human rights (UN Habitat 2009). In a general context, the term affordable housing varies across countries, but in general includes three different components. The first one is related to the amount of income dedicated to housing. The most common approach to define “affordability” is to consider that housing costs consume no more than 30 or 40 percent of household income (Pittini 2012). The second one is what is considered as the minimum socially acceptable standard for housing, comprising factors such as the floor space required, the minimum basic amenities or the access to social services among others. This might differ from every city and community’s view. The last one, includes the definition of the income groups eligible for housing assistance and direct government support. The idea of affordable housing recognizes the needs of households whose incomes are not sufficient to allow them to access appropriate housing in the market without assistance (Milligan et al. 2009).

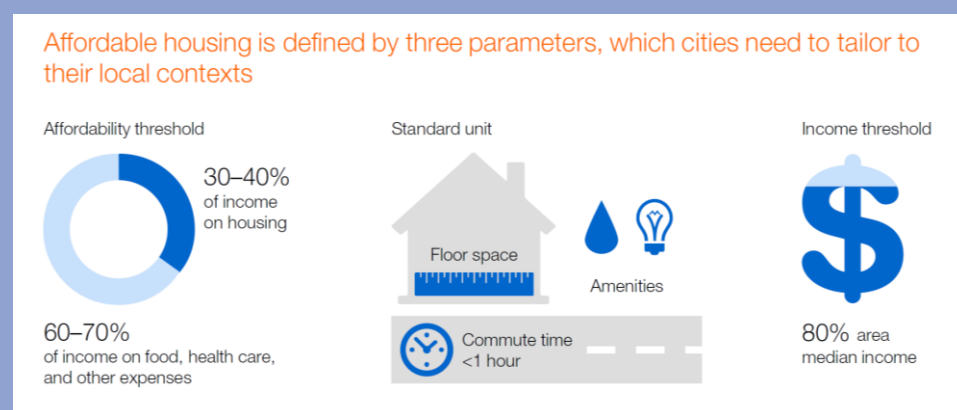


Figure 3 Affordable Housing Definition (Woetzel et al. 2014)

All over Europe there are various definitions of social housing in different countries. These definitions differ in who provides social housing in what way for whom and some countries do not even have a single formal definition of social housing. Formal definitions of social housing can relate to ownership of the buildings by local authorities or nonprofit organizations, to who is in charge of construction, to the level of the rents, to the relevant subsidy used for construction and to the purpose for which the housing is provided (Scanlon, Whitehead, and Arrigoitia 2014)

Nevertheless, the right to adequate housing has been compromised by the market-based reforms and the structural reconfigurations that neoliberalism has entailed (Kadi and Ronald 2014). Urban housing markets have become elitist arenas where low income inhabitants have been threatened in their “right to the city”. This have been manifested in the affordability of the properties and rental tenures, encompassed by a reduction in social/protected rental housing. In addition, the availability and affordability of housing have been threatened by the policy shift towards ensuring better conditions for owner than rental occupied housing as it has stimulated speculative activity (Rolnik 2013). In the following chapters this is going to be studied further.

Notwithstanding, cities as well as the government's ideology, have gone global (Harvey 2008) and an urbanization boom has flourished. Influenced by new streams of governing, the “*quality of urban life has become a commodity for those with money, as has the city itself in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of urban political economy*” (Harvey 2008, 8). The global urbanization expansion has been helped by the financial streams set with neoliberalism, creating new financial institutions, which, in particular, provided new forms to organize credit (Harvey 2008).

Therefore, the individualism and possessiveness set by neoliberalism are becoming the major rulers for city transformations, leading towards “*divided, fragmented and conflict-prone cities*” (Harvey 2008, 9) in which public spaces are turning into gated-privatized-under surveillance communities. It is in these high-income clusters formation that another conflict rises. It is when spotting high value land that has been occupied by low income people for many years and forcing them to leave, dispossessing them of the right to the city (Harvey 2008).

To conclude, in one hand, the right to the city as well as the right to adequate housing are context dependent, meaning that to understand the current situation of a city, it is also important to know the historic housing policy approach. On the other hand, the right to access and decide about the future of the city is in hands of the financial ruling class, who obtains benefit through urban development and therefore forcing those with limited resources out of this capital circuit (Harvey 1989). These elites uses the urbanization as a mechanism in which the surplus of capital can be absorbed (De Mattos 2014).

Table 3 Key points on the affectation of neoliberalism in the housing provision

<i>Key points on the affectation of neoliberalism in the housing provision</i>
The whole city can be understood as a good that can be priced and exchanged (De Mattos 2014)
The neoliberal governance in the city is transforming the urban scenario into a commodity, in order of being able to compete in a global city scenario (Harvey 2008)
As a consequence of the capital amassing, part of the economic surplus is redirected to speculative housing investments (De Mattos 2014)
Housing itself became a fictitious commodity converted into one of the main Keynesian strategies to recover from the wavering crisis (De Mattos 2014)
Market-based housing finance challenged the right to the city as well as the access to affordable housing, contributing a global bubble in real estate prices (Rolnik 2014)

4.3 Analytical Framework

In order to carry out the analysis, the concepts explained in the theoretical framework need to be operationalized. The aim of this section is to conclude the theory chapter while serving as the scheme to follow in the analysis of the different case studies. Therefore, the concepts here exposed will serve as indicators of how neoliberalism has affected the different developments and in what way. Furthermore, the indicators of how the right to the city has been challenged will be presented.

4.3.1 The neoliberal signs

The intensification of interlocality competition

In a neoliberal city, policies are reoriented towards region's economic competitiveness (Harvey 1989) in order to attract investments. Therefore, different strategies are taken into account in order to progress in a city-global scale position and to promote place-marketing:

- Promotion of mega-events
- Icon buildings and singular urban projects

Uneven geographical development

The use of slumped areas may favour speculative investments, as developers with fewer means can obtain bigger benefits. The indicators are:

- Area's evolution – general real estate price evolution
- Creation of high income clusters
- Urban mixture / segregation. Coherence with the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Shift in the activities – towards knowledge-based industries

As said before, neoliberal cities are in competition for attracting investment, but also for being attractive for creative classes. In a society facing deindustrialization, shifting towards knowledge-based businesses can help promoting the economic development (Leitner et al. 2007). The indicators to observe are:

- The origin of the area's economy and the current/envisioned economy

Shift in the governance

It is argued that neoliberalism empowers local governing institutions, by making them responsible for the provision of housing, infrastructure, economic control and social support (Painter and Goodwin 1995). As they are also driven by economic means, the rearrangement from government to governance could be seen by trying to improve efficiency by using "non-state and quasi-state bodies" (Purcell 2002). Therefore, the indicators are:

- The role of the Mayor. Entrepreneurial vision versus welfarist vision.
- Downscaling of governance
- Autonomy of local institutions
- Promotion of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP)
- The interaction between the different stakeholders (PPP, Neighbours Associations, the Government...), as they may be excluded from the policy-decision arena.

Downscale of the welfare state

The urban housing markets are characterized by the freedom of rent and the abolition of construction subsidies as well as the lessening of the investment on public housing and other forms of lower-rent housing (Brenner and Theodore 2002). The indicators to observe are:

- Public expenditure in social housing
- The rental market
- Housing price evolution – challenging affordability for young people/elderly/immigrants
- Commodification of urban space
- Relocation of the previous inhabitants/evictions

Table 4 Neoliberal signs and indicators of a neoliberal city

<i>Neoliberal signs</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
The intensification of interlocality competition (Harvey 1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of megaevents • Icon buildings and singular urban projects
Uneven geographical development (De Mattos 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Area's evolution – general real estate price evolution • Creation of high income clusters • Urban mixture / segregation. Coherence with the surrounding neighbourhoods.
Shift in the activities – towards knowledge-based industries (Leitner et al. 2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The origin of the area's economy and the current/envisaged economy
Shift in the governance (Painter and Goodwin 1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of the Mayor. Entrepreneurial vision vs welfarist vision. • Downscaling of governance • Autonomy of local institutions • Promotion of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) • The interaction between the different stakeholders (PPP, Neighbours Associations, the Government...), as they may be excluded from the policy-decision arena.
Downscale of the welfare state (Brenner and Theodore 2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public expenditure in social housing • The rental market • Housing price evolution – challenging affordability for young people/elderly/immigrants • Commodification of urban space • Relocation of the previous inhabitants/evictions

5.0 Neoliberalism and the provision of housing in Spain

The aim of this chapter is to provide a context that will serve the following chapters and answer the first research question, on how neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain. Therefore, it is relevant to explain how neoliberalism has been unfold in Spain, as its situation is different than the rest of Western European countries. By explaining the autarchy period and the different occurrences it could be understand how the political sphere has shaped the housing provision. Consequently, first, an explanation of neoliberalism in Spain is provided. Afterwards, using the same timeframe, the housing provision will be explained.

5.1.1 Neoliberalism in Spain

Neoliberalism in Spain has been unfolded differently than the rest of Western European countries. In order to explain it, the following timeframe will be used, as it is considered to show the break-points in the Spanish political history:

Table 5 Spanish Political Timeframe

Before 1939	Retarded Modernization before Franco
1939 – 1975	Economic policies under Franco - the Corporate State
1975 – 1982	The Transition and the evolution of the Spanish Democracy
1982 – 1996	Economic policies and the Socialists
1996 – 2008	The growing period – The alternation period
2008 -	The effects of global economic crisis

Before 1939: Retarded Modernization

By the end of XIX century, Spain productive sector was based in a progressive reinforcement of a precarious industry model based on the national industry and protectionism against external commerce. An isolation period towards the international trade was worsened by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). The Civil War, entailed terrible material losses, serious infrastructures damages followed by a general decay. Therefore, the few remaining economic means were allocated to recover fundamental elements such as basic infrastructure. That was translated into an even more retarded modernization of an already non-competitive industry compared with the rest of Europe (Capel 1983).

1939-1975: Economic policies under Franco- the Corporate State

When the Civil War ended, the autarchy period started, as Franco took over the government of Spain. This period could be divided in two different eras. The first one from the end of the war (1939) until 1959 when the National Stabilization Plan (*Plan Nacional de Estabilización*) was released. The second one is from 1959 until Franco's death in 1975.

The first period, 1939-1959 was characterized by the continuation of the international isolation of Spain and the promotion of a precarious and scarcely competitive industry. That allowed the development of an accumulation policy relying in the worker class, the ones considered to be the losers of the Civil War (Capel 1983). Therefore, it could be said that the economy during this period was highly intervened by the State that lasted until the 50s.

The second period started in 1959 with the release of the National Stabilization Plan (*Plan Nacional de Estabilización*). This plan was the ensemble of measures whose objectives were the stabilization and

liberalization of the Spanish economy (Jefatura de Estado 1959). The objectives posed in this plan were, first to stabilize the Spanish currency, which was followed by an increase in the external credits given by international governments, especially from the US Government. Second, to rise the interest rate and the public expenditure, as well as freezing the wages in order to reduce inflation. Third, to establish a new legislation about international investments that led to an international trade opening, thus the production started recovering and the economic isolation was not as extreme as before (Gómez 2004). Therefore, the measures adopted were more than an internal stabilization plan, as they set the basis for an international opening and abandon the isolation model. The results of this plan could be experienced in short term, as the inflation was reduced, there was an increase in the international expenditure, a rise in the tourism and new technologies were adopted to update the industry sector. Nevertheless, the economic unbalance and strong interventionism were still leading factors of this period (Gómez 2004).

1975-1982: The Transition and the evolution of the Spanish Democracy

When Franco died in 1975, the Spanish society expected higher rates of freedom, higher life level and a better and fairer share of wealth (Martín-Aceña 2010). Nevertheless, the new democratic opportunity came with a deep economic crisis that started in 1973, lasting more than ten years, testing the strength and adaptability of the Spanish politic class.

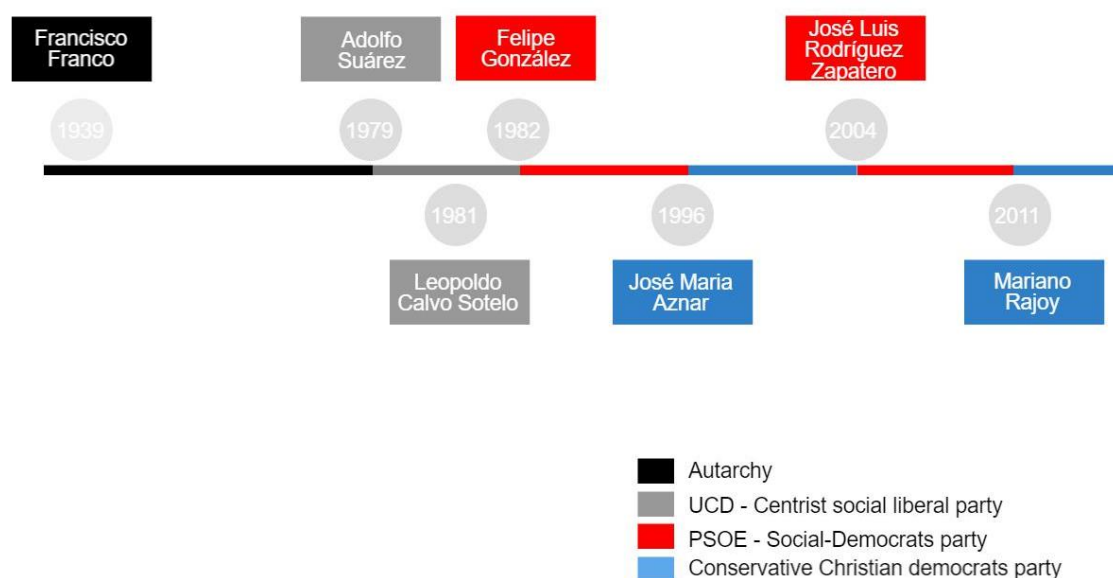


Figure 4 the Government alternation. Adapted from (LaMoncloa.gob.es 2016)

During the period 1975-1985 Spain suffered a tremendous economic crisis, which was characterized, like other Western European countries, by high rates of inflation and unemployment, a negative investment rate and a slow growing of the GDP. The crisis was especially intense in the industrial sector, being reflected in the decreasing number of industries, starting the process of "deindustrialization" (Gómez 2004).

Spanish economy showed an important delay compared with other European countries. For example, at the beginning of the 70s, the GDP was 25% lower than the European Community average (Martín-Aceña 2010). Despite the measures implemented by the National Stabilization Plan (*Plan Nacional de*

Estabilización), the Spanish industry was still characterized by being archaic, non-competitive and inefficient, with a high energetic dependency from outer countries (Martín-Aceña 2010).

In 1977, Adolfo Suárez was invested as the first president of the Spanish democracy after Franco's dictatorship. After being unable to correct the economic situation, the "Moncloa Pacts" (*Pactos de la Moncloa*) were announced (Vespito.net 2016). These agreements are considered the starting point of a new capitalist era in the Spanish society as they started to implement an alternative accumulation model in what was considered a moderate capitalist democracy (Etxezarreta 1991).

The democracy was considered to be consolidated with the approval of the Spanish Constitution in December 1978. A new framework for social and working was established, as well as the configuration of the Autonomous Regions (*Comunidades Autónomas*) of Spain (among them, Catalonia). Nevertheless, by the end of 1979 another crisis started when OPEP decided to rise the oil prices. Consequently, the Spanish economic policy reflected the pessimistic situation, as the proposals of the "Moncloa Pacts" were not achieved. Like the rest of Europe, the solution of the economic problems went through hardening the economic policies and the intensification of its neoliberal character, like decreasing the flexibility of the labour market (Etxezarreta 1991).

In 1981 Adolfo Suarez resigned, and a month later, a fruitless coup d'état destabilized again the country. Calvo Sotelo, the new president, had to fight again for the consolidation of the Democracy. Nevertheless, the coup d'état reinforced the fear of a democratic involution, allowing the social acceptance of the strong neoliberal policies (Etxezarreta 1991).

In 1980, the efforts were directed towards managing the macroeconomic instabilities. Therefore, no policies were designed to confront the deindustrialization crisis that the country was suffering. It was in 1982 that a new law with measures to promote the reconversion of the industry was launched (*Ley 21/1982, de 9 de junio, sobre medidas para la Reconversión Industrial*) (Jefatura de Estado 1982). The intention was to increase the international competitiveness of the Spanish businesses by reducing the production costs, promoting the specialization and technological development (Gómez 2004).

1982-1996: Economic policies and the Socialists

With the PSOE entrance in the Government (Social-Democratic party) in 1982, several changes happened. Their slogan "for the change" (*Por el cambio*) raised high interest in the Spanish population. Their policies were oriented towards decreasing the unemployment rate, fight against tax-fraud, achieving a fairness society with the extension of the health service, social security and education (Partido Socialista Obrero Español 1982). They introduced themselves as a party, not only prepared for developing the classical social-democratic policies of growth and distribution, but ready to consolidate democracy and face the historical issues embedded in the Spanish society. The economic strategy was qualified as clearly expansive, social-democrat but without questioning the capitalist system base (Etxezarreta 1991).

