

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

URBANIZATION, WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION AND
POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN BARCELONA

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by

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Abstract

This is a study of urbanization in Barcelona, the capital of the Catalan region of Spain. It explores the historical and contemporary conditions which shaped the characteristics of working class social and political organization within the city. The development of political movements are investigated in relation to the role of the state intervention in the urban economy and in relation to individual household economy strategies and class consciousness.

Barcelona's expansion as an industrial city is considered within the political economy of Spain. Immigrant workers incorporation in industry is examined in the case study of a large engineering factory, La Maquinista. The historical incorporation of immigrant workers into the urban economy is also explored through the analysis of individual and collective patterns of consumption of workers in three neighbourhoods of Barcelona: La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana.

Among immigrant workers in Barcelona the family has been the main institution within which the household economy has been organized. Changing levels of subsistence has meant that household consumption has increasingly involved the acquisition of property which reinforces the family as an economic unity. This has meant that within the workers' families the traditional roles played by both men and women have also been reinforced. Experiences in work and living conditions among these men and women have determined their class consciousness and reasons for political organizations.

While lack of state provision of welfare services encouraged privatization of collective services among workers, fragmentary state intervention in Barcelona has proved to be important for the development

Abstract (contd.)

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INTRODUCTION

The central focus of this thesis is the relationship between urbanization, working class social organization and the emergence of urban political movements in Barcelona. The urbanization of Barcelona has taken place within the context of Spanish uneven development and has been characterised by the constant flow of immigrant workers, required for the industrial expansion of the city. The study begins by considering the political economy of industrialization in Barcelona, and then moves on to consider: (a) the history and characteristics of immigrant workers and their incorporation in the urban economy; (b) working class social organization with special emphasis on the changing patterns of individual and collective consumption found among immigrant workers; and (c) the participation of immigrant workers in the politics of the city.

In terms of its relations with other countries in the world economic system, Spain can justifiably be characterised as a "semi-peripheral economy". Barcelona's development as an industrial city began in the middle of the nineteenth century and was based on the expansion of textile manufacturing. As in other areas of Catalonia, the development of factory production in Barcelona took place soon after similar developments in other European nations, such as England. However, it has not been until recent years that an adequate internal market has developed for home produced industrial goods. From the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1960s, when foreign investment helped Spain to complete its industrial revolution, the necessary concentration of capital to replace foreign technology was absent. As a consequence, for many years industrial production has been highly diversified, even within large firms, and market

fluctuations have hindered attempts to concentrate industrial production (Roberts, 1981). As Terrades (1978) has argued, this process was deeply affected by the absence of a strong and stable state commitment to industrialization. One of the aims of this thesis is to examine the consequences of the role of the Spanish state and the characteristics of industrial developments and markets for the urban growth of Barcelona.

The most fundamental historical parameter influencing Barcelona's urbanization has been the existence of regional disequilibrium within Spain. Due to the fact that no agrarian reforms were implemented, there has been a prolonged period of rural-urban migration (since the economic forces expelling the rural population were weak). Migration to Barcelona from other regions in Spain (increasingly from Andalusia), began in the nineteenth century and has continued into the present period. Thus, in-migration, and issues associated with migrants, have been constant factors in the urban and industrial growth of Barcelona.

In order to examine the characteristics of migrants and the way they were incorporated into the urban economy the study examines the industrial development of Barcelona with reference to a case study. La Maquinista, one of the largest engineering firms in the city was founded in 1855 to make textile machinery, steam engines and boilers for the navy and merchant marine, railway engines and gas and water-powered motors. This diversification was necessary in the face of limited and fluctuating markets. The La Maquinista study represents one aspect of urban growth patterns: the extent to which the technological evolution of industry relates to urban morphology and local social organization. Using the La Maquinista's workers' records the study shows the gradual dispersal of workers from the

original points of concentration in the inner city neighbourhoods towards medium and peripheral sites of the city. We will also see how La Maquinista's own policies have directly shaped urban renewal schemes.

Migrant adaptation to Barcelona will be explored through three working class residential areas selected as case studies. The establishment of these areas as homes for migrants corresponds to specific stages of industrial development in the city. La Barceloneta, the first case study, is a traditional working class area about a mile from the city centre and forms the port neighbourhood of Barcelona. Originally built in the eighteenth century, it expanded during the next century as industry developed in that part of the city. Most of the industry was small in size, consisting mainly of workshops, but some large firms were also established, especially engineering factories - such as La Maquinista. These, with the docks, created the basis of a community with a strong local identity. Politically, the dock and industrial workers were predominantly organized by the Anarcho-syndicalist union. Nowadays, La Barceloneta is popular for its restaurants and tourist trade. A large proportion of its population is employed in the service sector of the city. However, a deterioration of the housing stock, reinforced by the decline in population, has brought about plans for the renewal of the area. The idea of renewal was promoted by some of the large industries, such as La Maquinista after moving out of La Barceloneta, in combination with other private and public institutions. Residents' discontent with the proposed scheme was expressed through the Neighbourhood Association, which became highly politicised through the militancy of some of its members who were associated with left-wing parties.

The second area, Vallbona, is an example of informal urbanization, a self-constructed settlement, situated about six miles from the city centre on the outskirts of Barcelona. It grew as a shanty town in the 1950s without parallel industrial development, apart from a couple of workshops. This kind of urban growth was illegal, since the area was designated as rural by the 1953 "Barcelona General Urbanization Plan". However, administrative corruption enabled the landowners to sell small portions of land to immigrants who then built their own houses using poor and cheap materials. Most of the population of Vallbona stayed for only a few years, until they achieved the economic capacity to move to a better area. One group of families, however, have remained since the earliest days. They have developed a strong neighbourhood organization, which has been acknowledged as one of the most radical left-wing associations in Barcelona. Its radical political stance stems from the lack of collective services, especially poor housing conditions.

The third area, Ciudad Meridiana, was planned as a working class "new town". It is located opposite Vallbona, at the same distance from the city centre, separated by a motorway. Ciudad Meridiana consists entirely of apartment blocks, with no industrial development. It is very similar to other working class areas on the outskirts of the city. As in Vallbona, most of the male population works in factories a long distance away. From the outset (1963), most of the residents of Ciudad Meridiana were immigrants who had previously resided in Barcelona, some of them in shanty-towns like Vallbona. In fact, a large group of people came from Vallbona. Others came from more traditional areas like La Barceloneta. Whereas in the other two areas housing was mainly provided by individuals or by small-scale capital, Ciudad Meridiana was built by a large development

company with local and international capital. Unlike the other cases, in Ciudad Meridiana the establishment of a community organization was encouraged by the company to form a "channel of communication" between itself and the residents. This situation arose from widespread individual complaints about the poor materials used in house construction and insanitary conditions. However, the Neighbourhood Association developed a similar political character to the other associations in Barcelona, with a relatively high degree of left-wing militancy. Here, the most radical protest has been over educational issues and not over housing.