The recovery of the Spanish economy started in 1985, being consolidated in the next years. The main strategies were prioritizing the private capital as the axis for the economic recovery, minimizing the state intervention, while opening Spain to foreign investment (Etxezarreta 1991). The admission of Spain in the European Economic Community (CEE) in 1986 boosted the economic growth. In addition, there was an increase of the foreign investments such as the related with the Olympic Games – Barcelona 1992 or the International Exposition of Seville.

By 1990, the economic growth of Spain was considered exuberant by the economic authorities and business sector. The shift on the tendency was stimulated by the internationalization of the economy, the diminishing in the oil price and the favourable currency exchange rate (Gómez 2004).

1996-2008: The growing period – The alternation period

The Spanish economy had a steady growth until the crisis of 2008. The two facts that determined the growth were, firstly the entrance in the Monetary Union in 1994 and the substitution of the national currency (peseta) for the Euro. That led to an increased confidence level from the international investors being translated into an increment of credit and a decrease of the unemployment. Secondly, the massive entrance of immigrants in 2002 attracted by a growing demand of employees in the construction and service sector as well as the national growth (Gómez 2004).

Both big parties (socialists and centre-right) alternated the government of Spain. Despite the changes in the ruling-party, the new entering government kept the same measures of the previous policies. One of the best examples to illustrate the regressive tax policy that was set up was the creation of SICAV (Sociedad de inversion de capital variable – *in English could be translated as OEIC Open-Ended Investment Company*) so big fortunes had to pay only the 1% of their taxes and benefitted foreign millionaire as to attract their capital (Samanes Olleta 2016). All the conditions aforementioned, and according the Banco de España (*National Spanish Bank*), entailed Spain to occupy the eighth global economic power position (El Economista 2015).

2008 - : the effects of the global economic crisis

After being considered the 8th economic power, this process changed drastically in 2008 when the economic global crisis that started in USA influenced Spanish economy. Spain was catalogued by the economic magazine "The Economist", among other countries, as being part of the PIGS group (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain). This acronym served to name the countries that had "model" economies, but suffered an increased crisis compared to the rest of Europe (Investopedia 2016).

Among the critical positions, it was affirmed that the dependency of the Spanish economy with the construction industry and the excessive debt could cause a long economic recession. As well as other countries like USA or the United Kingdom, the real estate bubble burst between 2007 and 2008, leaving a high rate of debt in the majority of the Spanish families (Investopedia 2016).

From the Spanish Government, different measures were applied in order to overcome the crisis. In the first period, the Socialist government applied a tax-policy focused on stimulating the demand by approving the Spanish Plan for the Stimulation of the Economy and Employment in 2008 (*Plan Español para el Estímulo de la Economía y el Empleo – Plan E*) (Gobierno de España 2008). Nevertheless, the measures proposed in this plan seemed not to be competitive enough to face up the national debt. By the end of 2010, the Government announced another plan, termed "the austerity plan" (*Plan de Austeridad*) where the goal was to reduce the public deficit. This was served with other measures affecting the social welfare, such as the extension of the retirement age (El País 2010).

Since 2013 the Spanish economy has been under a "recovery" phase, in which the national growth is moderately growing. Reflect of this situation is the start, in 2014 of the creation of employment (Instituto Nacional de Estadística B 2016).

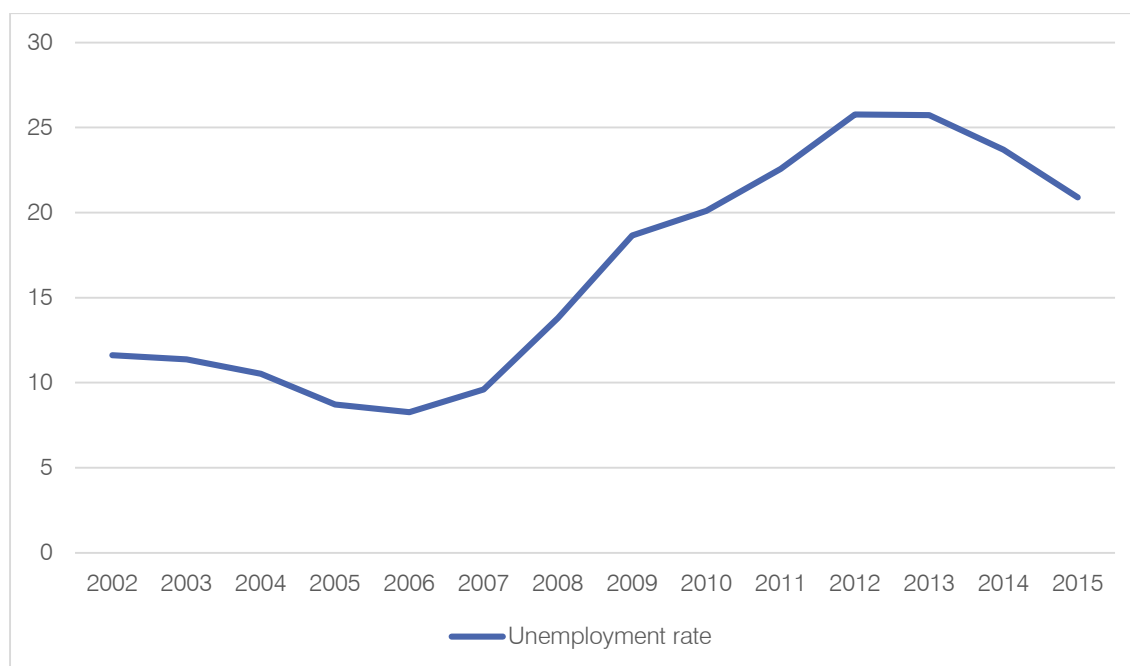


Figure 5 Unemployment rate evolution in Spain (Instituto Nacional de Estadística B 2016)

5.2 Housing policies in Spain

The Spanish urban legislation was created in the middle of XIX to optimize the private efficiency in the land market. It has been focused on the legal regulation of urban laws and the speculative market economy, instead of promoting a sustainable housing market (Betrán Abadía 2002). In the following, the different laws that have influenced the Spanish territory will be explained through the different parties, with special focus on the housing policies.

Before 1939	Retarded Modernization before Franco
1939 – 1975	Economic policies under Franco - the Corporate State
1975 – 1982	The Transition and the evolution of the Spanish Democracy
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1939-1975 Housing policy during Franco's dictatorship

During the Spanish Civil War (1933-1939) and the autarchy period of Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), the industrial cities of Spain experienced a shortage in housing, as from 1939 until 1955 the construction sector was paralyzed. At that time, the state did not show any attention in the construction of affordable housing, regulate wages or improve the rationing policy (Richards 1999). Despite the housing shortage was estimated to surpass one million units, the housing-market allocated for high-income people was saturated, as the lack of housing was foreseen as a business opportunity for developers (Capel 1983).

In 1956 the first Land Law was released (*Ley del Suelo 12 Mayo 1956*) stating that urban planning relied on the local public administration, so they were the responsible for administrating the land.

Additionally in 1957 the Ministry of Housing was created. The aim of this Ministry was to promote the massive access to affordable housing by creating areas of cheap-constructed buildings to abolish slum areas. New housing was promoted by the Social Urban Plans (*Planes de Urgencia Social*), starting in Barcelona in 1958. Despite these plans, during the 60s the 90% of affordable housing was built by private initiative (Capel 1983, 121).

The effects of the economic liberalization of the National Stabilization Plan explained in the previous chapter, caused an overproduction of expensive housing between 1950 and 1959. This housing was not affordable for the majority of the inhabitants causing a mismatch with the offer and the demand (Gómez 2004).

In 1960, the Law about horizontal property (*Ley 21 Julio de 1960 de propiedad horizontal*) allowed a change in the property system, speeding up the access to the homeownership market. It implied a general rise in the number of building's storeys and consequently the change in the appearance in the cities (Jefatura de Estado 1960). One of the main objectives of this law was to induce the access of credit to as many layers of society as possible (Mangen 2001). Therefore they could invest on property assets as housing turned into a commodity whose most relevant characteristic was its exchange value and consequently, construction companies become developers (Mangen 2001).

In 1961 a National Housing Plan was released (1961-1976), focusing on the difficulty of providing solution to the lack of affordable housing. It recognized that the primary way of accessing to housing was through the ownership, but it was necessary to provide a certain amount of rental housing. In addition, it stated the lack of urbanized land. The plan was ambitious, as it estimated the construction equal to the 50% of the already built housing estate (Gómez 2004). The Ministry of Housing, to overcome the lack of land, expropriated and urbanized land to provide it in a reasonable price to the private developers in order to build the aforementioned affordable housing (Betrán Abadía 2002).

In addition to the National Housing Plan of 1961, in 1964 a new law regarding urban rents was released (*Ley de 1964 de reforma de arrendamientos urbanos*). This law had as a purpose to moderate the liberalisation of the properties, by guaranteeing the stability of rents and their prices. The measures implemented by the Government, led to low profitability for owners, causing owners to lose interest in their properties (Martín-Aceña 2010). Therefore, they tried to sell their properties and disregard maintenance obligations. The Government, seeing that the solution aggravated the problem, tried to introduce alternative ways intended to stimulate the construction of subsidized houses through direct and indirect help directed by the National Housing Institute (*Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda - INV*) (Gómez 2004).

In 1963, the first law about subsidized housing was released (*Decreto 2131/1963 de 24 de Julio*). Despite the law differentiated two groups of housing, one that did not receive direct aid from the National Housing Institute, and another that was entitled to receive aid, the law established that the private sector should be encouraged to build all kinds of housing (Ministerio de la Vivienda 1963), drifting apart the Government from the provision of housing. Nevertheless, by March 1972, several decrees had already modified the previous law in favour of the private-sector interest, contradicting the public policy of social housing basing it on the private benefit (Mangen 2001). Therefore, during the autarchy of Franco's dictatorship, housing ownership was the most widespread use in housing.

1975-1982 The Transition and the evolution of the Spanish Democracy

In November 1975 the death of Franco motivated comprehensive changes in the way Spain was governed, hence urban planning was also changed. The first big reform of the Land Law of 1956 happened in 1975, promoting the massive urbanization of the land, developed by the private-sector.

In 1977 the “Moncloa Pacts” were released. As explained in the previous chapter, it was a document of extraordinary importance during the transition towards the democracy. In the housing chapter, nine different measures were stated focusing on low-income people, favouring renting, creation of social housing and the use of unoccupied estates (Cabrera 2011). The document mentioned measures for disadvantaged people, as well as urban operations to secure public facilities and health standards avoiding slums and promoting the rental market, strongly diminished since the law of 1964 (*urban rents reform*)(Mangen 2001). But as explained before, the Moncloa Pacts did not achieve their resolution.

As it can be observed on the *Table 6*, the tendency of the housing market showed an increase in the property market to the detriment of the rental market. At that time, the Spanish society was achieving higher development rates hence achieving better conditions for the population to access to a property-housing. In general, the property sector reckoned to be 73.15% versus 23.87% of rental market (Gómez 2004, 465).

Table 6 Property and rental percentage in the households in Spain. Adapted from Gómez 2004

Year	Property	Rental	Other
1950	45.87%	51.26%	2.87%
1960	51.87%	41.35%	6.78%
1970	57.15%	24.55%	18.30%
1981	73.15%	23.87%	6.06%
1985	73.94%	16.47%	6.58%

The article 137 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 reflected a new administrative organization for the state, incorporating the Autonomic Regions (*Comunidades Autonomas*) as an organizational entity with certain legislative autonomy. The national plan of 1984-1987 established the administrative decentralization towards the regions. This organizational configuration allowed to formulate the housing policies in terms of administrative decentralization (Betrán Abadía 2002).

1982-1996 Economic policies and the Socialists

In 1985, with the commonly named “Boyer Decree” (“*Decreto Boyer*” - *Real Decreto Ley 2/1985*), the freedom on the rental market was achieved. This law fostered the freedom for the owner to reach an agreement with the tenant to control the length of the rent. It also removed the mandatory rental-contract extension. Consequently, it caused a great instability for the tenants, as these contracts allowed the owners to have their properties available every 12 months, ergo forcing tenants and owners to reach a consensus again with the rental price, resulting in an inflation of the rental-market prices. By 1985, the rental rate was 16,47% in Spain, while in Great Britain was 37%, France 38% or 58% in Germany. In 1991, the Spanish rate was 15%, in 2001 the 11.5% and in 2003 the 9.3% (Gómez 2004, 491).

1996-2008: The growing period – The alternation period

By 1998, and under the pretext of the extremely high price of the land, the newly elected centre-right government promoted measurements towards increasing the disposable land to urbanize and shortening the span of time to realise the project. The law (*Law of 7/1997 of 14th April*) proposed again an increase on the housing offer, including the urgent urbanization of land classified as non-buildable. Consequently, a new housing plan was promoted (1998-2001) (Jefatura de Estado 1997).

This plan was characterized by improving the systems to access to housing while diminishing the economic effort by modifying the tax incentives and maintaining an adequate activity level in the construction sector, with its positive effects on employment (Gómez 2004). The Spanish regions had the flexibility to establish the land prices, which allowed to fluctuations among 15-20%. Therefore, regions were able to modify the maximum price for social housing (Jefatura de Estado 1997).

Despite the ambitiousness of the plan (building 284.000 new affordable housing), only 174.000 were actually built (61.3%) (Gómez 2004, 866). As said by Gomez-Jimenez, the reasons of this situation were the decrease on the demand of affordable housing, and on the mortgage loan rates. By then, the construction of affordable housing returned lower profit than the non-subsidized housing, lessening the interest of developers on promoting this type of housing (Betrán Abadía 2002).

The results of the aforementioned plan and the entrance of a new socialist government motivated a new housing plan (2002-2005). This was developed with social accent, in which several measures oriented towards improving the access to the rental market were proposed. This plan contemplated a financing system that promoted the construction of renting-housing also increasing economic aid to young people for buying their first property. The plan was instrumented through agreements between financial entities, Autonomous Regions and the State, fixing the interest rate applicable to mortgage loans or establishing complementary financial aid (Ministerio de Fomento 2002). Nevertheless, it is in 2005 when the first financial aid to renters is proposed.

However, besides the new housing plan with this social accent and the first rental aid, the Spanish private housing sector was rocketed, motivated by different factors. On one hand, the measures explained about the massive entrance of credit and the promotion of easy access to credit by the European Union reducing the interest rates, as well as an increased immigration rate and a decrease in the unemployment rate generated a massive consumption of private housing. In addition, almost the 25% of the new employments created during this period were related to the building sector (Ocón 2013), asserting the great influence that the construction sector had in the Spanish economy. On the other hand, the liberal measures from the Government to increase the disposable land to urbanise also contributed to the massive construction of housing units. Together with the general optimism of the society as well as the promotion of the homeownership, implied speculative operations steering the housing prices (Scanlon, Lunde, and Whitehead 2011).

2008- : the crisis period

During the previous period a real-estate bubble was created, where people were caught in expensive housing and pulling an enormous debt. The macroeconomic and financial imbalances that affected globally together with the real estate speculation and the excess of debt where intertwined concurring that in 2007 the prices in the housing started to decrease and housing was no longer seen as an steady investment (Banco de España 2012). Therefore, that left a massive quantity of housing without being sold, and the construction sector (that was one of the economic drivers of the Spanish economy) started to fail, increasing unemployment and entailing immense social consequences, such as an increase in the foreclosures and evictions (Amnistia Internacional 2015)

5.3 Reflection on the neoliberal signs of the Spanish housing sector

To conclude, the following chart summarizes the different signs of the neoliberalism that could be observed in the Spanish housing sector through the recent history:

Table 7 Neoliberal signs of the Spanish housing sector

Neoliberal signs of the Spanish housing sector
The rental market evolution and the promotion of homeownership
Credit easiness
Decentralization of the state
Promote housing expansion policies to overcome crisis – Housing as an investment

5.3.1 The rental market evolution – promoting homeownership

As it can be seen in the recent history of Spain, homeownership has been promoted from different angles and strategies. The liberalization of rental contracts initiated in 1985 by the Boyer Act, and continued in 1994 by the Urban Rental Law (Ley the arrendamientos urbanos), sought to improve conditions for the owners instead of the renters. Therefore, it seems that this measure was not fully productive to incentivize the rental market, as it has possibly negatively affected the security of tenure.

The acquisition of housing has been a response on the lack of public reliable alternatives and consequently, housing has been perceived as an investment for the income surplus. In addition, the measures adopted to impulse the rental-market in Spain have not been as successful as expected, mainly caused by the tax incentive policy. Selling publicly owned houses to the tenants has been seen a way to increase homeownership while diminishing state expenditure (especially to avoid maintenance cost). The privatization of public/social housing has taken various forms (Rolnik 2013).

On the other hand, the way the governments canalized the public aid to housing also promoted the housing ownership. Most of the direct public aid was destined to subsidize the property's purchase. Accordingly, the tax system did not take into account providing economic aid for those who were renting a property. It entails other consequences, such as the focus on the promotion of the purchase, diminished the interest for refurbishing or maintaining the properties.

Therefore, it is estimated that the 88% of the direct public aid to housing was destined to subsidize the property's purchase, not renting, as the tax system did not take into account economic aid for renting (Gómez 2004).

5.3.2 Credit easiness

The promotion of homeownership has come with the easy access to credit to finance the purchase. In one hand, the different Spanish Governments have enhanced the financial markets with different laws and policies as they envisaged the promotion of homeownership as a way of reducing the reliance on government aid by the low-income households (Ball 1986). On the other hand, from a European Union perspective, different movements have been done in order to remove interest rate ceiling and to promote the flexibility to access into the mortgage markets (Ball 1986).

These factors favoured the ground for those who were ineligible to access to credit, so they could obtain the sufficient credit to buy, generating the commonly known “subprime loans”. This phenomena was extended in a moment where the rapid Spanish growing caused a huge immigrant wave. Therefore, migrants and minorities were the most affected by this.

5.3.3 Decentralization of the state

The transference of the financing costs from the central to the Autonomous Regions affected the investment capability, as the Autonomous Regions had less investment capability than the State. Besides the economic liberalization and deregulation, the steady intervention of the Public Administration has influenced in the housing-market by overlapping it with the country's economic policy. In the future chapters, it is going to be studied the consequences of this factor. Nevertheless, it seems that local governments, in order to fight this lack of investment from the central government, they have been forced to engage in interspatial competition in order to attract investment from private bodies (Leitner et al. 2007). Consequently, urban policy experiments have been carried out around this cities, such as the construction of megaprojects, and speculative investments in the city centres (De Mattos 2014). As said before, this topic is going to be explored further in the following chapters.

5.3.4 Promote housing expansion policies to overcome crisis – Housing is considered as an investment.

As a commodity, housing prices are not only determined by the offer and the demand. They are fixed according to the maximum salary that families or individuals are available to pay in a certain moment (De Mattos 2014). According to European Housing Statistic, Spain is the UE country that has experienced a biggest price rise in housing from the 80s until 2000.

The role of housing as an investment increases intensity in countries where families are exposed to a major vulnerability from the State as families are obliged to guarantee a stable future through their own means (Rolnik 2013). The countries with higher index of homeownership are in those with lesser public expenditure in social services and welfare. Therefore, it raises interest the phenomena of the marginalization of those who have not enough economic capacity to buy.

Another consequence of the capital amassing is that part of the economic surplus is redirected towards speculative housing investments. The capital amassing caused by the different policies had to find better investment allocations as the “real economy” did not provide an appropriate return. The speculative investments turned out to be the best choice (Purcell 2002).

As seen in the study of the different periods, the private consumerism and investment in construction have been considered the principal expansion boosters to overcome the cyclical crisis that have affected Spain. The Spanish National Bank report 2003 (Martínez Pagés and Maza 2003) warned about the risky situation of basing the nation's growth almost exclusively in these two sectors. This refers to the progressive indebtedness of families, whose economic position is weaken as their capability to save is reduced (Martínez Pagés and Maza 2003). In addition, it lowered the economic competitiveness thus there were no investments in improving productivity or technologic innovation. The market-based housing finance was the most important activity in the financial sector, contributing to a fictitious increase in the real estate prices having an enormous impact on housing affordability (De Mattos 2014).

6.0 The analyses of Diagonal Mar and 22@

In this chapter the analysis of the two cases will be carried out. First, the context of where the cases are located will be explained as well as the context that shaped the developments. Later on, each case will be presented and analysed in light the neoliberal signs exposed in the theoretical framework. At the end, a cross-analysis comparing both cases will be carried out.

6.1 Sant Martí District– the context

Barcelona, since 1984, is divided in ten different districts. These districts are reminiscences of historical enclaves. In this report, the district of Sant Martí is the chosen one for its relevance in the Olympic Games and its further transformation with Diagonal Mar and 22@.

Geographically, Sant Martí is located in at the east of Barcelona, and limits with Sant Adrià del Besós and the districts of Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Horta-Guinardó and Sant Andreu. In the South it limits with the Mediterranean Sea.



Figure 6 Barcelona's district distribution (Vikipèdia 2016)

Nowadays, the district is divided in ten different neighbourhoods. While Diagonal is concentrated in one neighbourhood, the 22@development is spread among Provençals del Poblenou, El Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou, and El Poblenou (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016b).

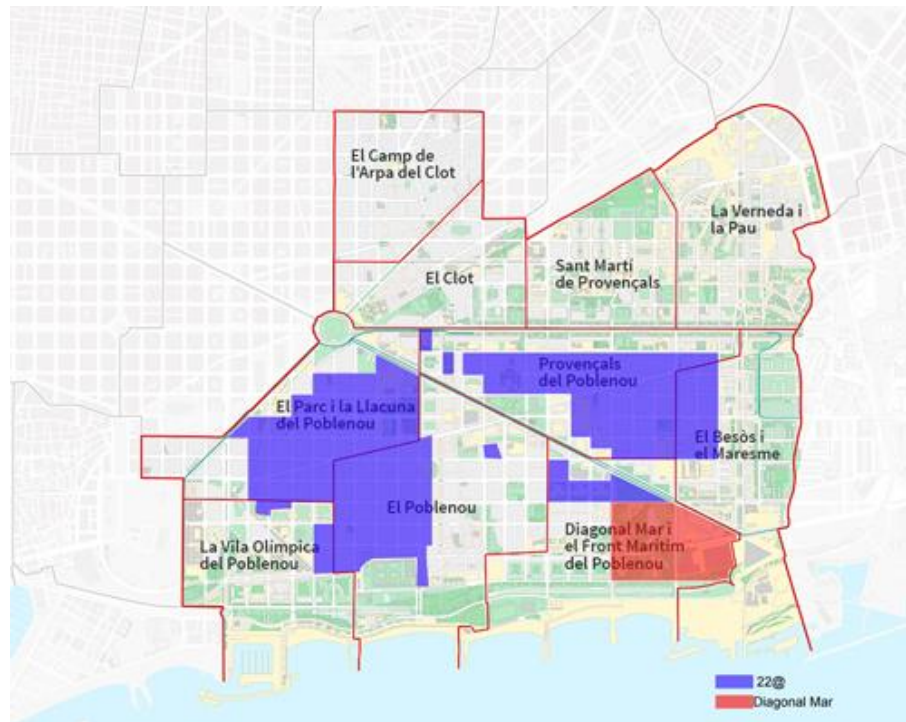


Figure 7 the Sant Martí District's neighbourhood distribution and the areas of 22@ and Diagonal Mar. Adapted from (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016b)

6.1.1 History of the district

The origins of this district are found in the old village *Sant Martí de Provençals* which was an independent village from 1714 until 1897. Provençals comes from the latin word *provincialis*, meaning those villages which were found out of the city-walls. At that time, there were three different cores in the village: el Clot, Poblenou and Sant Martí de Provençals. Nowadays, all they are different neighbourhoods in the district (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016b).

The transformation of the district started by 1846, when the Barcelona's Municipality banned the construction of more industry buildings inside the city-walls. Therefore, the industrial textile buildings found the perfect location in Sant Martí, due to the proximity of the harbour, and the availability of underground water. In 1885, there were 60 factories. Three years later, the number of factories grew until 243. The construction of the first train system in Spain that went through Sant Martí, was also considered one of the key factors of the district's growth (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a).

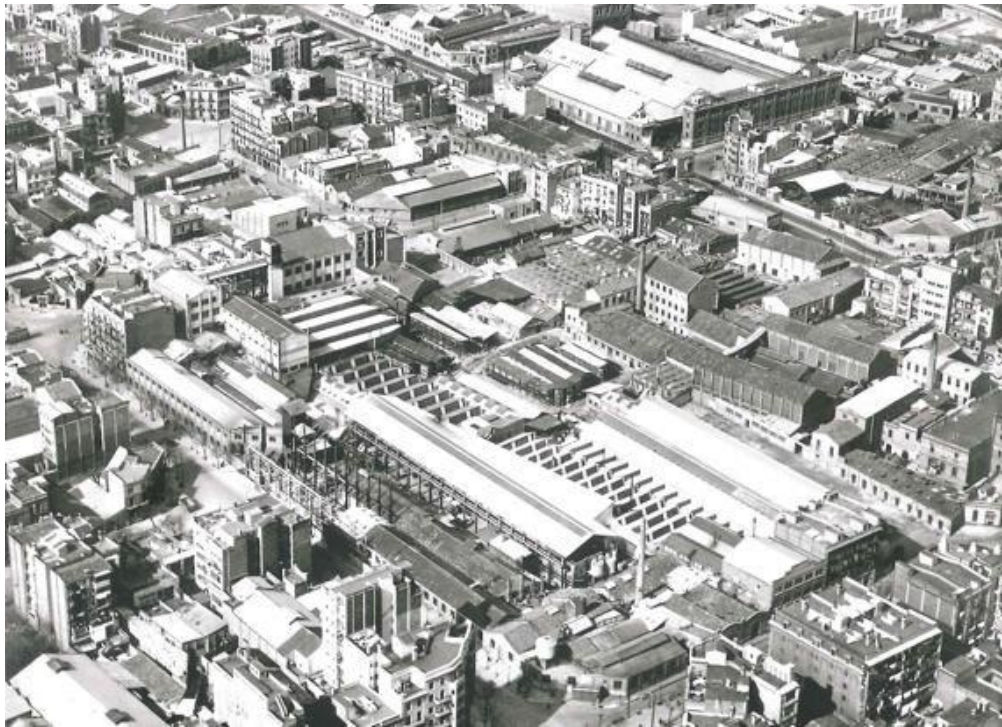


Figure 8 View from Poblenou. Image from the book "Poblenou Desaparegut" of Fosas and Luque. (Marchena 2016)

By the end of the XIX century, the district was considered an industrial settlement, renowned as the "Catalan Manchester" (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a; Marchena 2016). The rapid expansion led to a migratory process in which thousands of people moved from other parts of Spain to Barcelona. The difficulty to find proper and affordable housing together with the Civil War consequences, implicated the growth of shacks settlements next to the industrial areas. These areas become overpopulated, reaching an "Asian-level" of density (Nel-lo 1992).

The massive construction of self-built shacks in Barcelona was an urban phenomenon that started at the end of XIX century and lasted until late XX century. The rapid growth of Barcelona's population, attracted by the possibility to work, could not be fitted in the already built housing. This phenomenon slowed down with the Civil War. Nevertheless, the effects of the Civil War (bombing and destroying buildings) caused the expansion of the settlements reaching its peak by 1950. By 1960, the 7% of Barcelona's population were living in these settlements and they constituted neighbourhoods by themselves. They were mainly situated in areas considered not suitable for building, and they did not have sewage systems or basic supplies (such as electricity or water)(Carnicer, Grimal, and Mercè 2012).

Several municipal interventions led to the suppression of the firsts settlements. In addition, flooding and other natural disasters forced the closing and the reallocation of the inhabitants. By 1958, the Emergency Plans (*Plan de Urgencia Social*) started the construction of massive residential areas in the periphery and in other cities to reallocate people who were living in these settlements. The end of this phenomena started with the end of the autarchy period. The last settlements were removed by the urban developments carried out with the Olympic Games (Carnicer, Grimal, and Mercè 2012).



Figure 9 Shack settlement in Sant Martí (Queralto 2016)



Figure 10 Shack settlements in Poblenou (BTV 2014)

On the other hand, from 1960 until 1986, a process of deindustrialization in Spain started, affecting specially the district of Sant Martí. The creation of the “Zona Franca” as a new industrial core in Barcelona, caused that more than 1300 industries moved or closed. That generated a general decay in the neighbourhood, that started to change with the measures adopted with the Olympic Games in 1986 (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a). This process had been extended after the Olympic Games, with Diagonal Mar and 22@ developments as an example.

6.2 The Olympic Games in Barcelona – the development of a “Model”

The economic crisis that Spain was facing at the end of the 70s, started improving at the 80s, and specially in big cities such Barcelona (Tejero Gil 1991). At the beginning of the 80s Barcelona was far from being the city that currently is selling abroad. At that time, Barcelona inherited the unbalances from the autarchy period and the economic crises were specially being reflected in some neighbourhoods where the unemployment was higher than 30% (Alabart 2010). By then Barcelona was experimenting a lack of land for building and green areas. Despite from the 50s until the 70s, Barcelona doubled its population (Nel-lo 1992), by the beginning of the 80s Barcelona started experiencing a loss of population:

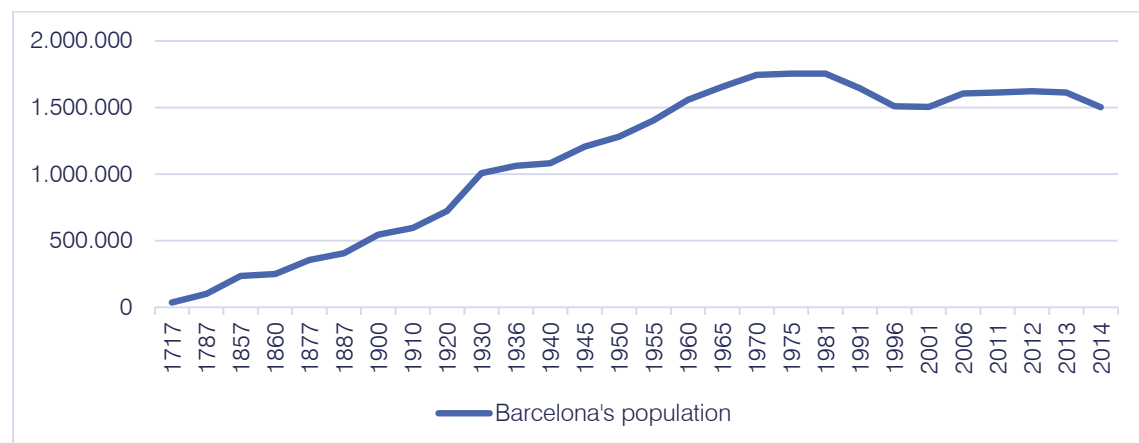


Figure 11 Evolution of Barcelona's population (AMB 2016)



Figure 12 Comparison between 1956 and 2012. It could be observed the important transformation in the seafront as well as the transformation of the Olympic Village. Also the shack settlement – Somorrostro, that occupied the beach (Urban-Networks.blogspot.dk 2016)

In 1979, the new City Council was elected, the first after the autarchy period and high expectations were put on the new authorities. The first urban responses (1979-1986) had two main objectives: the first one was to increase the urban quality, by intervening at a local level. The second objective was to promote the areas that were less developed, such as the periphery (Nel-lo 1992). These strategies turned in 1986 with the nomination for the Olympic Games implying a change in the scale of the interventions (Nel-lo 1992).

The Olympic Games brought the opportunity of a big city transformation. Barcelona needed a total-revitalization policy, covering a full range of topics, from urban until the socio-economic and culture aspects. Therefore, a big urban operation was planned in order to translate an obsolete city towards a new typology that could be sell abroad. The Olympic Games would radically change the urban structure of the city (Nel-lo 1992), generating the “Barcelona Model”.

The Barcelona Model

According to Casellas (2006), the model Barcelona was based in the following 6 elements. First, the participation of private entities in financing urban projects. Second, the creation of autonomous entities to manage urban planning. Third, the consensus between the different public administrations. Forth, the introduction of strategic planning. Fifth, the utilization of big events and culture as the main drivers of transformation and sixth, public participation (Casellas 2006).

City consequences of the creation of Barcelona-Model

Despite the creation of the world-wide known “Barcelona Model” generated with the management of the Olympic Games, some downsides could be traced. First, the Olympic Games turned the priority list of the interventions in the city, delaying some social oriented projects considered secondary for the administration. Second the historical and culture background of some neighbourhoods were threatened by the economic interests and urgency of the new interventions for the Games. Third, to favour the deadline achievement, and fight the lack of financial capacity, measures like public-private partnerships were introduced. The City Council was linked with the private initiative represented by constructors and developers. This joint could be seen in the development of the “Vila Olímpica” where the City Council did not have the financial capacity to afford this operation. At first, the Mayor Maragall,

promised that at least the 50% of the housing that would be built for the Olympic Games would be available for social housing. Nevertheless, it was clear that the City Council did not have enough funding to carry out all the interventions envisaged (T. Marshall 2004). Therefore, the City Council bought land and conferred it to the developers and constructors to build. Afterwards, they were allowed to build and sell at market prices (Tejero Gil 1991), leading to an excessive prominence of private agents (Alabart 2010). Is in this operation that the City Council found a solution to re-urbanise areas of the city that, in another way, they could not be developed. But on the other hand, that led to speculative movements, and the social-areas that the city council envisaged, were left behind. Forth, the new “Barcelona Model”, established from the city management of the Olympic Games, started the prioritizing of a massive consumerism, shifting the interests of the city towards tourism, leisure and being able to compete in a global scale (Casellas 2006). That led to disregard aspects linked with the enjoyment of the city, the access to housing, etcetera.