All three areas have expanded with the inflow of immigrants and from them I wish to characterize the immigrant labour force in Barcelona. I will do so by examining the characteristics of migrants' incorporation into the urban economy: their participation in industry as workers and their household and community organization. To do this the study examines individual (family) and collective patterns of consumption, because, as I will argue later, these have developed historically according to changes taking place in the industrial economy of the city in particular, and the country as a whole.

Chapter One provides a theoretical introduction to the basic issues involved in the analysis of working class organization and political movements in Barcelona. The issue of urbanization is examined in the context of uneven development and its implications for social heterogeneity and social order in the city. While comparisons are drawn with other countries special emphasis is placed on the significance of understanding the role of the state in Spain in urban growth. Working class organization

is approached by combining an analysis of individual patterns of consumption with recent theoretical contributions on the "politics of consumption", that is collective consumption and urban social movements. Thus, the analysis of consumption practices in the city is seen in this study as basic to the understanding of a) urbanization, b) class organization and c) class conflict and culture.

The main argument of this thesis is that the process of urbanization requires a concentration of capital as well as labour and power in the city. Capital accumulation requires abundant labour and low costs of social reproduction. In order to achieve high profits therefore industries are not prepared to meet the costs involved in the social reproduction of labour. While in developed nations the state has taken responsibility for the provision of social services as well as the industrial infrastructure, in developing countries, and in the concrete case of Spain, the state has not assumed such responsibilities. Hence, a special importance falls on class organization. Family and class are the basic institutions for the organization of daily life and the environment, but analysis must also focus on how these are reinforced by the relevance of individual strategies and experiences in the way people are incorporated into the urban economy. The class differentiation in the city manifests itself through the workers' experiences of low standards of living (housing, consumer goods, collective services such as education, health care . etc.) and is basic, to the development of class consciousness. When political action takes place in this context it is usually directed against the state, which appears to be responsible for the provision of collective services. Thus, the analysis of urbanization requires an examination of the relation

between capital, labour and the state.

Chapter Two explores the first part of the main argument, that is, the industrial development and urbanization of Barcelona. The aim of the chapter is to characterise the specific pattern in which this development has taken place (in comparison with England). In order to achieve this aim the political economy of Spain since the middle of the nineteenth century is considered in general terms. The basic elements considered are the evolution of the social structure of the country in its interaction with the economic process, and how these two elements have been historically shaping the country's politics. It also looks at the relations between central, regional and local political organizations.

The argument stressed here is that the uneven character of Spanish industrial development in the different regions of the country can be in part explained by the variety that existed in the agrarian structure. Thus, accumulation of capital for industry developed only in areas where land property was of a relatively large size, such as Catalonia and the Basque country, and where a process of proletarianization^{ani} was encouraged. On the other hand in the rest of the country agricultural production took place either under minifundism (which did not develop accumulation of capital but was and still is only self-sufficient) or latifundism, which concentrated property in few hands. These large landowners were more interested in commercial business than in industry. However, both minifundism and latifundism have been the cause of a constant influx of landless workers to the largest cities, such as Barcelona.

Moreover, an alliance between the land-owning class, the merchants

and industrialists did not develop in Spain. Thus the industrial revolution in the country could not be fully achieved until similar economic interests were shared by the Catalan and Spanish (Basque, Castilian, Andalusian) bourgeoisies in the 1960s. This created difficulties for the formation of a coherent political body in power. Thus, constant changes in government in combination with uneven development worked against the attempts of the more advanced social and economic forces in Catalonia to emancipate the economy from backwardness. Within this context, the regional question became an issue in the politics of Barcelona, where the "young" proletariat took a radical attitude against the state and the economic and political interests of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Only with the expansion of industry in Barcelona from the 1960s onwards, and of the country's economy in general, did the working class in Barcelona become involved in negotiations with industrialists and start to cooperate politically with other social classes in order to bring about a decentralization of power in the city and the region.

Chapter Three examines the industrial expansion and incorporation of immigrants in industry through a case study of La Maquinista. It shows that while immigrant workers of rural origin were often employed in industry as unskilled workers, they acquired industrial skills as part of their daily work experience in the factory. Their high participation in the increasingly skilled section of the workforce shows the opportunities industry offered them for occupational mobility. However, there appears to be some restrictions on their occupational mobility from manual to non-manual jobs within industry, suggesting a certain level of differentiation between Catalan workers and immigrant workers. At the same time, there appears to be some indication that both Catalan and migrant workers have

cooperated in trade union organizations, suggesting that ethnic origin has not inhibited class organization. This chapter also looks at the implications of the relocation of the factory in the city for the residential patterns of the workers.

Chapter Four examines the implications of the Spanish state's lack of commitment to urbanization for the incorporation of immigrants into the urban milieu. At a general level, it aims to show the location of immigrant workers in Barcelona, by following the tendency outlined in the previous chapter, that is a movement of workers' residences from inner city areas to the outskirts of the city. Here, the aim is to show that the permanent settlement of immigrant workers in Barcelona created a demand for housing which was not met by public institutions. Thus, immigrant workers were forced to rely on their own resources and networks to provide themselves with accommodation.

Chapter Five explores in more detail the strategies followed by immigrant workers in order to organize their daily existence in Barcelona. It does so by considering three distinctive periods of urban incorporation and by looking at the individual patterns of consumption of workers in each period. It aims to show the importance of workers' experiences and social relations - through family and community organization - for the organization of their household economies. It also aims to relate the restrictions on employment and job conditions to the improvement of consumption patterns, and to the development of community organization. It emphasises the role of the family in the context of an "absentee" state in the provision of housing and services. Within the family the role of women, as is to be expected, has a special importance given the lack of protection that the

Spanish state has historically displayed with regard to the needs of the working class in the process of urbanization. Under such conditions, it can be anticipated that kinship solidarity among immigrant workers will be reinforced and that it will be more difficult to "integrate" these workers into the social life of Barcelona. As a result, social involvement and interaction with the native Catalan population may be hindered.

Chapter Six examines the relationship between the central state and local administration in Barcelona. The role of the state is then re-examined in the light of empirical material, with illustrations from the three case study areas. This chapter focuses on the character of state interventions in the city through isolated "planning" schemes as well as on the responses of the residents affected by these schemes. The chapter then re-examines the recent discussions of "collective consumption" and urban social movements found in the current literature on urban studies, in order to examine its relevance for the specific context of Barcelona. It aims to show the importance of the Neighbourhood Associations in Barcelona. These associations developed "underground" during the Francoist regime and through the years have coordinated the demands and activities of residents, mainly in the working class areas. Their activities have been instrumental in opening channels of negotiations with local institutions, demanding increasing state intervention in the provision of collective services.

Finally, Chapter Seven provides a summary of the main findings and conclusions of the research and includes suggestions for further research.

Methodology

I have selected Barcelona for this study not only because I was one of the thousands of immigrants fascinated with the city, but more importantly, because its complexity requires more attention. Even though it is a European city, Barcelona possesses many characteristics in common with the cities of the developing world. Relatively little systematic attention has been given to cities like Barcelona. This work aims to offer some insights for future considerations. The history and present reality of Barcelona constitute an interesting context within which to explore the issues and themes which occupy the time and thinking of contemporary urban researchers.

The first characteristic that came to my attention, when I went to live in Barcelona in 1971, was the sharp distinction between its well designed business centre, with its beautiful "Modernist" houses, and the chaotic expansion of the city on the outskirts, where I lived for a year. There, I had the opportunity to meet many immigrant workers who rarely went to the centre to enjoy its amenities. I was impressed by the realistic awareness these men and women had of the opportunities available for changing their living conditions, by the clear way in which they connected their life experiences with the political conditions enforced by the Francoist regime.

In 1974 I became involved in some of the activities that were taking place in La Barceloneta's Neighbourhood Association. Conversations there with some of the leaders of the Association and regular contacts with immigrant women further deepened my interest in the living conditions of immigrant workers and in what was clearly a growing political movement in

the city. When in 1976, through the Department of Anthropology in the University of Barcelona, I met Professor Bryan Roberts and learned about the project he was planning to carry out in Barcelona, I offered to participate in it by contributing a case study of La Maquinista and its influence in the community organization of La Barceloneta. Within this project, financed by SSRC, I collected the material on La Maquinista with Professor Roberts, who gave me advice on methods of recording data and interview procedures. My participation in this project, which compared state and community organization in Manchester and Barcelona, ended in 1977. During the academic year(s) of 1977-78 I stayed in Hull reviewing the recent developments on urban studies and the historical characteristics which had been recorded bibliographically on Barcelona. The main research on which this thesis has been constructed, however, was conducted in June 1978 and from December 1978 to October 1979. Periods of intensive fieldwork were interspersed with periods of assessment and evaluation. This pattern was considered to be the most desirable and fruitful, given the nature of the project. Four periods of intensive fieldwork were undertaken - 1 month, 6 months and 4 months, respectively.

With regard to the relationship between the research work and the presentation of this thesis, theoretical, historical and empirical analyses (as far as to my view only history and empirical reality can give relevance to theoretical inquiry) have been complemented by methodological considerations. Thus, the thesis should be seen as a work of synthesis. As has been pointed out, it is neither valid nor desirable to see "theory", "methodology", and "empirical findings" as independent elements in social research (Mills, 1959). Social research seems best viewed as a complex process, within which theoretical, historical, methodological, and empirical issues

constantly interact as the work proceeds (Denzin, 1970).

The three working-class neighbourhoods which were studied intensively - La Barceloneta, Vallbona, and Ciudad Meridiana - were not chosen because they were "representative" of Barcelona's working-class neighbourhoods. They were chosen because they appeared to highlight processes and relationships which helped to explain working class organization in the city. In this sense, they are perhaps best viewed as "case studies" which: a) highlight some of the historical and contemporary processes which have shaped, and are shaping urbanization in Barcelona, and b) provide the essential context for exploring the characteristics of working-class political movements in the city.

Research Strategies and Sources of Information

The information collected and presented in this thesis derives from a combination of "quantitative" and "qualitative" sources. Official statistics provided the basic descriptive information on population growth, migration patterns, residential distribution. The same sources provided information on industrial production and location, housing construction, and some general data on the provision of education and health care services.

The statistical descriptive information presented on the characteristics of La Maquinista's workforce was obtained from the records of each individual worker. The information was systematised according to the variables that came out of the data and then processed and computerised using a SPSS programme.

Historical information was basically collected through bibliographical sources as well as through interviews. This information was used to elaborate and extend the general statistical material.

The field work consisted of both formal and informal interviews with local politicians, neighbourhood association leaders, trade union leaders, school teachers, factory managers, shopkeepers and workers and their families. All the information collected through interviews was supplemented by personal observation, cross-checking and the attendance at meetings organized by the neighbourhood associations and by the city federation of associations.

A core of a series of household interviews was used to build up a collection of family and kinship cards (a total of 46) which gave general information on the origin and occupations of a total of 282 people. However, within the core sample very specific information was collected on the job careers, residential mobility, patterns of household organization and consumption, community involvement and perceptions of their situation in Barcelona (see Appendix I).

The information was analysed first in isolation according to each case study area and issue, then in relation to each other and then to the overall focus of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION, CONSUMPTION PROCESSES AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CITY

This chapter aims to provide an introduction to the basic issues to be considered in order to understand working class organization¹ and political movements in Barcelona. The context in which these issues are located is that of uneven development which in Spain, as in the developing world, has given class organization and urban politics particular characteristics that are distinct from those of advanced capitalist countries. These characteristics are: an unbalanced economic development, associated with a chaotic pattern of urban growth; and the emergence of an ethnic question resulting from migration based on regions of different levels of economic development and of different cultural traditions.

The analysis of uneven development has usually been applied to under-developed countries. In some studies the implications of this kind of development have been identified in the way migrants have been inserted into the urban environment both economically and culturally. Some of these issues are familiar ones in the literature of urbanization. Urbanization is often seen as a product of capitalist development and expansion which involves a progressive concentration of people, wealth and power (Roberts, 1978: 11, Portes and Walton, 1976; Friedman, 1972). Thus, uneven development tends to concentrate people, wealth and power in specific regions of a nation. This creates regional imbalances which often translate into the long distance movement of labour from the backward regions (where more traditional agricultural structures remain dominant) to the most economically mature parts of the nation. These processes when viewed in the context of the relatively slow expansion of formal employment in the cities

1. Here by working class organization I refer to the relationships and the institutions which this class experiences, shapes and, at the same time, is shaped by the urban industrial economy and social structure.

have consequences for the development of working class organization and political movement, tending to fragment the working class and making it difficult to organize politically on a class basis. Recent accounts of the characteristics of the urban working class in developing countries are those of Roberts, (1982: 377-384) and Roxbourough (1981) with respect to Latin American cities and the study of North African cities produced by Allen & Williams (1982).