This shift in the city management deserves special attention. The development and implementation of the Model Barcelona required a new management model and new ways to carry it out. Therefore, the Municipality became the management core, acting as a connection hub between the same Municipality and the private initiative. But this goes beyond than letting the private initiative use the municipal resources, for example, by creating new companies or facilitating big companies to enter in the urban processes. Therefore, the Municipality shifted becoming a business, as it could be seen for example, as the Municipality increased the outsourcing of public services to external companies (T. Marshall 2004).

Therefore, is in this new conception of the city as a business that led the production of more projects to attract companies and capital. The role of the Municipality was to ensure the conditions for the new capital to settle down. Therefore, the Municipality drove its actions, both political as well as economical, towards creating this conditions.

After the Olympic Games:

When the Olympic Games finished, the Mayor tried to find another event that, according to Xurigué (2015) “*could maintain the investment rhythm, the touristic attractive and the internationalization of the city*”. As stated in Xurigué’s doctoral thesis, Barcelona needed a new excuse to finish all the interventions that could not be realized in 1992 because of a lack of budget. Therefore, the idea of creating a new event was born as an answer to the need to finish the seafront from the Olympic Village until Besós (Xurigué 2015).

Consequently, the idea of the new event “El Forum Universal de les Cultures” was born 10 years after the nomination for the Olympic Games. It was originated after “*the meeting of diverse people from the political, economic and cultural arena of the city and Catalonia, with Pasqual Maragall [the Mayor] in charge*”(Xurigué 2015, 73). Hence, two developments were born surrounding this event. These are the ones that will be explained, as well as their effects in the area. To carry out the analysis, the analytical framework established in the previous chapter will be used.

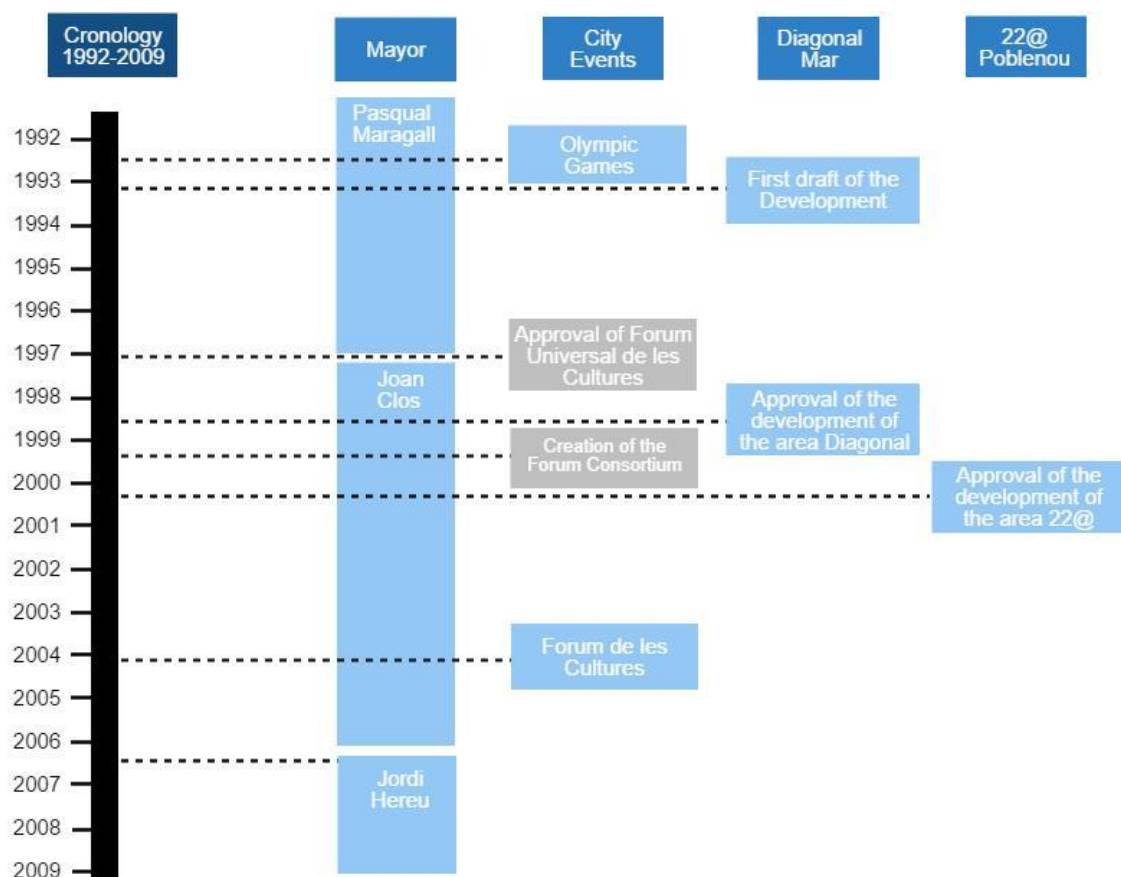


Figure 13 Chronology and relation with the events and the developments. Own produced.

6.3 Diagonal Mar – pla parcial diagonal mar 1998-2001

6.3.1 Introduction to Diagonal Mar

In 1993, after the Olympic Games, the company Kepro S.A. and the company Municipal Institute for the Urban Promotion (*Institut Municipal de Promoció Urbanística S.A.*) handed over the Diagonal Mar development plan. Nevertheless, the company Kepro SA collapsed economically, postponing the development until 1998 when the international company Hines entered to the arena. They took the responsibility of writing the project and developing the area, agreeing with the Municipality on some changes of the former design (Capgirembcn.cat 2016).

The facts of the development are the following:

- Sector's area: 342.983m²
- Housing suitable for building: 200.983m²
- Green areas: 170.000m²
- Facilities: 30.000m²
- Road system: 39.900m²

New housing units: 1634

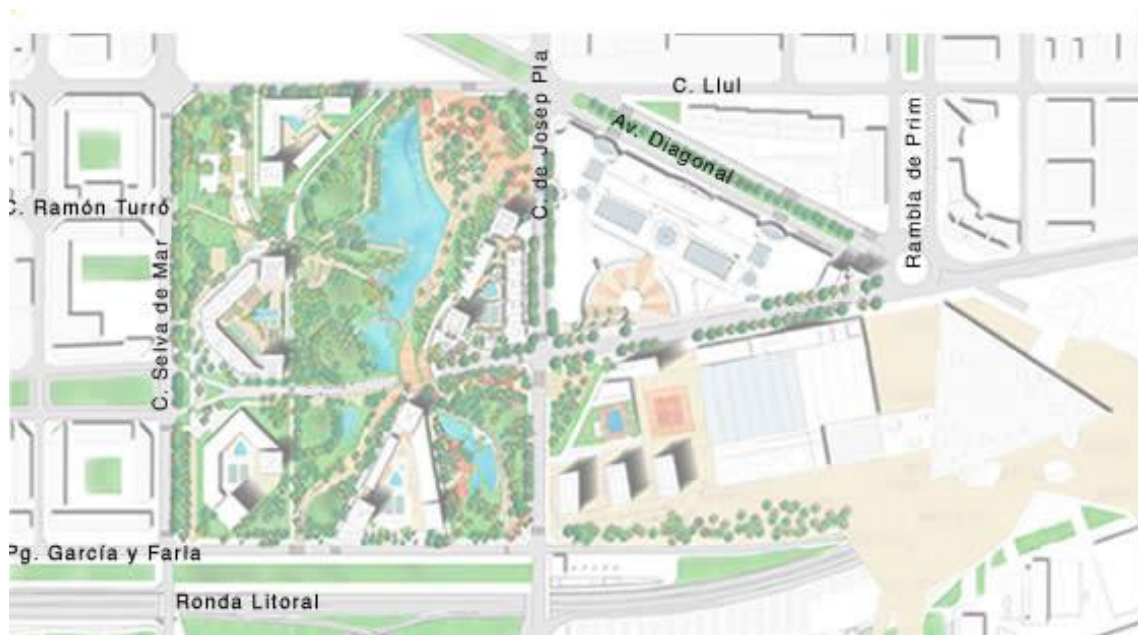


Figure 14 Diagonal Mar plan (Diagonal Mar 2016)

6.3.2 The intensification of interlocality competition

As explained in the 6.1 *Sant Martí District– the context*, two mega-events have influenced the development of the seacoast of Barcelona: The Olympic Village (1992) and “El Forum Universal de les Cultures” (2004) - from now on, el Forum. The realisation of this new big event, it served as the excuse to develop the area where el Forum would be located and its surroundings (Borja 2009). It was claimed to be an advertisement campaign to promote and legitimise the development of the seaside of Barcelona (De Moragas and Botella 1995)

El Fòrum Universal de les Cultures

"El Fòrum Universal de les Cultures" is a periodical event that using different means (exhibitions, spectacles, conferences) diverse current topics related with cultural diversity are expounded. The first one was celebrated in Barcelona in 2004, and was visited by 3.323.123 people lasting 141 days. The whole exhibition orbited around sustainable development, peace and cultural diversity. Other Forums were located in Monterrey 2007, Valparaiso 2010, and Napoli 2014. In 2016 is going to be celebrated in Amman (Fundació Forum 2016).

Some of the numbers of the development are: it occupied an area of 320.000m², with a capacity of 79.200 people. "La Plaça" (*The Square*) was built, with an area of 150.000m² which would be the second biggest square of the world, after Tiannanmen. It was also built the biggest convention centre in the south of Europe (Centre de Convencions Internacionals de Barcelona – CCIB) with a total built area of 68.000m² (Barcelona2004.org 2004)

The chronology of the development of Diagonal Mar has always been attached to the big events happening in the city. The first proposal was drafted in 1993, right after the Olympic Games, but it was after the announcement of the proposal's approval of the Forum – April 1997, that Diagonal Mar was reactivated and modified (Barcelona2004.org 2004). The development plan was approved in December 1998 (TDA arquitectes 1998). Therefore, it could be said that the development of the area is highly attached to the development of el Forum.

The main economic strategy of that period was "Barcelona, city of knowledge" ("*Barcelona, ciutat del coneixement*") (Martí i Costa 2010, 32). The Mayor at that time, Joan Clos, claimed that Barcelona would be more competitive with the realisation of the Forum. For example, in declarations to the media, he said that Barcelona would have the biggest convention centre of the south of Europe, allowing the city to be more competitive than Madrid and being able to compete with cities like Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm and Amsterdam (Abc.es 2001).

Besides the construction of icon buildings in el Fòrum (The Triangle building of Herzog and the Meuron, a city park by Alejandro Zaera, among others), Diagonal Mar is recognized by its iconic architecture. The massive construction of the commercial mall, and different skyscrapers stand out from Barcelona's cityscape. Several scholars have claimed that this strategy pretended to attract more citizens belonging to the creative class (Tickell and Peck 2002).

It is commonly agreed that the Forum followed the strategy of the Olympic Games of creating big events to promote the city (Xurigué 2016). Nevertheless, there is no agreement on the legitimacy of the operation compared with the Olympic Games. With the Olympic Games, everyone understood the rationales behind them, a 15 days event that implied the reconversion of multiple areas of the city, being a whole-city project (Borja 2009). Several projects were articulated through different big-urban projects that were initiated at the same time, and were rocketed by the Olympic operation. In contrast, the Forum development only focused in one area of the city, and no one understood the rationales of this event, nor even the length of 141 days (Xurigué 2016; Botella 2002).

6.3.3 Uneven geographical development

As a sign of neoliberalism and area's evolution, it is interesting to see the amount of hotels and rooms offered in the development. This represents the people's rising interest in the area and the promotion of tourism as well as businesses. The analysis of this topic is done in a District scale, as there is no access to neighbourhood data, therefore this analysis could also be applied for the next case, 22@.

As it can be observed in *Figure 15*, there has been a shift in the District of Sant Martí. In 1990, there was no hotels or other kinds of tourist-accommodation. In 2004, with the opening of "el Forum", the area hosted the 12,7% of the total amount of rooms in Barcelona. By 2014, it raised until reaching the 19%. Sant Martí has become the third district with more available rooms in the city. In addition, Sant Martí is the district where hotels have a bigger average area, precisely 312 bed-units, three times bigger than Barcelona's average (Barcelona Turisme 2014). That it also related with the size of the buildings, as the area is developed using iconic buildings.

In the Forum area, and for the event, the hotel Barcelona-Princess of 364 rooms, and AC of 368 rooms were opened. By the end of the event, another hotel, Hilton Diagonal Mar, located in the development area, was opened with 433 rooms (Societat catalana d'ordenació del territori 2005). These hotels supposed the 8,6% of the 4 and 5 stars' hotel rooms of the entire city (Barcelona Turisme 2014)

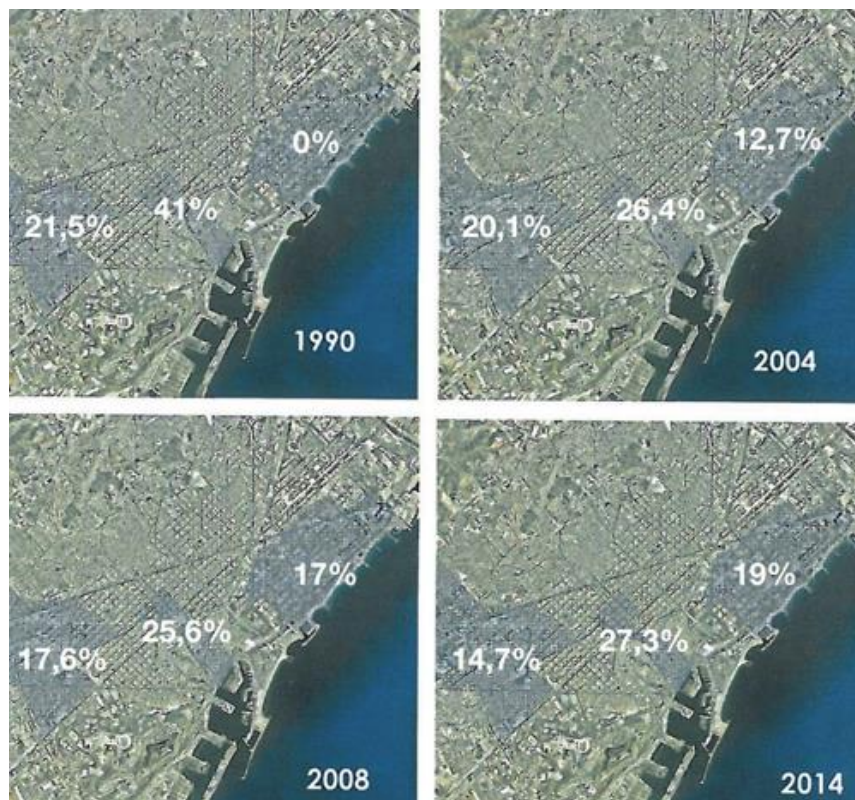


Figure 15 Percentage evolution of hotel's rooms in the three main areas of Barcelona 1990-2014 (Barcelona Turisme 2014, 60)

In one hand, the distribution of the different housing blocks of Diagonal Mar were located in the periphery generating an inner green area. This disposition as well as the creation of a common underground parking connecting the different buildings favoured the creation of condominiums, a rare typology in Barcelona's urbanism.

The disposition of the new buildings does not obey to the famous Cerdà Grid, acting as a barrier and encouraging the closeness. The development plan justified the new disposition arguing that this kind of developments are what people want and if there is no more of this kind of developments is because there are not enough big plots that can fit them, not because the grid rejects them (TDA arquitectes 1998). This statement was done with no reference to any study to determine people's will, and there is no coherence with Cerdà's grid and the dimensions of the new plan. One of the first scholars that argued about this development was the architect Oriol Bohigas, a reference in Barcelona's urbanism. He stated that the development of Diagonal Mar was "trash" and one of the disasters of the world's urbanism (Clarós 2007).

On the other hand, despite there are different uses in the area, the development of Diagonal Mar was addressed as a unity, creating a closed community. As stated in the plan's documents, the construction of the big mall would supply the inhabitants of the development with all the needs (TDA arquitectes 1998), making unnecessary to go further in the district to satisfy city needs.

For everything aforementioned, the area has promoted the settling of high-income expats. If the demography is studied, it could be observed that the nationalities more represented are the Italian, Russian and French (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a). Compared with the whole district, where the nationalities with more representation are Italy, Pakistan and China, it could be deducted that the nationalities established in Diagonal Mar are those considered "expats" and not immigrants (Theguardian.com 2016), as expat's economic capability is considered to be higher than immigrants.

The *Figure 16* shows the evolution of the average family income in Barcelona and Diagonal Mar. As it could be observed, in Diagonal Mar is always higher than the average in Barcelona, and the difference has been increased in the last years.

If we compare this with bordering neighbourhoods such as Poblenou, or el Besós, it could be observed that the difference is relatively important. That could be translated in deeper differences between people living in Diagonal Mar and its immediately surrounding, as the plan did not conceived an urban mixture.

As explained in the chapter *4.0 Theoretical context and theoretical concepts*, affordable housing is defined by three parameters, being the income one factor. It is considered that gaining less than the 80% of area average income challenges the ability to access to affordable housing. Therefore, it is stated that the surrounding neighbourhoods (and Barcelona as an average) would be challenged to access to housing.

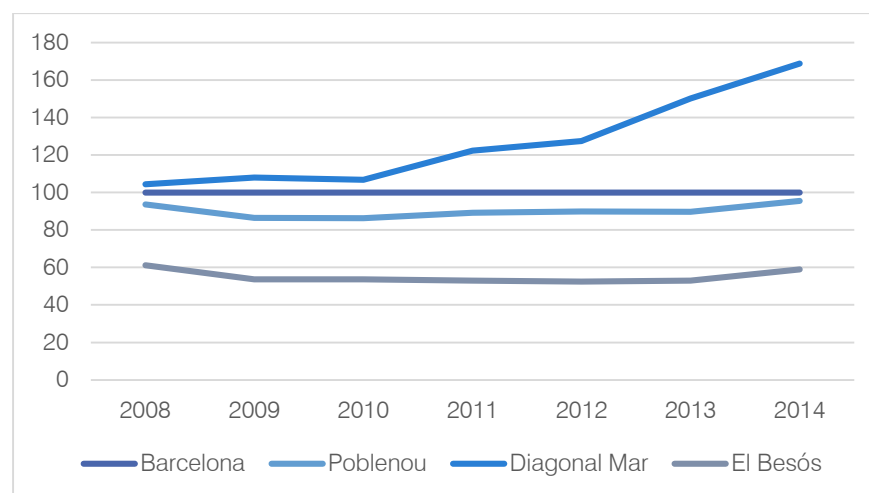


Figure 16 Percentage of family income, representing Barcelona's average as 100% (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2015)

6.3.4 Shift in the activities – towards knowledge-based industries

As said before, neoliberal cities are in competition for attracting investment, but also for being attractive for creative classes. In a society facing deindustrialization, shifting towards knowledge-based businesses can help promoting the economic development. It is interesting to observe the increase in the amount of people with higher education, also compared with Barcelona's average:

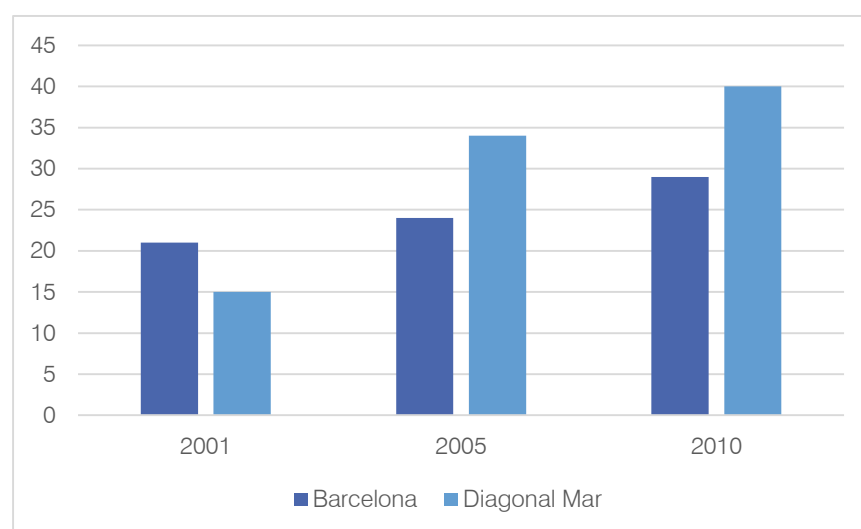


Figure 17 Evolution of people with higher education

As it can be observed in the graphic, in 2001, the amount of people with higher education was more than 5 points below Barcelona's average. By 2010, despite Barcelona's average increased, Diagonal Mar tendency rocketed being more than 10 points than the average.

6.3.5 Shift in the governance

The first development plan of Diagonal Mar was drafted in 1993 by the company Kepro SA and the Municipal Institute of Urban Promotion (*Institut Municipal de Promoció Urbanística SA*). The bankruptcy of Kepro made the multinational Hines to be interested in the plan. Nevertheless, it was demanded by

the new company that, in order to develop the area, the green area should be reduced and a big shopping mall should be built (Capgirembcn.cat 2016). When the Municipality accepted these demands, the modification of the previous plan was approved. Therefore, the neighbourhood built between the 60s and 70s saw how in 2004 the seacoast that was known as “el Camp de la Bota” would be transformed into a new “Manhattan”, erasing the historical memory (Capgirembcn.cat 2016).

The Mayor in charge of the Municipality was Joan Clos. At that time, the city was being prepared for the new event El Forum. It is important to define the relation that the Mayor had with El Forum. To manage El Forum, in May 1999 a union (*Consorci del Fòrum Universal de les Cultures*) between the Spanish Government, the Catalan Government and Barcelona's Municipality was formalized. The aim of this consortium was the preparation, organization and management of El Forum. Despite the participation of the three administrations was the same – they all had the same number of representatives, the Mayor of Barcelona was the president of the administration, decision and government bodies (Sindicatura de Comptes de Catalunya 2014). Therefore, the interest of promoting Diagonal Mar, the area next to el Forum, could be seen as an entrepreneurial intentionality from the Mayor (Xurigué 2016). In order to attract investment to el Forum, the different administrations proposed law's modifications to establish tax incentives specially oriented towards those companies who served as sponsors in the event or stimulated the development of the area (Sindicatura de Comptes de Catalunya 2014). For example, is relevant that an approved law by the Spanish Congress, provided a tax reductions to those businesses that sponsored the event. In addition, the secretary of the Consortium of the Forum was related to one of the biggest companies that were benefited from these tax reductions (Capgirembcn.cat 2016).

In Diagonal Mar there was only one owner for the entire development's land and it was completely developed by private initiative. The owner, Hines, was an international company founded in Houston in 1957 as a real estate investment company with the objective to create “*value through quality*” (TDA arquitectes 1998). As stated by the development's plan, the way that this company operated was through being the only developer-owner of the development with the vision of retaining the property for a long period of time (TDA arquitectes 1998).

6.3.6 Downscale of the welfare state

The plan of Diagonal Mar did not consider the construction of any social housing unit inside the perimeter of the plan. Despite the general law considered mandatory to build social housing, the developers handed over a plot located out of the development's area to the City Council, which area was 54.733m², to build 65.067m² for social housing (TDA arquitectes 1998). Additionally, it was not considered the provision of rental housing.

In one hand, the plan stated that the aggrupation of housing carried out in Diagonal Mar, characterized by the disposition of the housing units in towers surrounding an inner green area, was “*really loved by people*” (TDA arquitectes 1998, 4). It was added that this physical disposition, and the location next to the sea, could give enough satisfactory life conditions to not make desirable the disposal of a holiday residence (TDA arquitectes 1998). Therefore, the development was oriented towards people with enough economic power as to buy a second home. Additionally, other services are considered in the plan, such as providing swimming pools, and other artefacts (TDA arquitectes 1998) to increase the price of the housing.

To illustrate the prices in the area, it has been considered the available data from the City Council, comparing the prices between the neighbourhood and district, because its proximity. The average

price of the second hand housing was, in 2013 of 4.722€/m², and in 2014 of 5.646€/m² (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016a). If these results are compared with the average of the district – 3.226€/m², it could be observed that prices in Diagonal Mar were more than 2.000€/m² higher.

Despite speculation, as explained in the chapter *5.0 Neoliberalism and the provision of housing in Spain*, was a general phenomenon in Spain, in Diagonal Mar it was an augmented phenomenon because of the massive foreign investments (Pellicer 2008). The fact that plenty of international companies were the owners of the new housing units, favoured selling into international bodies, increasing speculative movements (Xurigué 2016; Pellicer 2008). In fact, speculative operations could not only been observed in housing. From the purchase of the land after the bankruptcy of Kepro, until the different reselling operations of Diagonal Mar's Mall – it was bought by 160 million euros and resold by 300 million, gaining a 50% surplus in its value (Lamelas 2016), the whole development has been developed considering surplus value.

On the other hand, It was justified to concentrate the built area in high-rise towers to free the land surface and have bigger green areas (TDA arquitectes 1998). Despite the inner green area was designed by a well-known architect team, Miralles-Tagliabue, the configuration of the buildings plus the requirement from the developer to install fences, made difficult the access from people not living in the area (Decidim.Barcelona 2016), challenging the enjoyment of the public space. In addition, the developer modified the pathways to make even more difficult the access for the non-residents to the public park.

The concentration of the commercial land into one big mall affected also the built environment. The urban life attached to the ground-floors was replaced by an American-model of mall-shopping, concentrating all the activities in one enclosed space. One of the purposes of the mall was to provide enough parking facilities for the Forum users. It was contradictory that the biggest parking in Europe was created (Xurigué 2016), to serve an event that was promoting sustainability, instead of promoting other ways of transport.

It is mentionable how the historical memory of the place was considered. From the end of the XIX, the seacoast of Barcelona was occupied by the aforementioned shacks phenomena, "*Barraquismo*", marginal neighbourhoods born in the surrounding of industrials area. They were partially or totally removed from the 70s until the 80s. It raised big controversy that this part of the history was not recognized by the authorities or the developers. In addition, where Diagonal Mar is located, was also a tragic settlement in the Civil War, being the place where republicans were executed by firearms (Borja 2009).

6.4 22@development

6.4.1 Intro to 22@

The 22@ Development is an urban proposal to modify the General Metropolitan Plan (*Pla General Metropolità - PGM*), that the City Council of Barcelona formulated the April of 2000. The use of the land was mainly qualified as industrial since the General Metropolitan Plan of 1976. Therefore, the principal objective of the new proposal is to modify the uses and build housing, new technologies industry, hotels, offices, facilities and green areas. The development of the area is carried out by private and public initiatives. While the plan details the execution of the public developments, carried out through 6 big Special Plans of Interior Reform (*PERIs*), the plan does not determine and detail precise planning for the private developments. Therefore, these must carry out a specific development plan for each of the areas (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009).

The city council wanted to attract new technologies industries as the area was considered to be filled with out-dated industry (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000). According to the plan, its scope is to transform the industrial land of Poblenou, to the new “22@BCN Activities District, dedicated to new economic activities in which activities related to information, communication and technology play a main role” (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000, 5). Regarding the other uses, they seem to be subdued to the main objective, as it is said that “this objective will be fulfilled favouring diversity of uses, respecting and increasing the use of housing and redeveloping this land” (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000, 5). The facts of the development are the following:

- Sector's area: 788.820m²
- Green areas: 114.000m²
- Facilities: 145.000m²
- Other systems: 3.978m²
- Existing housing units: 4.614
- New housing units: 4000

This development is an ongoing process. Therefore, this investigation is taking into account the first development plans and the state of execution in 2009, as this is the last year that the state of execution's documents were released by the Municipality. By 2009 it was accounted that the 69% of the plan had already been started or executed.



Figure 18 Execution state in 2009. In blue the areas already executed or already initiated (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009)

6.4.2 The intensification of interlocality competition

As stated previously, the Sant Martí's renewal responds the will from the Municipality to improve the area between the Olympic Village and the north limit of Barcelona. The development of 22@ is framed in the same timeline than El Fòrum or Diagonal Mar.

In the development plan is detailed the study of different case studies as to develop the same growing strategies than these case studies. They are related with the creation of technology clusters to boost the area's economy: the Cyberdistrict in Boston, Silicon City in Chicago, Media Valley in Korea, Silicon Glen in the United Kingdom (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000, 106). Therefore, it is intended the attraction of the creative class in order to fill the area.

The development of 22@ is wrapped up with the execution of singular urban projects, like the development of the high-speed train station in La Sagrera, or the improvement in the Glories Square, where 378.019m² have been transformed (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009). In addition, the construction of different icon buildings such as the Media-TIC, one of the flagships of 22@ for its original design, its "future contents" and its situation right in the core of the new development (Ollés 2009).



Figure 19 The link with singular projects, the new high speed train station – La Sagrera, el Forum and in light blue the development of 22@ (22 Arroba BCN 2006)

6.4.3 Shift in the activities – towards knowledge-based industries

The main reason of the development is to shift the activities in the sector towards the “@activities”, those related to information technology and communication, as it is considered that traditional industries have inferior value than the emergent industries. Therefore, the plan envisages the creation of five main clusters: media, information technologies and communication (TIC), medical technologies (TecMed), energy and design.

By 2009, 1502 firms had already been established in 22@, and many others are in the process of settling their HQs there. More than 69% of the companies that have moved to 22@ belong to the five

main clusters aforementioned (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009). The plan forces that landowners must include, at least the 20% of the functional programme of their development, these innovative activities (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009).

The shift in the area is clear. According to the 1996 census, there were 31.000 jobs in the area. The plan envisages the accommodation of more than 91.000 jobs, an increase of 60.000 jobs. This increase is related with the office-units provision, as this is considered the element with more demand in the city. Barcelona is compared with Madrid (44% less stock) or London (84% less stock) (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000, 12). Therefore, 22@ is calculated to have the potential to become the engine of Barcelona, and if Barcelona does not create this tertiary sector, another city would create it (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000).

For the transformation of the activities in 22@, two main development strategies were studied. First, transform 22@ filling it with tertiary uses (like offices), transforming the 22@ through an active management from the Municipality. Second, develop the previous action combined with marketing strategies to attract the demand and raise the interest in 22@. As stated by the economic study carried out by the plan, these strategies could led to the consolidation of 22@ as an office-centre and to “market the 22@ to an international level” (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000, 13). The estimate absorption of the demand of offices would be concentrated in 22@, by offering the 69% of the total demand of the city’s office requirement (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000).

Despite there is no general data about the amount of businesses that had to close down or move from the district, it is calculated that around 1000 businesses will be affected (Guillamón 2003). Just with the intervention in “Can Ricart”, a prominent example of industrial heritage in Barcelona (Mercè and Urbiola 2005) , 34 businesses closed (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2014).



Figure 20 Future distribution of the Media Cluster (22 Arroba BCN 2006)

6.4.4 Uneven geographical development

As stated before, the creation of the 22@ plan respects the Municipality's will to attract businesses related to the five main clusters: media, information technologies and communication (TIC), medical technologies (TecMed), energy and design. This fact is attracting, for example, different multinational companies, like T-System (Deutsche Telekom) that acquired 18.000m², Altai Hotels 8.600m², Fotoprix 8.108m², Agbar 5.000m², Retevisión 12.764m² among others (Espai en blanc 2004).

Regarding the hotels settlement, the same analysis conducted for Diagonal Mar could be used. This shows the shift in the area, from no hotels before the developments, to concentrating the 19% of Barcelona's offer.

6.4.5 Shift in the governance

The plan of 22@ was approved when Joan Clos was the Mayor of Barcelona, the same as with Diagonal Mar. All the political parties in the Municipality voted in favour of the change of the General Metropolitan Plan and carry out the transformation of 22@area. Despite this general consensus, disagreements raised among citizens with some of the developments in the area. This is the case of "Eix-Llacuna", but this is going to explain further later on.

First, the origins of the plan should be described. The first drafts on the need to renew the area were drawn by the local neighbour associations, as there was a clear decay situation. That led that in 1998 the first official document was released ("*Criteris, objectius i solucions generals de planejament*") (Martí i Costa 2010). One of the biggest contestations of this plan was raised by "the Digital Circle" (*Digital Cercle*) a society created by the director of the Catalan Technology Institute (CTI). They argued against dedicating the 50% of the industry land to housing. Furthermore, from the middle of 1998 until last 1999, several changes in Barcelona's urbanism happened. Among them, it is interesting to assert that people from the Digital Circle started to be involved and command the project (Martí i Costa 2007). As expressed by Martí i Costa (2007), in February 1999 there was a meeting about the new plan in the CTI headquarters, and in a record timing (October - December) the plan for the 22@ was written and approved.