However, the implications of uneven development for urban growth are not restricted to the underdeveloped world but are also present in relatively recent^{ly} developed countries such as Spain. One of the first examinations of the urban implications of uneven development in this type of country is Trotsky's sociological analysis of the Leningrad proletariat in The History of the Russian Revolution. I shall return to this discussion in Chapter Two. Here the main question to keep in mind is the combination of two different types of economic growth present in these countries. In the cities these two types are manifested in the simultaneous development of both large and small scale industry, and of a modern urban industrial infrastructure coupled to squatter settlements and a large migrant population of low levels of education and skill. In Spain, as in Russia, this economic growth has taken place within the context of an archaic political system, slow to adapt to new economic forces and threatened by a working class developing its own political institutions outside of the established order. These factors play an important part in the history of working class organization and political conflict in Barcelona.

This historical analysis needs to be complemented, however, by an examination of some general issues: the relationship between working class

organization and the heterogeneity of urban life in a rapidly growing city; the significance of state regulation of urban expansion: the importance of both individual and collective consumption in determining life styles and social organization. Moreover, the city also provides a context for working class political organization which takes place around both production and consumption. In the sphere of consumption the organization of space may become a source of unity among people with a common interest in improving or defending their environment; as in the case of housing renewal schemes in which people develop protest and occasionally, political action. Conversely, possibilities of owning and accumulating property may differentiate people who otherwise have similar occupational characteristics. In the next sections I will review the treatment of these issues in the literature before exploring them through the case studies of the subsequent chapters.

The Issue of Migration and Social Organization in the City

The first issue to consider is migration as a basis for urban heterogeneity. Migration in this pattern of development may involve sharp social and cultural changes as it implies a break with the original environment and the need for adaptation to a new one. This has often been discussed in underdeveloped countries:

"The analysis of migration is crucial to understanding the social changes resulting from rapid urban growth, because migration entails a special problem for the maintenance of order in the city. The influx of migrants disrupts existing social and economic relations in the city by adding a population of all age levels whose skill, personal commitments, and perspectives often have been shaped prior to their arrival in the city".

(Roberts, 1973: 47)

Studies of migration have made an important contribution to the understanding of social change by stressing the relevance of individual and collective experiences involved in the process of migration. However, particularly relevant to our study is the approach which emphasises the different modes of urban incorporation of migrants into the city;

"... we know that in the town as a whole some of the most important social and cultural differences were closely associated with forms of urban incorporation and accommodation which were liable to vary from one tribe to another".

(Pons, 1969: 271)

In Pons' study of Stanleyville, cultural differences expressed in levels of work and the social skills immigrants acquire in the town are manifested in their levels of development of urban modes such as participation in voluntary associations. The degree of participation in associations varied according to the status of migrants, which was based on specific criteria of achievement in the city, such as income, occupation and education. Low status migrants did not participate in these kind of associations, but based their social involvement on relations that developed among the kin group, and within the neighbourhood in which they lived. Thus social differentiation also developed within the urban context.

Heterogeneity, then, is not only produced by migrants from diverse cultural backgrounds, but is also based on the way in which people with these backgrounds acquire particular niches within the urban community. The people from the same provincial area work together in the same construction firm, factory or government office. These jobs involve insecure unskilled work or secure skilled work and further shape the pattern of urban life, emphasising, in the first case, communal patterns of behaviour which are similar to traditional ones and, in the second, participation in voluntary

immigration from Europe.

The growth of these U.S. cities in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries gave rise, in fact, to one of the most important traditions in urban sociological analysis, that of the Chicago School. This school emphasised the impact of urban life in breaking down traditional communities by considering the sub-cultures appearing in parts of the city which they conceptualised as "natural areas". They conceptualised the city as a "mosaic of social worlds" emphasising the significance of the interaction between ecological factors and social differentiation.² This "mosaic" was the product of the creation of "natural areas". Burgess (in J. Gould and W. Kolb, 1964: 458) defines "natural areas" as, "a territorial unit whose distinctive characteristics - physical, economic, and cultural - are the result of the unplanned operation of ecological and social processes". In their model, "natural forces" are held to be responsible for the initial distribution, concentration and segregation of urban populations. In addition, they claimed that the changes taking place in the expansion of the city can be measured by the variations in land values (Park and Burgess, 1925).

This contribution has relevance to the organization of Barcelona in as much as these ecological processes tend to reinforce sources of distinctive cultural identity, as well as social segregation on class lines. Following Park, Duncan and Duncan (1955: 493-503) suggested that a systematic consideration of the spatial aspect of stratification has to be considered as the most important focus of urban stratification. In their study of the city of Chicago they selected socio-economic status as an indicator in order to examine the hypothesis that "spatial distance" among

2. This perspective was used to examine the "organization" and "disorganization" (socially, economically and politically) of "urban communities".

associations and a concern with upward mobility for their children through education.

Though Barcelona is not a city of the underdeveloped world, these issues need to be considered since its rapid growth is based on a different pattern of urbanization to that of British towns during the period of industrial growth in the nineteenth century. Consider, for example, the pattern of migration to English towns in the early nineteenth century. Anderson's (1971: 34-37) study of Preston showed how the majority of immigrant workers were born in areas located at a distance of around 30 miles, while only 2 per cent of the sample he considered were born more than 100 miles from Preston.

Social heterogeneity is complicated in Barcelona by the city's having a population with a strong cultural identity at the time of large-scale immigration. In Barcelona, as in the rest of Catalonia, Catalan language and institutions have been repressed in several historical periods. Thus immigration appeared to be a further threat to the cohesion of the established society both in terms of cultural distinctiveness (mainly the language) and the aspirations for a self-governed nation.