The entrepreneurial vision of the Mayor (Xurigué 2016) led in 2000 the creation of the company called 22@Barcelona – a Municipal company, to manage and promote the development of the area of 22@ (Molas and Parellada 2010). The municipal company 22@Barcelona was "*not only responsible for the district's urban planning, but also for implementing its urban and economic renewal project*" (Molas and Parellada 2010, 9). Therefore, the company executed 40 projects in order to attract new companies in the aforementioned clusters, as one of the main duties of the company was to attract international talent and foreign investment to Catalonia. This could be observed in the service that the company offered of accompaniment and advice during the process of place-selection to set companies headquarters and offices (22 Arroba BCN 2006). Several agreements also happened with international technologic clusters in China, Mexico or South Korea (Martí i Costa 2010). The presidents of the society were Joan Clos, Joan Majó (who would be the general director of the Television and Radio Catalan Corporation) and Miquel Barceló (future president of the company 22@, member of the Catalan Parliament from 2003) (Martí i Costa 2007). Nevertheless, this society was dismantled when a new party entered in the government (Comissió d'equipaments del Poblenou 2016).

The development of the plan was carried out through 6 public actions representing the 46% of the total development and their planning was approved between June 2001 and February 2004 (Martí i Costa 2007). The remainder had to be carried out by the private initiative through Special Plans.

In order to favour and encourage the development by private initiative, an increase in the area that these could build was given, by increasing the previous 2m²/m² to 3m²/m². Nevertheless, it was mandatory that at least the 20% the area would be related to the activities of the five aforementioned clusters (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000).

Through the process of the development of 22@, several entities were considered to go against the development, such as the ones interested in the preservation of the industrial heritage, business owners or the neighbours of the area. It was thanks to the big contestations organized by them that forced the rectification of some issues of the plan, such as the negotiation of a facility plan, the approval of an industrial heritage plan, the negotiation of a quote of social housing for the neighbours and, especially mention to the contestations against the plan of Eix-Llacuna (Clarós 2007).

PERI Eix-Llacuna

As mentioned before, the public development of the area was done by the execution of 6 PERI (Special Plan of Interior Reform). The first ones did not affect the old downtown of Poblenou, therefore they were approved with no major contestation. Nevertheless, it was in 2001 the PERI Eix-Llacuna was approved being highly criticised by the Neighbours' Association, because the skyscrapers that were proposed to be built, were *"understood as an aggression as well as the low public participation in the decision making and the high number of affected housing"* (Martí i Costa 2007, 98). On the other hand, the opposition party in the Municipality started to criticize the whole 22@ plan. Several associations were born besides the neighbourhood association, which were entirely dedicated to solve the problems generated by this situation: "Associació d'afectats del 22@" (integrated by affected neighbours) and "Coordinadora contra el 22@" (mainly integrated by anticapitalist youngsters claiming against the speculation of the plan). Thanks to several demonstrations and contestations, the Municipality agreed a reform in the Eix-Llacuna plan, redistributing the buildings reducing the towers' height, diminishing the affected housing (from 63 family, it turned out to be 32) and other agreements regarding the industrial heritage, the public transparency as well as participation (Martí i Costa 2007).

The commission for the right to housing in the area, with the support of other entities like neighbourhood associations and cultural entities of the neighbourhood started the campaign *"volem seguir vivint al Poblenou"* (*"we want to continue living in el Poblenou"*) to stop the process of social substitution. At that time, the amount of social housing planned was of 1.400 units. But after negotiations, and maybe embarrassed by Diagonal Mar's social housing's consideration (no units), it was agreed that all the construction of new housing in the development would be for social housing. Nevertheless the commission found insufficient this measure, and they forced to sign an agreement where 1/3 of the total amount would be for the neighbours of the area (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2014).

Another contestation was the fight for the Facilities Plan. The commission organized by the neighbours, seeing that the Municipality did not facilitate data, made a study in which 40.000 new people would come to live to the neighbourhood. That was particularly terrifying as there were no public libraries or kindergartens in the area. Through this contestation, a new facilities plan was agreed (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2014).

Therefore, it could be observed two different stages of the development. The first one, from the firsts drafts until the approval of the plan for Eix-Llacuna, which was characterized by a tight collaboration between the Municipality, technicians and business related organisms. Therefore, the participation was restricted to the Municipality urbanism area, architects involved and technicians from the Digital

Circle (Martí i Costa 2007). The second one, with the social conflict generated by the Eix-Llacuna, in which *"the public debate was extended and the Neighbour's associations had a much important role that allowed them to introduce modification in the plan"* (Martí i Costa 2007, 100). Despite these achievements by the local community, they consider that the processes are still unclear, as the neighbours could not elect their own neighbourhood's councillor and they cannot participate in the decision-process of how to invest the Municipality's budget (Associació Veïns i Veïnes del Poblenou 2013).

The economic crisis has also dilated the urban transformation of the 22@, slowing down new businesses settling and also affecting the construction of housing. The 22@ model is showing its weakness as it trusted its development in the private initiative, as this got in exchange real-state profitability (Comissió d'equipaments del Poblenou 2016).

6.4.6 Downscale of the welfare state

The plan considers that all the new housing will be linked to social housing and the Municipality will be the owner of the future housing. In addition, the 25% of this new housing must be rental housing (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000). According to the document released by the Municipality in 2009 of the execution state of the development plan, from the 4000 new units that were expected to be built, 1523 units were under construction or starting the construction process, 9 years after the beginning of the plan (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009). Nevertheless, in 2016, 16 years after the beginning, only 1000 have been finished, representing only the 25% of the total amount (Comissió d'equipaments del Poblenou 2016).

Despite the plan always mentions that all new housing will be built as social housing, the plan opens another strategy to create new housing under private developments. This strategy it is justified to foster the typological and social diversity of 22@ as these new housing units are considered *"temporary worker residences"* (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009, 10). This includes the conversion of industrial buildings to be reused as loft-type housing. This type of housing represents 5.000 units (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009), 1.000 more than social housing. Therefore, it is contradictory that the plan always states that all new housing will be social housing, while private housing units will surpass it in 1.000 units.

Despite the industry category of the Poblenou, 4.614 housing units already existed in the area. The 90% of the already existing 4.614 housing units were built as the law valid until 1953, did not impeded the construction of housing. After 1953, with the new plan the industrial and housing areas were clearly defined and differentiated. Since then, 700 parcels with housing buildings were out of the law, despite they were considered legal as they were built before. Therefore, one of the main strategies about housing in the 22@ is the recognition of these housing and their integration into the new plan (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2009). The plan foresees to maintain the existing housing, so they could do different interventions excepting volume increasing. It does not mean that all housing will be kept in the execution of 22@. It means that in the case of eviction or other urban process will be considered as residents with the same rights.

The development plan of 22@ guarantees the right to the reallocation of the affected neighbours. The plan states that the reallocation would be carried out in the same area of intervention, and the new housing will be social housing. Occasionally the reallocation could be performed in private developments, taking into consideration the income of the people reallocated (22 Arroba BCN 2001).

There has been a change regarding the eviction processes with the Olympic Games. In the Olympic Village, people who were forced to leave because of the new development, they were not offered a new house, as they were just economically compensated. It was with the opening of the Diagonal Avenue that the plan granted an alternative house. This clause was approved by law, and it was applied to all following plans (Borja 2009).

Nevertheless, it is interesting to state that in 2010, only 700 social housing units were built, 230 of these were dedicated to reallocate affected inhabitants (Ribas 2011). 1200 housing units are calculated to be affected by reallocations (Guillamón 2003). Therefore, the real amount of social housing available for the citizens in general will be lower than the published numbers.

By 2010, the 55% of the facilities of the area are privately rented. Of the total amount of public facilities (136.837m²), 75.857m² are rented by private companies (Ribas 2011).

6.5 Conclusions of the analysis

It has been declared that both developments were conceived around the event of el *Forum de les Cultures* with the intention of promote an area that the Olympic Games could not completely develop by stretching the strategy of using events to maintain Barcelona competitive with other world cities. Despite both developments have iconic buildings, and both of them use their buildings to market themselves, one is more focused towards increasing the value, creating a big inner green area, providing swimming pools for the residents or with the concentration of all commercial area in one big mall and the creation of one of the biggest convention centres. The other is also filled with iconic buildings, but it seems that there is a major conscience about sustainability and the use of technology. This fact responds to the intention of branding the area as a new innovative centre filled with activities related to the five clusters: media, information technologies and communication (TIC), medical technologies (TecMed), energy and design. In addition, the intention is to compete with other technology clusters around the world. Therefore, the flagship buildings are the shop window of the new “innovative” area.

If we observe the changes in the demography of the last years, it could be seen a clear change. 20-30 years ago, the area was filled with shacks (or the already explained *barraquismo*) and Spanish immigrants working in the industries were living there. Nowadays, there has been a rise with people from Western-European countries. It is also observed that the average income of families is bigger compared with Barcelona's average and the surrounding neighbourhoods. Therefore, it could be stated that this is generating a barrier with the adjacent areas. In 22@ the new people settling down are mainly related with the five activities cluster, not favouring the social mixing with other sectors of the society.

On the other hand, the borders are not only social, but physical. Diagonal Mar's development did not follow the Cerdà's grid, and a completely different typology (condominium) was built. In addition, the changes in the pathways of the green area making more difficult the access from non-residents, challenged the integration with the surroundings. As it has been stated before, the concentration of all the commercial activity in one big mall affected in the neighbourhood's mixing, as residents do not have to go further in the district to satisfy their needs. On the contrary, 22@ did follow the Cerdà's grid, but the freedom of the architectural designs, as well as the increase in the heights of the buildings also acted as a frontier.

It is important to highlight the fact that in Sant Martí, in 1980 there were no hotels offer, and in 2014 it changed until it reached the 19% of the total offer in Barcelona. That illustrates the shift in the area, being promoted as a tourist and business hub. The situation of the convention centre also favoured the situation of the hotels. Remarkable is that the hotels in the area are qualified as high category hotels.

As discussed previously, one of the main characteristics of both developments is the role of the Municipality becoming the management core, acting as a connection hub between the private and public initiative. All the mayors were of the same political party. Nevertheless, the entrepreneurial vision of Joan Clos made easier to establish collaborations between the Municipality and private entities, as well as providing incentives to achieve the Mayor's vision. This is observed in the allowance from the Municipality to reduce the green areas of Diagonal Mar's first proposal and as well as being able to build no social housing. It could be stated that the project was boosted together with Forum's development as it was situated adjacent to it. The fact that it was developed by one private developer,

there was no prior contestations. Nevertheless, el Forum raised big controversy and Diagonal Mar has been contested by different scholars, politicians and Barcelona's citizens afterwards.

In contrast, in 22@ there has been many contestations with the plan. Thanks to them, several changes could be achieved in favour of the citizens. As mentioned, it could be noted two different periods in the development of 22@, the first one where the Municipality as well as private entities managed the development, and the second one where the public debate was extended including different associations. In addition, as is an on-going process, it is also influenced by the shifts in Barcelona's Municipality, for example with the dissolution of the society that was managing the development. Nevertheless, it is considered that there is still a lack of democracy.

Regarding housing, in Diagonal Mar there is no social housing. To avoid the construction of social housing, the strategy of offering another plot to the Municipality out of the development was used. In addition, the housing built was of high-standing, as with these housing there will not be the need to have a holiday home.

On the other hand, in 22@, thanks to the neighbours' demonstrations as well as the general complaints about Diagonal Mar's housing provision, the plan considered that all the new housing built in the 22@ would be social housing. Nevertheless, this seems to be a marketing strategy, as in the reality, the numbers are different. The fact that the plan opens the opportunity to build private housing through the reconversion of industrial buildings to *lofts* was the excuse of being able to build 1000 units more than social housing.

The 69% of the total development is done, and only the 25% of total social housing is accomplished. This illustrates the entrepreneurial priority of the Municipality to promote the settlement of the new activities through businesses promotion instead of building housing.

However, the social network in the area in 22@ is really active. Among other achievements and thanks to their mobilizations, a new facilities' plan was released. Nevertheless, if the public facilities are analysed, in Diagonal Mar, the only facility provided is the convention centre, one of the biggest in the south of Europe. Regarding 22@, it is stated that the 55% of the facilities in the area are privately rented. That illustrates the lack in the provision of public facilities downscaling the welfare state.

Table 8 Conclusion table of the analysis

Neoliberal signs	Diagonal Mar	22@
The intensification of interlocality competition	Promotion of the area through el Forum de les Cultures	
	Construction of big shopping mall and tall residential towers	Construction of iconic buildings related with sustainability and media industries
Uneven geographical development	Changing the demographics of the historical district. Creating borders with the adjacent districts.	
	High income people. No necessity to shop in the district as shopping necessities are covered by the shopping mall. Not following the Cerdà's grid. Physical barrier.	Attraction of industries related to the five clusters: media, information technologies and communication (TIC), medical technologies (TecMed), energy and design. Following Cerdà's grid, but freedom in the design and height of the buildings
Shift in the activities – towards knowledge-based industries	From having no hotels until offering the 19% of the entire Barcelona's offer	
	Increase of expats. Family income higher than the average.	Prevalence of activities related to the five clusters. Other industries are not promoted.
Shift in the governance	Municipality as a connection hub between public and private initiative. Entrepreneurial vision of the Mayor.	
	Opacity of the process. Completely private development.	Creation of Public-Private Partnerships to develop the area. High level of contestation from the local associations and neighbours. The plan could be changed favouring citizens.
Downscale of the welfare state	General lack of public facilities offer.	
	No social housing considered in the development. No public rental market. Urban space is designed to challenge the usability of users living outside the development.	The plan considers that all new housing will be social housing. The reality is the construction of 1000 private housing more than social. 25% of new social housing for renting. Facilities are rented by private companies.

7.0 Analysis of the right to the city

The aim of this chapter is to focus on the rationales that have challenged the right to the city through the housing provision perspective. First, a quick refer to the right to the city and to housing established in the theoretical framework will be exposed. Second, the rationales from the two previous analysis will be gathered and analysed to finally conclude on how the right to the city has been influenced by neoliberalism.

7.1 Introduction

As explained in the chapter 4.0 *Theoretical context and theoretical concepts*, the right to the city entangles two different right for the citizens: “*The right to participation and the right of appropriation*”(Purcell 2002, 102). Therefore, the right to the city is related both in the right of being part of the decision-making process and the possibility to be part of the physical city. Therefore, and as already explained, the right to the city is tied to the right to adequate housing. Nevertheless, neoliberalism has compromised the right to adequate housing by the market-based reforms (Kadi and Ronald 2014).

The housing system in Spain is facing great difficulties to ensure the right to a decent and affordable house. These difficulties, paradoxically, are not motivated by a lack of offer. Nowadays, this shortage is being shown as a rise in people at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Bellart 2014). In a study made in Catalonia in 2005 which aim was to enlighten the problems that Catalonia was facing at that time, more than the 60% of the responses pointed towards the access to housing as the major problem (Bellart 2014).

In fact, Spain has a higher rate of poverty or risk of social-exclusion than the European Union average, and the tendency shows that the rate is going to increase in the next years. The *Figure 21* shows this tendency, and also the comparison with the European Union (15 countries). To be at a risk of poverty or social-exclusion is considered when a person is under one of the following situations (IDESCAT 2016):

- People who are between 0 and 59 years old and live in homes where adults (18 to 59 years) have worked less than 20% of their working potential during the last year
- People who are at risk of poverty after social transferences. Includes those whose income is under the poverty threshold.
- People with a severe material deprived. Is in this last one parameter where housing has a relevant importance, as not being able to pay the mortgage loans or the rent is considered one of the parameters of being severe material deprived

Therefore, it is extremely important to observe that one out of four people in Spain is at risk of poverty or social exclusion. Considering that the population in Spain is around 45.000.000, it means that approximately 11.250.000 inhabitants are included in this group.

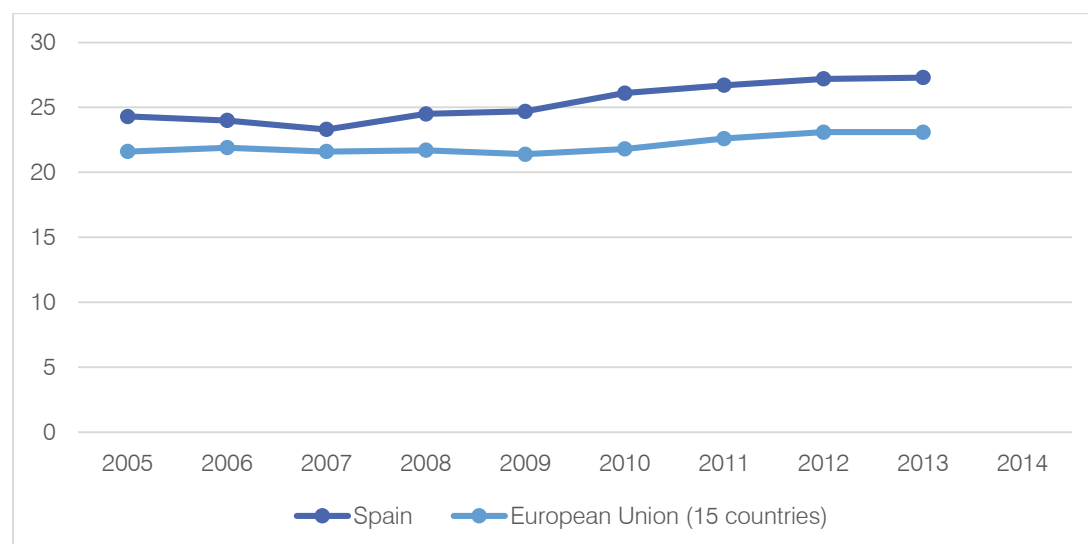


Figure 21 Percentage of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion by total population (Observatorio social de España 2016)

Consequently, it is interesting to analyse the Government's expenditure on social protection, as this includes "spending on sickness and disability, old age, family and children, unemployment, housing in the form of benefits in kind, and social exclusion" (Eurostat 2011). As seen in the following graph, the European Union's (27 countries) expenditure average is always higher than the average in Spain. Despite it can be observed that during the last years the public expenditure has grown, in 2014 the rate decreased both in the European Union as well as in Spain. This is contradictory with the amount of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, as the percentage is increasing since 2009.

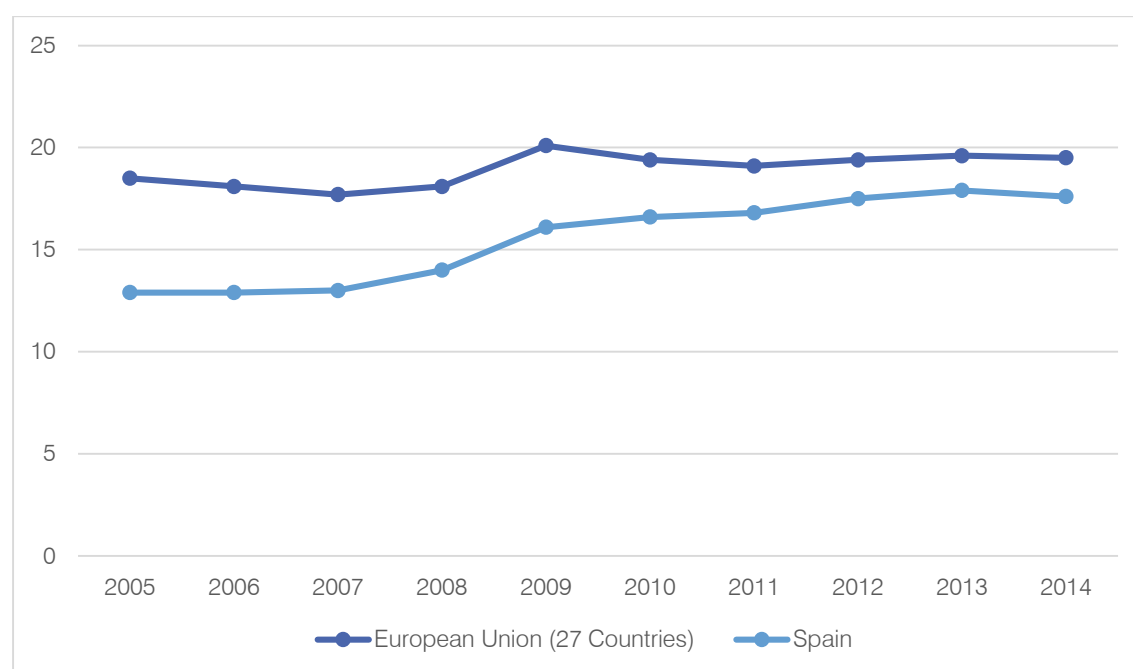


Figure 22 Percentage of gross domestic product in social Protection expenditure of governments (Eurostat 2011)

As explained in the chapter 4.0, the right to the city also entails the right to adequate housing. Taking the point of departure of the previous graphics, it can be declared that not enough solutions have been provided in order to solve this issue.

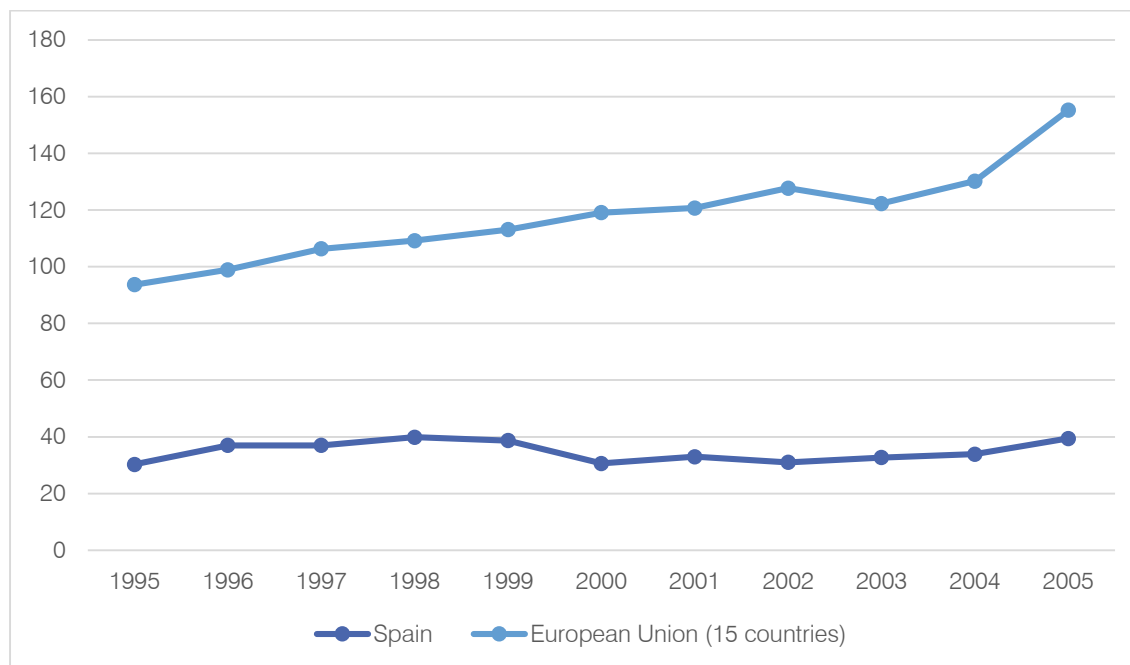


Figure 23 Public expenditure on social housing counted in purchasing power units by inhabitant (Observatorio social de España 2009)

Nevertheless, the right to adequate housing has been compromised by the market-based reforms and the structural reconfigurations that neoliberalism has entailed (Kadi and Ronald 2014). Therefore, it is interesting to analyse how neoliberalism, as a phenomenon that jeopardise the right to adequate housing, is translated onto the urban arena through two different dimensions. First, the context-dependent facts that have influenced the provision of housing, and second the facts that are inherent to a certain development in particular.

7.2 Exogenous rationales

The exogenous rationales are the ones referring to the Spanish context, those related to the historic housing policy approach. In the chapter 5.0 *Neoliberalism and the provision of housing in Spain*, these facts have been scrutinized, obtaining the following:

- The promotion of the homeownership
- Credit easiness
- Decentralization of the state
- Promoting housing expansion policies to overcome the crisis – housing as an investment

These rationales obey to “*large-scale institutional arrangements, regulatory frameworks, legal systems, and policy relays that impose determinate rules of the game*” (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010, 335) framing the outcomes and the decision-taking process of the actors involved in the developments.

The implications and the consequences of these rationales to the right to housing could be observed both in the provision of social housing as well as challenging the affordability. On one hand, homeownership has been promoted, as neoliberal urban regulation usually benefits property ownership. Additionally, homeownership has been encouraged since the autarchy period, becoming deeply rooted in the Spanish society. It has been favoured from variegated ways, from giving subsidies in pro of the property's purchase, to different policy reforms that encouraged developers to construct private housing instead of public housing,

Therefore, this phenomena has been challenging the right to adequate housing through lessening the developers' interest for social housing construction as well as defying the availability of public rental. Despite all governments considered in greater or lesser manner the provision of social housing, the different ways social housing have been materialized are far from providing an adequate amount of social housing.

As mentioned previously, an affordable house is the one that does not need more of the 30-40% of the income's inhabitant to be spent on it. The following graph shows the percentage of population whose housing cost is higher than the considered affordable by tenure status. The chart demonstrates that citizens living in rental units at a market price are by far the ones whose right to the city are more threatened. The chart also shows that there is a correlation between the Spanish free rental market situation and the European, as both represents the highest rate of people threatened. Therefore, it could be deducted that citizens who are living in free-market rental conditions are the ones whose right to the city has been challenged the most, and contradicts the different policies ran by the Government when promoting homeownership.

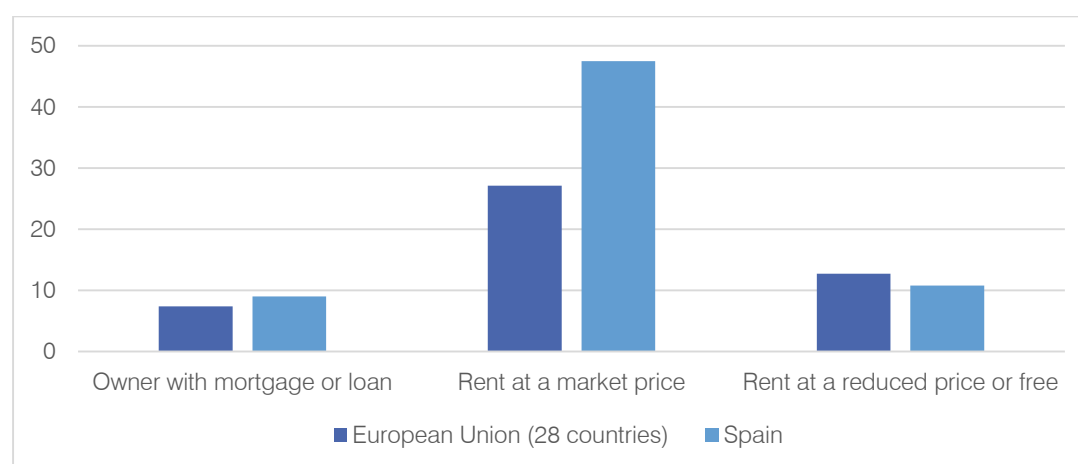


Figure 24 Percentage of total population that the housing cost burden over 40% of disposal household income in 2014, by tenure status (Eurostat 2016)

It seems legitimate that with this information, more social-rental units would be promoted, as a mean to reduce the pressure on citizens when dealing with housing, one of the considered human rights (Naciones Unidas 2016). Nevertheless, as expressed in the following graph, the construction of social housing has been mainly developed under the property condition, not for renting. While the overall property-social housing units have been an upward trend, the rental-social housing only shows a slight fluctuation.

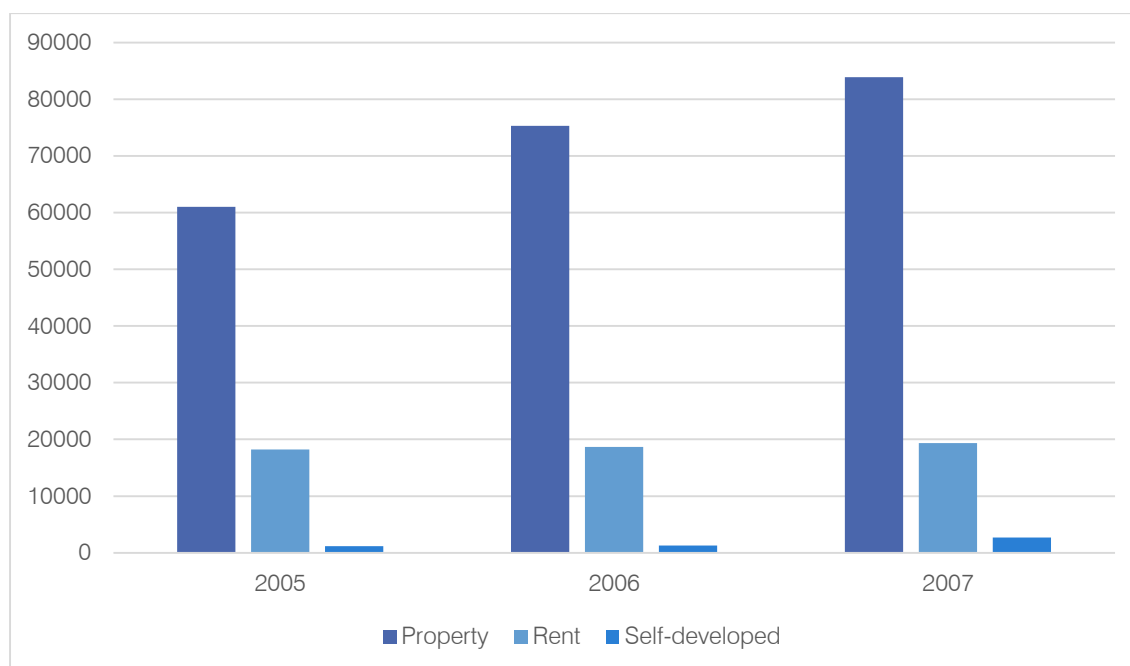


Figure 25 Social housing units initiated in Spain by tenure use (Ministerio de Vivienda 2009)

That leads to the other rationale: the credit easiness achieved through the liberalization of mortgage market developed at different scales, from the EU until the Spanish level. Housing shifted towards something that could be sold contributing to a global bubble affecting affordability (Rolnik 2013). As pronounced previously, the homeownership condition was closely attached to the easy access to credit. This could be seen as a twofold phenomenon. First, homeownership is a tradition that seems to be deeply rooted in the Spanish society. Most of the population lives in a property home (in Catalonia the 83% (Panel de desigualtats socials a de Catalunya 2016)). In the majority of the cases, rental properties are occupied by young people that could not afford buying a property. Therefore, the option of renting is a temporary situation as most of the young people buy a property when they can afford it. Rental is a permanent situation for families with no resources (Panel de desigualtats socials a de Catalunya 2016). Therefore, rental has been undermined and there is the common perception that it is for the marginalized, promoting the vicious circle of homeownership preference as well as increasing inequalities in the different social spaces.

Second, low-income people, migrants and minorities, had no option to access to affordable houses, being pushed into credit schemes (Rolnik 2013), or the so-called subprime loans. From 2001 to 2009, mortgage quotes raised 68% and so the number of years to redeem them: from 19 to 26 years as average (Panel de desigualtats socials a de Catalunya 2016). That led to the situation where an enormous amount of people could not pay their loans and consequently were caught by “*enforceable foreclosures and left with nowhere to go*” (Rolnik 2013). To illustrate this fact, 578.546 foreclosures were executed between 2008 and 2014 (Amnistia Internacional 2015)

The third rationale, the decentralization of the state, it has been studied in the light of the transference of the financing costs from the central state to the autonomous regions that affected the investment capability, as the Autonomous Regions have less investment capability than the State. That have caused some tensions between the State and the Autonomous regions as some competencies are related to the State and other to the Autonomous Regions causing some overlapping. It deserves

special mention the tensions between Catalonia and Spain, as some of the competences of the Catalan Government have been overruled or some decrees approved have been appealed and torn down by the Supreme Court. For example, this is the case of a decree against the energetic poverty, approved by the Catalan's Parliament but appealed by the Spanish Government and suspended by the Supreme Court, even though Spain is not following the European directives (Assemblea.cat 2016),

7.3 Endogenous reasons (market-based reforms or city based reforms):

The manifestations of neoliberalism in regard to the right to the city are also city and development-dependent. In the following, the different affectations and consequences observed in the city-scale are going to be explained.

Barcelona is turning into a global city. As explained in the analysis, this fact has been happening since the Olympic Games. The creation of a global city entails the "*creation of world-class city enclaves for wealthy and tourists*" (Rolnik 2013). The development of Diagonal Mar is a clear example of this rationale, as the prices of the area are clearly above the average in the District, as well as the development design does not follow the Barcelona's design, considered an "*American design, like if it was built in Miami*" (Xurigué 2016). Consequently, in a global city where market pressures are stronger, the ones who cannot afford living in these areas are pushed away from the city compromising their access to adequate housing (Rolnik 2014)

Strengthen the idea of becoming a global city also responds to the lack of investment from the central government. Consequently, to overcome the lack of investment and to access to more economic resources, engaging with private entities has been a trend identified in the two cases analysed, leading to the other factor, the incursion of private entities in the decision-making arena. Accordingly, the shift in governance has resulted in a "*complex network of institutions administrating local urban arenas*" (Purcell 2002). Therefore, it is assumed by scholars that the new network of institutions originated with the shift of governance could push aside local citizens from their right to participate in the decision making processes (Purcell 2002).