The Implications Of Social Heterogeneity

One possible manifestation of cultural heterogeneity is the appearance of spatially distinct urban sub-cultures which provide a basis for the incorporation of the migrants and for social order in the city. This theme has been explored in the United States where, as a result of the uneven development of the world system, the growth of cities such as Chicago, New York and Boston was, to a great extent, based on a culturally heterogeneous

[See previous page]

occupational groups parallels their "social distance". They found the most important relationship existed between residential segregation and occupational groups. Moreover, in Timms approach (1971: 251), the city is looked upon as a "constellation of statuses" as far as different locations provide different facilities: size and type of housing, the density of development ... That seems to be ^{an} inevitable concomitant of "urbanism as a way of life".³

In this approach, both theory and methodology had created a large map of quantifiable resources that facilitated the study of the city, but much of the information still awaits explanation. There are several important questions that were not answered such as the causes of segregation or the relation between spatial segregation and the way of life of particular social groups. What are the mechanisms that reproduce social segregation? In this sense, the Chicago School approach while being useful in describing ecological changes has important limitations in demonstrating how these changes are brought into urban space and by which forces. As critics of this approach have pointed out (Castells, 1977a) their explanation of urbanism as shaped by "natural forces" is ideological because it gives a cultural explanation to the social structure of the city without describing the forces that shape that social structure. This can only be done, according to Harvey, by emphasising the changes in the urban economy and by looking at the opportunities different classes have for access to the market. The importance of cultural factors in organizing an urban population depends, in this approach, on the operation of the market.

Thus, the ecological school's analysis of the moral order of the city emphasized the development of social solidarity. Harvey (1973: 131-133) however, in his criticism of the Chicago School has contrasted their approach

3. "Urbanism as a way of life", a concept developed by L. Wirth to denote a distinct quality of the human community, a special mode of existence, which is characteristic of the city and based on the three variables: size, density and heterogeneity of the population (Wirth, 1969).

to solidarity with Engels analysis of Manchester in the mid nineteenth century.

"The social solidarity which Engels noted was not generated by any superordinate 'moral order'. Instead, the miseries of the city were an inevitable concomitant to an evil and an avaricious capitalist system. Social solidarity was enforced through the operation of the market exchange system".

(Harvey, 1973: 133)

In Harvey's analysis, urbanism is determined by the forces of the market. Whether we consider social segregation or social solidarity it is necessary to look at the mechanisms through which different social classes and/or ethnic groups have access to the market. In the Chicago case, it can be argued that it was the coincidence between the timing of arrival of particular ethnic populations and the phases in the development of the city's economy that gave ethnicity such salience in organizing urban life. Poles, for example, populated the steel communities of South Chicago and Italians, the unskilled service economy of the centre city (Kornhauser, 1967, Nelli, 1970). From this point, which emphasises the fact that urban space is not neutral, it is possible to depart from the Chicago ecologist's theory of 'natural areas' towards an analysis of the structural levels of urbanization that are not immediately visible.

In his analysis of residential location, for example, Harvey uses a model of market integration in which both job and housing opportunities are combined and related to the technological change in industry necessitated by the process of capital accumulation. The relocation of industry and market centres forces people to change residence and, in order to do so, a certain command over economic resources is required. This command is usually dependent on the income people have as a result of their labour or ownership of property. However, in the city, the existence of

social classes creates inequality in access to space due to difference in income. Space is valued because it permits a style of life which accords with the status of high income groups. Thus, space acquires value because it is associated with the uses of the dominant classes and their demand for it creates scarcity. Since the relocation of the job market creates a necessity for new residential areas, this new need becomes confronted with the scarcity of space. In taking the city as a system in continuous transformation Harvey poses the question of how the mechanisms of the system operate and also asks what possibilities people can adopt to cope with these changes in the urban situation. Further, according to Harvey, in the market, those with financial resources and education are able to adapt more rapidly to changes in the urban system. Their differing abilities to respond to change are a major source in generating inequalities. Harvey's analysis is particularly useful in the Barcelona case because of the importance of speculative capital.

The Basis Of Order In The City

The issue of social heterogeneity raises, as we saw, the question of how people order their lives and the institutions, such as family and voluntary associations, that they use to face the problems, or seize the opportunities, of urban life. In Spain, one crucial factor conditioning the nature of the urban social order is the state. However, in contrast with the urban development of cities like Chicago (as with American cities in general) where there is little state intervention, cities of countries with "exceptional" states, like Spain, acquire specific characteristics that can not be explained either on "natural" grounds or simply by market forces. The analysis of urban organization has to take account of a

peculiar state organization which inflicts its character on the way people lead their urban lives. As a consequence of the negative characteristics of state intervention no alternative form of organization is available to the population, apart from privatization. The state neither provides social welfare nor allows those local institutions to develop which could provide alternative means of welfare. The suppression of political participation and representation has weakened local government. This results in little regulation of the urban economy and an anarchic land market, permitting political abuse by the dominant classes. Also, the determined monopoly of power exercised by the state leaves no basis for institutions other than those of kinship, which can mediate between the state and citizens.⁴ This situation contrasts with the case of American cities where state regulation of the economy is also limited, but where 'boss politics' are visible and popular demand-making takes place through such channels.

In Spain the industrial revolution and the urbanization of the larger industrial centres has taken place under a "dictatorial adjudicatory" style of political integration, that is a system of adjudication of resources from the central state to the localities which do not participate in decisions concerning their administration. In contrast with the "participatory and negotiatory" nature of political integration of countries such as England, in Spain the adjudicatory nature of the state has involved the "unplanned centralization" of the economy which is clearly manifested in the processes of urbanization (Terrades, 1981: 184). Thus, excessive

4. The Catholic Church is the only institution which has in certain historical periods, mainly in the 1940s and 1950s, played this role. However, the impact of the Church has been more ideological than political encouraging passivity and patriotic feelings (Giner, 1978).

And Sevilla

centralization has implied low development of local administration organization. I shall look at this briefly in Chapter Two and discuss it in more detail in Chapter Six.

The dictatorial style of government becomes, then, the result of the political crisis (often present in uneven^{ly} developed countries) in which the state takes the form that which Poulantzas calls "exception".⁵ (Poulantzas, 1976). This political form implies the active repression of workers unions, which at the same time affects the organization of the industrial economy as wages are kept at subsistence level and the purchasing capacity of workers remains low, (restricting the internal market).

5. State of "Exception" according to Poulantⁿzas "comes into being in order to remedy a characteristic crisis of hegemony within the power bloc, and in this bloc's relationship with the popular masses. It corresponds to a significant shift in the balance of forces. This shift or consolidation of hegemony (in Spain and Portugal towards the oligarchy: comprador capital/big landowners; in Greece in favour of comprador capital) occurs by way of a series of particular modifications which precisely congeal, at the very heart of the state, the balance of forces to which it originally corresponded. This balance of forces can only be institutionalized by way of far-reaching changes in the state apparatuses such as are characteristic of every exceptional regime: suppression of the traditional political representatives (political parties) of the fractions of the power bloc itself, elimination of the suffrage, shift of the dominant role in the state apparatuses to the repressive apparatus (in particular the armed forces), considerable strengthening of the state's 'bureaucratic' centralism, hierarchical ordering and duplication of real centres of power within the state, and of its transmission belts".