It has been stated that the vision and objectives of a Mayor is crucial in the city developments, as the Mayor has the power to influence in the decision-making process and set up a new priority list or drive it towards achieving his/her own objectives. This is the case of Diagonal mar, where the development was approved as to encompass the development of "el Forum". Nevertheless, the analysis with 22@ demonstrates "*remarkable variegation in the manifestation of neoliberalisation of housing, as well as considerable path dependency in terms of housing policies, practices and market restructuring*" (Kadi and Ronald 2014, 268). Despite the Mayor was the same in both analysis, the active role of the local associations could improve the housing situation, playing in favour of the most endangered citizens.

7.4 Conclusion

Neoliberalism has affected the right to the city in different ways. From the first part of the analysis it has been shown that the public expenditure on social protection is not sufficient for the amount of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion. In addition, both in Spain as well as the European Union the tendency is to reduce the expenditure.

Through the analysis of the Spanish evolution of neoliberalism and the two cases in Barcelona, it has been found that neoliberalism affecting the right to appropriate housing access has a twofold manifestation. In the first manifestation, it has shown that the way neoliberalism is unfolded is context-dependent, related to the "exogenous rationales". In the case of Spain, the exogenous rationales are

attached to the historical institutional and regulatory framework favouring the promotion of neoliberalism through encouraging homeownership, facilitating the access to credit and the decentralization of the state and promoting housing as an investment in order to overcome the recurrent crises. The ways that the right to the city have been compromised by these rationales are both in the provision as well as the affordability of the housing units.

On the other hand, endogenous rationales related to the case-context have been analysed. These attain to the different agreements and networks created to develop the area, as well as how these are influenced by a Mayor's perspective as well as the city's overall objectives of growth. It is important to state the crucial role of the local associations determining the provision of housing as well as to the right of participation in the decision-making process, as it has been demonstrated that a powerful and coordinated junction of these social-networks could shift the objectives of a development favouring the access to housing and consequently, the right to the city.

8.0 Reflection

This chapter is intended to show an analytic generalization of the results as well as answer the research questions posed at the beginning of the research. The aim is to express how the results agrees, extends, refines or conflicts with the theories.

"How neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain?"

In the theoretical framework chapter, it has been discussed how neoliberalism has been a trend in the western European countries and North America for the last 40 years. Nevertheless, the way neoliberalism has been adopted in Spain has been slightly different as while Europe was embracing neoliberalism through different democratic governments, Spain was facing a dictatorship that entailed a retarded development. Despite Spain seemed to be closed to international trends, it has been proved that during the autarchy period some neoliberal influenced politics were applied, mainly in what has been discussed as the second period of the autarchy, where Spain started to open the trade internationally. That contradicts the general sense that Neoliberalism in Spain started with the re-establishment of democracy, as a way to face the differences in development and being able to be similar to Western countries. Notwithstanding, the way neoliberalism was unfolded in Spain followed a different trend, starting in a slow-pace in the autarchy period and fully embraced when the democracy was re-established. To fight the under-development of Spain and the reiterated crisis, the new governments in the Democracy used economics to lead their discourses, giving preference to economic development and leaving welfare aside. Despite some of the parties sold themselves as the change to increase the promotion of welfare policies, the implementation was more controversial and influenced by general economic trends.

This is the case of housing policies. Through the analysis of the historical context as well as the housing policies in Spain it has been described that there is a tight link between the historical framework and how housing policies have been toned. From the beginning housing has been envisaged as a business opportunity, first as a mean to face the general lack of housing after the Civil War. Nowadays the trend seems to continue but now proclaimed as a mean to overcome the recurrent global and state crises, highly attached to speculative movements and leading to real-estate bubble, as housing is seen as a valuable commodity.

On the other hand, different laws and measures have been promoted to encourage homeownership at the expense of rental market. One of the most prominent examples of this phenomena was with the "Boyer Decree". This was a clear example of how Government believed that the market would regulate itself and relying on the market was the best mean for the society. Contradictorily, this has been seen as creating a great instability for the tenants. Another example is how Government's aid has been destined to subsidize the property and not aiding the rental situation. The overall situation led to a poor rental market panorama in Spain, both private and public. Additionally, the promotion of the homeownership is highly tied to facilitating the access to credit to finance mortgages. In one hand, this is seen as reducing the reliance on government's aid by the low-income households, who do not longer depend on state-promoted social housing. On the other hand, different European policies led

to increase the flexibility to access to mortgages by promoting an easy access for those who may be not eligible to credit, originating the subprime loans.

Furthermore, housing policies in Spain have also been influenced by the decentralization of the State. This has been manifested in two different ways. Firstly, the Autonomous Regions noticed affected their investment capability as they did not have the same means as the State. That led the local governments engage with other private entities to attract investment and counteract the lack of financing. Secondly, some of the policies designed by the local governments contradicts or overlaps central government's policies, generating tensions between the two levels of government.

To conclude, despite the autarchy period and a retarded instauration of Democracy, neoliberalism has embraced politics in Spain, and particularly the ones related to the provision of housing in general. The main neoliberal trends observed: promotion of homeownership, easy access to credit, the decentralization of the state and promoting housing expansion policies to overcome recurrent crisis, have led to the general consideration that housing is an investment, something to make profit of, and not something that it should be considered as a right. Despite the different streams of thinking of each government, the policies seem to be overruled by a global economic situation, favouring the marketization of housing instead of promoting it as a welfare asset.

"What are the rationales behind the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?"

"Which role has social-housing played in the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?"

To answer these research questions it is relevant to refer to the history of the district where the developments are located. Both developments took the same point of departure, a district filled with industries where their citizens were considered to belong to the working-class attached to these industries. Additionally, both developments had the same starting point in the event of "el Forum de les Cultures", as a mean to promote Barcelona internationally following the stream originated with the celebration of the Olympic Games in Barcelona, with the pretext of improving the under-developed area.

Private initiatives have been behind the developments in different ways and with different consequences. Diagonal Mar was developed completely under the private initiative, leading to a certain power from the developer to build whatever was considered more interesting for its benefit. Consequently, no social housing or public rental units were built in the area, and the design of the housing units as well as the landscape favoured to create a high-class enclave. At that time, the Mayor was focused ensuring the success of the event of "el Forum", hence it could be said that there was a high interest on the area to be developed in order to be able to sell a prosperity image abroad when the media cameras would be set up in "el Forum".

On the other hand, 22@ development, is using another strategy to market itself: the creation of a knowledge-based industry cluster. This strategy is also related to the attraction of capital assets to the area, ergo, following a considered neoliberal mean to justify developments. Additionally, the entrance of the private initiative, in this case related with the media and technology industry, also pulled the rationales of the development towards what benefited them the most. However, it has been analysed the fundamental role of the local associations in order to fight for the preservation of the

neighbourhood's identity as well as fighting against the change in demographics – from a worker-neighbourhood to a high-class area where housing would not be affordable anymore. The former development of Diagonal Mar helped them to illustrate a possible situation and demand a proper rate of public housing as well as public rental. Therefore, thanks to the local associations' contestations, the amount of social housing was increased as well as the creation of a public rental.

Nevertheless, the analysis has been shown that despite the great facts regarding social housing announced in the development (such as that all new housing would be for social housing), the development makes possible the construction of more private units than social housing units. On the other hand, the new social housing units are being used to the reallocation of citizens affected by other developments, also reducing the total amount of social housing units for local citizens. In addition, taking into consideration the rate of development process undertaken, it could be observed that the new social housing is behind the scheduled construction, not being considered a priority from the Municipality. Nowadays, the local associations are still fighting and contesting to achieve what they consider a fairness rate of social housing as well as other facilities.

To conclude, from the early stages of the research until the end, a shift in the conception of the developments has occurred. At first, both developments were considered to be developed under the same premises, as from a superficial and outer point of view both developments seemed to have the same outline. Contrary to the thoughts, it has been corroborated that despite some similarities, and focusing on social housing, the outcomes are different. This has occurred thanks in a shift of governance and letting the local associations and non-government dependent institutions to play a bigger role in the decision making arena. Nevertheless, it has been stated that different procedures could harm the provision of social housing in favour of private developments.

“How the right to the city, from the social housing perspective, has been influenced by neoliberal projects? How neoliberal processes can affect the provision of social housing?”

As it has been mentioned, there is no clear definition of what the right to the city entails. In this research, the focus has been set on the right to the city through the right to adequate housing, in a two-fold definition. First, as the right to access to adequate housing, as being affordable for the vast majority but especially for those who are in danger to be socially-excluded. Second, as the right to participate in the decision making process. Neoliberalism has shaped both manifestations, as is playing a big role in the commodification of housing and also shaping the relations with the entities who are in charge of the decision-making process.

As observed, neoliberalism has influenced our society in a variegated spacious scales. However, it has been studied how neoliberalism has affected the provision of housing, also the affordability of the tenures. When studying a certain case, it has been found that neoliberalism has been manifested in two different scales. The first one, it refers to the historical regulatory frameworks set by the different governments that impose determinate rules of the game. This has been found through the analysis of the Spanish politics and how neoliberalism has affected the provision of housing in the analysis of the Spanish politics as well as general housing provision. The second one, there are some rationales that are context-case dependent. As analysed with the two cases, the rationales behind the development

were the same. However, the shift in the governance allowed higher rate of public participation, consequently increasing the amount of social housing provided.

Other scholars have studied the effects of the crisis of 2007 in the housing provision, mostly focusing on the real-estate bubble and the crisis effects (such as the elevated number of non-occupied housing units as well as the elevated prices of the units). Many others have provided an enumeration of possible solutions, for example, on how to mobilize non-occupied housing units towards affordable rental.

This research has differed from other studies as it has combined the study of the instauration of neoliberalism in Spain and how it has affected in different scales and periods. The analysis of the two cases, has been a way of demonstrating that the current situation is historically-context dependent as well as strongly affected by the ones being in charge of a city's government. It has been intended to provide an overall vision of the phenomenon as a way to understand the rationales behind the current situation of lack of affordable housing and social housing.

During the last years, the public expenditure on the social area has been diminished. Analysing neoliberal trends, it has been proved that these trends have benefited certain stratus of society, increasing social differences. On the other side, this research has served to illustrate that despite the crisis of 2007 was a breakpoint in the Spanish society in general, other factors led to the actual situation where there is still a lack on social investment. Therefore, analysing the historical context could led to understand the actual situation in order to design better future policies.

Barcelona has been an interesting case to study, as while in the rest of Europe left-political parties are rising interest among the electors, in Barcelona a left party won the last elections (2015). In particular, the actual Mayor was the member of an association (*Plataforma d'Afectats per la Hipoteca*) that it is focused on the right to housing and help people affected by foreclosures and evictions. The new Government is putting big efforts on modifying the general trends imposed by neoliberalism in housing policies. It could be assumed that there has been a shift in the citizens' point of view towards housing as and public involvement in this topic is being increased.

Nevertheless, as it has been only one year since they are ruling Barcelona's Municipality, it is difficult to make a proper analysis on the consequences of their new policies. However, the first analyses released about housing trends show that the situation before the crisis is being manifested again, such as a rise in the housing and rental prices, showing again the neoliberal tendencies observed in this research. Therefore, it would be interesting to follow-up the results in the further housing policy processes.

9.0 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to conclude the research by briefly explaining what has been investigated, how has been conducted the research and the discoveries.

Spain has one of the lowest rates of social housing of Europe. In one hand, housing is recognized as a basic right by the International Human Rights Law. It is the responsibility of the States to promote and apply policies to ensure that the right to housing is covered. On the other hand, the interest on housing by the Spanish government has been drifted away from a welfare concept, being driven towards considering it as a commodity, affected by the neoliberal streams. Therefore, it raised interest to research how neoliberalism has influenced housing policies leading to how neoliberalism has endangered the right to the city, more precisely, the right to adequate housing. The research aimed to answer the following research questions:

First, *how neoliberalism has influenced the provision of housing in Spain?* To conduct this research, an analysis of the political as well as housing situation in Spain, from the Civil War until present has been carried out.

Second, *what are the rationales behind the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@? And which role has social-housing played in the development of Diagonal Mar and 22@?* To answer these questions, two case studies – Diagonal Mar and 22@, were conducted ending with a cross-analysis of the findings.

Third, *how the right to the city, from the social housing perspective, has been influenced by neoliberal projects? How neoliberal processes can affect the provision of social housing?* To proceed with these analysis, a combination of the outcomes from the two firsts analyses has been executed through the lens of the right to the city.

The structure followed responds to a sand-clock disposition, starting with the first analysis from the country's scale, narrowing to the city and neighborhood scale with the second analysis, and panning out again to illustrate the shifts in the right to the city from a broader scale.

The analysis of the Spanish political as well as housing context showed how neoliberalism has affected the provision of housing by enhancing homeownership, facilitating the access to credit, the decentralization of the state and commodifying housing as using it as an investment to overcome the recurrent crises. The two case studies analysis, showed that the two developments had neoliberal rationales influencing their elaboration. Both were envisaged as a way to shoot up Barcelona globally and intensify the interlocality competition. Despite similarities, the most relevant fact has been to find that in Diagonal Mar no social housing was built, where in 22@ a major rate was achieved thanks to public involvement. The last analysis bounded the two previous analysis illustrating how the right to the city from the housing perspective has been affected by these neoliberal projects. It has been found out that neoliberalism has been unfolded in two different levels, the first and attached to the first analysis, refers to the historical regulatory frameworks set by the different governments imposing the rules of the game. The second one, linked to the second analysis, refers to the context-case dependent rationales, related to governance and public participation.

To conclude, neoliberalism has affected the right to the city in different ways and it has been shown that public expenditure on social resources is not sufficient as well as there has been a rise of people at a risk of poverty and social exclusion. It has also been stated that neoliberalism alienates citizens from the decision-making arena, affecting their right to the city.

Despite the different governments with different streams of policy-approaching (left/right) have ruled the country, it has been shown that neoliberalism has been a stronger force commanding the policy-making arena, overruling welfare policies. Nevertheless, it has been proved that encouraging a better governance including public participation could shift the outcomes of neoliberal policies.

Additionally, it has been proved that the current lack of social housing it has been endemic in the Spanish society since the Civil War, worsened by the recurrent crises that the neoliberal economic flow has generated.

10.0 Outlook

This research project has analysed neoliberalism and its affectation in the housing policies through the study of two cases in Barcelona. In this section, the limitations regarding the results and the research will be stated, as well as a speculation of the implications of these limitations. Finally, a further research is suggested that would either contribute to extend the current research as being the basis for other studies.

The development of 22@ is still under development, consequently being influenced by shifts in governance. As for this research it has been taken into account the last official status released in 2009 by the Municipality, it could be interesting to analyse the current status and have wider information on how the crisis of 2007 affected in the development, focusing in District's social movements.

One of the limitations has been the access to Diagonal Mar agents involved as well as politicians. Despite this could be seen as being related to the same secrecy as the project was developed, this has been considered a prominent limitation. It could be interesting to further develop in the area, as well as what the real consequences el Forum brought to the city. In addition, it has been studied the connection of Diagonal Mar's with the city, but it could be interesting to study the opposite side of el Forum - La Mina's neighbourhood. The plans of development started in 2002 but in 2009 it was stopped due to the crisis, raising enormous controversy among the neighbours of the area.

Another limitation has been to set a timeframe adequate for the research time available. Therefore, the changes in Barcelona before the Olympic Games have not been explained in detail, as they were considered not relevant for the research.

A year ago a new party was elected in Barcelona, breaking the typical bi-party system, where two big parties were alternating the administration. The new party is performing several changes in the housing policy. As it is an ongoing process, and not enough time to implement policies and observe the results has passed, the new policies have been out of the scope of this research, focusing only in the governments involved in the two cases. In consequence, the study of the outcomes of the new policies implemented by the new Mayor could be object of a further exploration.

The stress of this research has been placed on enlighten the regulatory and institutional framework shaped by the context (place, territory and scale-specific institutional forms) which were articulated through neoliberalism. Recently, it has been stated a new rise in the price of housing (after a decline in the 2007 crisis), and people seems to be engaging again with the fact of buying a property, pushed again by the market and the un-regulation from the State. For example, Sant Martí is currently the second district with more housing units being purchased (Otto 2016). Therefore, taking this research as a point of departure, a further research could be the provision of counter-neoliberalizing strategies to avoid the repetition of the already studied neoliberal developments and their effects on the right to the city, reconfiguring and readapting the market-disciplinary rule-regimes that have prevailed globally and locally.

In 2012 a family of four people died because of a fire that started in a shack built in an empty plot located in el Poblenou. This accident was the eye-opener of a new social-emergency in Barcelona: *barraquismo* is not an extinct phenomenon. Additionally, in 2016, Barcelona's Municipality has carried out a re-counting of how many people were living in the streets. It has been counted 941 people living

in the streets and 1.973 living in municipal facilities. The study of this social emergency as well as proposal suitable solutions could be object of a further research.

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