(Poulantzas, 1976: 92)

Consequently, the reproduction of the labour force is maintained at the level of subsistence until the internal contradictions of the state (divergent interests between the different factions of the bourgeoisie⁹ on one side and the increasingly manifested class struggle on the other) produces a transformation in the social and economic organization of the society in general and of the nature of the state organization in particular, towards a participatory kind. Thus, Spain in the 1960s experienced a fast transformation of the productive forces which translated into an improvement of the conditions in which the urban labour force was going to reproduce itself as a social class. This meant both economic prosperity and greater possibilities for political participation.

The peculiarity of the Spanish state lies not in the fact that it was totalitarian⁶ in the crucial periods of its industrial development, but in the "unplanned centralization" structure it created. By contrast with the state in Nazi Germany, Francoism did nothing to integrate the labour force within the state apparatus. It lacked an ideology and prevented any kind of political mobilisation (Linz, 1976). As a contrast to this situation Rimlinger has analysed the social insurance policy in Germany since Bismark, pointing to the integrative character of the traditional patriarchal state. In the Nazi period "labour and social policy became part of the general system of economic and political control". Thus, protection was legitimized

^{and Sevilla}
6. According to Giner: "Totalitarian regimes exercise their power from one single hegemonic centre which claims the complete monopoly of authority within their area of domination (...) In totalitarian states the sovereign corporation is not the state but the party. The relative (but considerable) autonomy of the party vis-a-vis other corporations (the army) and the state itself, but also the social classes, is one of the chief traits of totalitarianism". Also these states "engage in the institutionalised mobilisation of the population via parties, propaganda, local activist cells, schools, youth organizations, and every conceivable form of guided indoctrination and enforced active participation". (1978: 202).

by fulfillment of duties to the state: "social security would become a tool for the cultivation of loyalty to the party. The result would be the destruction of social rights as an attribute of citizenship and the creation of a system of paternalistic favour dependent on the zeal demonstrated in supporting the objectives of the ruling party" (Rimlinger, 1971, 133-134.).

In Spain, the state did not become a protector of the worker and, as a result, privatization was encouraged thus reinforcing the role of the family and of kinship groups. Immigrant workers particularly had to rely on their personal networks to cope with welfare needs, such as housing, schools and health care. Whereas in contemporary industrialised countries the role of the family has increasingly been supplanted by state measures (Gough, 1979), in Spain, as in most underdeveloped countries, there has been a tendency for government to ignore urban welfare problems (Mesa-Lago, 1978).

The peculiarities of the Spanish state make clear the importance of analysing the different ways in which the state operates as the concrete social organizational nexus of different groups in the actual development of cities. Urban areas, then, are critically important sites at which both economic and political integration are organized. In American cities, for example, the specific structural arrangements, (such as elected councillors) are present at the municipal level and provide an arena for antagonistic class interests (Friedland, Piven and Alford, 1978). However, in Spanish cities, until the last few years, only the interests of the dominant classes were expressed since intermediary institutions that could have integrated low and medium income groups were not allowed to develop. Alternatively the economic and political integration of these groups could

only take place through family and class, which form the basic social networks through which workers operate in the city.

The Urban Economy And Social Organization

It is now time to consider the economic processes that also play a part in urban social organization. An important basis for ordering urban relationships in a city like Barcelona is the pattern of industrialization in which small and large-scale industry is combined. In this situation, a segmentation of labour markets is likely to develop in which those who work in the large sector of industry tend to form a privileged stratum receiving higher wages. This working class differentiation has been considered a hindrance to workers solidarity and development of class conflict. However, a new line of argument has been drawn which claims that:

"If we are to talk of a working class, some kind of homogeneity is clearly implied either in terms of position in the labour market, or in term of life chances, or in terms of shared perceptions".

(Roxborough, 1981: 92)

In the same way, in a situation of rapid industrial growth, with high turnover rates homogeneous experience among workers is bound to develop as they move from one job into another and also through the occupational structure.

"The homogeneity of the working class has two important effects: within any given industry or labour force, it increases the worker's capacity to organize effectively against the employer. Secondly, within the working class as a whole, the degree of homogeneity will be one of the factors making for a rapid transmission of the lessons of industrial conflict in the leading sector to the rest of the economy".

(Roxborough, 1981: 93)

The important point made here is that working class solidarity can develop not only in the factory due to workers sharing production experiences but can also develop among the community of workers and their families through their life experience.

As in the case of industrial solidarity it is often assumed that only in the case of homogeneous working class settlements (e.g. traditional mining communities) will class solidarity be developed. Again it can be argued that in the volatile situations often found in rapidly growing cities, the common experiences of immigrants of similar social class are such as to create solidarity.

Thus, Halbwachs, following Durkheim, related the problem of social integration to the system of collective representations. In his analysis of the living conditions of the working classes in France and Germany in the first decade of the present century, he found that the elements which structured the culture of the working class could be seen in the patterns of consumption of that class.

According to him, unity of class consciousness originates in society within productive activity. However, social differentiation becomes more apparent in society when it is consuming than when it is producing. The fact that class consciousness does not develop further in the production sphere is in part due to the technical character of the division of functions among workers. The mechanisation of the work process and the fact that the worker becomes a commodity isolates workers from each other, since they do not participate in the collective representations of industrial production (1912: 98-125). Moreover, the quantitative character of labour

gives the workers a clear idea of their distinction from other social classes:

"They feel that their personal identity is of no account, that they are easily replaceable and they themselves become stereotypes whose, age, qualities, disposition and feelings have no value".

(1912: 111)

Thus, there is no working class culture in the work place because the workers are more in contact with things than with other workers and also because there is no social responsibility to share among them. Since decisions are made without their participation, there is no social base for an "active" social consciousness. Hence the problem of social integration is central to the study of consumption patterns as the worker has to be part of the collective representation of his class.

The Significance of Individual consumption

For Halbwachs, the collective consciousness existing in a society dictated the patterns of behaviour relevant to consumption practices. The motor of this behaviour was the existence of socially defined needs, whereas the object of and reasons for these needs were of two kinds: physical and social. In relation to these two points Halbwachs emphasised that: 1) consumption is part of the process of socialisation, 2) different classes satisfy different needs, which tend to be more social and less physical (organic) as the analysis moves from the worse off to the better off in society.

In the conceptualization of society as divided into social classes, Halbwachs concentrated his study on the working class, where he found that the importance placed on the satisfaction of organic needs was greater than

in other classes. He concluded that this was an indication of the workers being less integrated into society than the rest of the population, as the satisfaction of organic needs requires little adaptation to society in general. This conclusion was supported by the fact that the French and German workers he studied were isolated from other classes, due in large measure to the low quality of housing conditions in which they were forced to live.

"As consumers, the men acquire the various goods and satisfy their vital needs. But the needs can be considered from the less social to those whose satisfaction is accompanied by a greater collective feeling. If society is divided into social classes, it can be expected that the various needs will be satisfied or 'hierarchises' in different ways. This is an essential part of the study of these groups, that is, the determination of 'niveaux de vie' is in accordance with the unequal satisfaction and development of social and non social needs"

(1912: IX)

(My translation)

In Halbwachs' frame, needs evolve and adapt to new conditions as the market develops in accordance with the increasing division of labour and the different values created by the more sophisticated objects introduced into the market. An example is the substitution of physical exercise and psychological care for food care which occurs among those in the high income group. The classification of needs serves two purposes: one illustrates how the individual is forced by society to anticipate and calculate expenditures in advance, where those needs which are satisfied daily become distinguished from those which are satisfied over longer periods. The other helps to explain how consumption of certain goods can modify the intensity of social relations. For example, if expenditure on clothes is exaggerated among some working people, this would be detrimental to the

cohesion of the domestic group as less money would be spent in the household, and would favour the social group^s outside the the household. On the other hand, if expenditure is increased on food and on the home the consequences will be reversed. Thus, according to Halbwachs, the worker is always moving between two social spheres: the family and the social class to which he belongs. This characterization clearly implies that for him the study of the principle of needs calls for a consideration of these two spheres. The family becomes the link between the individual and the group, and between the structure of society and cultural values. The family also becomes the moral entity from which social rules are learned. On the other hand the household is considered as the main unit of analysis where the evolution of needs can be recognised.

Thus, Halbwachs' analysis operates on the basis of the dichotomy of the individual versus society, following Durkei^hm, and consumption for him implies that the individual has to conform to the habits of a class. Social classes are also defined by the forms of work undertaken and by their place in the organization of work in the production process. However, he does not establish a historical theory of social classes and their relations (Terrail, 1975: 176). He considers the conditions of work but does not take into account the fact that capitalist production and its evolution brings into existence conflicting social class relations, and therefore political organization will surely develop in the production context. On the same basis, he fails to see conflict appearing in the sphere of consumption as he is basically concerned with those items organized within the family unit. Areas which belong to the consumption process such as transport, schools etc. are not considered and therefore he neglects the capabilities of popular struggle for common 'needed' services in the

field of consumption. Hence, the consumption process for him is restricted to a double logic: the logic of work and the constraints that work imposes on the social life; and the logic of symbolic relations of distinction and identification between social classes.

It is probably the fidelity of his analysis to that of Durkheim that inhibits him from moving away from a dichotomy (individual-society/work-consumption) basis into a class conflict analysis in both economic and cultural levels of existence. Thus, the concept of "collective representations" does not provide the dynamic element required to understand changes in patterns of consumption among immigrant workers who have become part of the urban economy at different historical periods of industrial capitalist development.

However, Halbwachs' work is important to our analysis of working class organization in Barcelona because it shows how the common elements in consumption patterns of a social class create possibilities for social solidarity. Consumption-based solidarity can in turn give rise to political organization and class conflict, an aspect he failed to see but one that has been stressed within the Marxist tradition and that we shall discuss in the next section.

Consumption, on the other hand, is an important source of communication which can act to reduce the possibilities of social solidarity. This aspect of consumption has been emphasised by the anthropological approach of Mary Douglas. She bases her analysis on the central question of why people want goods. People want goods, according to Douglas, to gain power and control over their lives and environment and in order to do so they have

to compete amongst themselves.⁷ How does this competition takes place and what does it imply for our understanding of the social organization of consumption?

In order to answer these questions she practices "an exercise in structural analysis" in which goods are included as part of a system of communication based on exchange (of goods and information) through reciprocity rituals.

"the meaning conveyed along the goods channel are part and parcel of the meaning in the kinship and mythology, and all three are part of the general concern to control information".

(1979: 88)

In the process of consumption of goods people exchange feelings and views of the world in which they live, creating an information system, which is part of a wider system.

Within the information system, the essential function of consumption is its capacity to make sense, and goods are considered to carry meanings not by themselves but as a part of a whole. How is this capacity to make sense explained? It is basically by control of information, and by a coherent interpretation of this information, that people gain status in

7. Some problems appear to arise from the assumption that goods are neutral: is a house or a car a neutral object? It seems difficult to separate an object from its utility and from its historical construction. If we want to use a car as a means by which we can have status and acquire power within a group it will probably make a difference whether we are driving an old banger or the latest Rolls Royce. As Barthes has pointed out, objects have their own magic and, being the best messengers, they communicate both the intention of the owner and their own qualities (Barthes, 1976). These qualities would also involve an ideological construction (maybe a cultural value) of a particular historical period. Thus an objection to put to Douglas here is that her thesis involves a naturalisation of the material life; consumption patterns can be more complex than simply a means to achieve ends like control and power.

society as well as power, which is the ultimate aim. In this sense, in the system of communication the field of action is not neutral and the competitive character of consumption is emphasised. Competition takes place in a social system organized around material objects which are freely chosen through claiming the freedom of the individual in the market. It also occurs through a free exchange of those goods in a system where goods and personal services are freely given and returned. However, all this freedom makes it difficult for Douglas to explain the economic and social restrictions in which people usually have to operate. In order to solve this problem she places the individual within a system of social obligations. Thus she overshadows her liberal economic approach by using a social economic rationality rather than an individual rationality as economists do. Her aim is then to emphasise the social character of consumption.

The problem of why people want goods is apparently solved by transferring what has been considered from the individual point of reference into the social sphere of collectivity. However, I would like to suggest here that it is the apparent separation between the economic and social aspects of the production of needs that should be emphasised.

There exists the danger, otherwise, of giving a cultural explanation to the organization of the economy (both in production and consumption) and of naturalising the material life. In relation to this point Sahlins has pointed out that:

"the structure of the economy appears as the objectivized consequence of practical behaviour, rather than a social organization of things, by the institutional means of the market, but according to a cultural design of persons and goods".

(1979: 167)

Douglas, refusing to give a cultural explanation, finds the clue instead in technology (assuming the neutral character of goods), thus neglecting the social organization of things by the production process and the market.

Consumption is studied at two levels which are related by an analogy between the household and the national economy. From this analogy technology becomes the key element:

"By examining the frequency of various activities in the household production process, and by reducing the problems of seeking and controlling information to problems of synchronizing periodicities, the existing state of technology plays its proper part in defining the direct relationship between household and national production process" (p:20)

Technology with time and personal services are the measuring elements considered in order to conceptualize social classes. Out of this combination of elements a model is established of consumption periodicities, which locates the consumer in the social structure. The more sophisticated the technology people have at home, (e.g. dish-washer, washing machines, cooking technology) the less periodicity constrains (as these machines help to free time from tasks that have to be done periodically) which leaves free time to acquire information and control over the environment and therefore power and status.

Like Halbwachs, Douglas also integrates the individual in society by placing him or her within a social class. However, in contrast to Halbwachs, she sees classes as manifest in the consumption process, as she totally neglects the production sphere. There are three social classes into which Douglas divides society: small, medium and large scale. The small scale class lays stress on the money spent on food, the medium scale on technology and the large scale on information.

For the purpose of this thesis I shall concentrate on the small scale class (or as I have been referring to it above, the working class) which according to Douglas is characterized by high-frequency of low liquidity, that is relatively low incomes received usually every week or every month. This class also has low levels of technology in the household which forces its members to spend a long time on basic functions such as preparing meals, cleaning or even shopping (as they do not always have cars). These periodicity constraints are especially relevant for the understanding of women's position in the family, and in society as a whole. Also in research it helps explain why women are more likely to be part of the informal economy. They are confined to the home due to the high frequency of household tasks and therefore are less likely to be able to work full-time, become union members, and participate in politics. Thus, although the liberation of periodicity constraints in the household experienced by "medium and large scale" groups has not led to the participation of women from these groups in decision making activities, it has, in comparative terms, helped them to become involved in social and political activities (membership in voluntary organizations, counselling, social work and active party members).

This analysis is relevant to the understanding of the incorporation of immigrant workers into the urban economy because it stresses the way they are limited not only by their residential location and their income possibilities but also by the process of consumption that takes place within their own homes. In the case of Barcelona this factor is important since the household economy has been based on long hours of work by as many members as possible due to the relatively low wages. In this situation working class women have been restricted by the high frequency of the tasks

to be conducted in the household, which has reduced their wage-earning potential. This, in turn, has forced men to take a second job to provide the family with an income which would cover their needs and aspirations. The time spent in work has, arguably, made it more difficult for both men and women to associate and organize politically. Thus, their participation in the communication system is restricted in part by the periodicity constraints in the household. Also the system of obligation by which people exchange goods has, in the majority of cases, been limited (for workers) to the kinship networks, neighbours and members of their own class. Thus their contact with other sectors of society (e.g. other social classes which involves the Catalan natives) has been restricted. But why? What are the mechanisms that reinforce class differentiation and segregation?

Douglas defines social classes by using the concepts of "intrusion" and "exclusion" specifying what every group requires to be included. Exclusion takes place by making it difficult for people to become part of the information system, that is barriers are erected against entry, in order to consolidate control of opportunities. Those who have strong links in the communication system (e.g. networks within the administration, newspapers, educational system, banking etc.) are considered as being in the highest position, while those with weak links are considered poor in society. What happens to those who are excluded? They can opt to create their own limited rationality, as for example, some working people do by a refusal to enter their children for higher education, foreseeing their probable lack of success. Thus in defining social classes by intrusion and exclusion, it is assumed that each class will perform in its system of communication and individuals will compete to obtain the best position within their own class. Those located in the higher class will control the most important

and extensive information, and in some cases they will even produce the information. While the poor will be limited to the information system of their group and neighbourhood ... Thus the control of information and resources associated with consumption processes can limit incorporation of the lower income groups (usually immigrants) into the urban milieu.

An important objection to this analysis is the fact that Douglas wants to restore the social aspect of consumption without considering fully what is implied in social consumption. Thus, consumption is not only social because it involves a system of communication and social exchange e.g. reciprocity rituals, but also, and perhaps mainly, because it affects the social organization of material life. How? The development of needs and aspirations in the urban economy are best understood by observing not only the small-scale consumption needs of a family or a class, but also their collective needs and aspirations. The requirements of the modern urban economy, such as transport, an industrial infrastructure and schools, involve a collective organization of needs since they cannot be easily met on an individual basis. With the expansion and sophistication of the urban structure important changes take place which affect, and are also affected by, the evolving standards by which society in general, and one class in particular, is reproduced. Thus, the origin of these changes is ultimately to be found in the changes taking place in the organization of production - the concentration of resources, power and labour brought about by the industrial revolution and further industrial expansion.

The problem with Douglas' analysis and that of the neo-classicists, is that they neglect the class conflict that develops in this process. This conflict interferes with the equilibrium on which they base their

analysis, as well as with the supposed freedom of the individual in the market. This laissez-faire approach had its origin in classical political economy which concentrated on the laws of capital accumulation, where consumption was seen as a relatively unimportant aspect. Although Adam Smith defined consumption as "the sole end and purpose of all production" (1925: 159) he was mainly interested in the aspects of consumption which ought to be attended to by the interests of the producer in the economy.

Thus, the basic problem for the classical economists was that of economic development, and particular interest was shown in technological progress as promoted by the extension of the division of labour. The two principles underlying explanations of the economy were: 1] the freedom of the individual to make economic decisions in a free and fully competitive market; and 2] that the basic source of economic progress lies in the way in which individuals strive to improve their economic status or their rank in society.

Two important criticisms of these formulations indicate the relevance of analysing collective as well as individual consumption. The first was by Marx in his critique of bourgeois economics in which he pointed to the importance of the labour power reproduction. However, though Marx placed great emphasis on the social relations of production, the process where labour creates value, he neglected the area in which labour has to reproduce itself. Therefore he gave little attention to the area of consumption. The second criticism opposed the neo-classicist's notion of a given equilibrium. The liberal economist Keynes argued that the equilibrium of the market depended on the level of employment which was

in turn dependent on the level of demand. The level of demand contained two elements: 1] the propensity to invest; and 2] the propensity to consume.

Keynes' analysis of the propensity to consume took into consideration factors which he designated "objective" and "subjective". For him, the objective factors were changes in income and capital value, as well as changes in the rates of interest and fiscal policies. Subjective factors were those attributed to "motives" such as "enjoyment", "generosity", and "ostentation", which he construed as positive factors or "virtues" which encouraged consumption. Keynes also considered social circumstances such as education and future necessities as part of the list of subjective factors. He argued that these latter factors changed slowly over long periods of time, while short-term changes in consumption were dependent upon changes in the rate of earned incomes, rather than upon changes in the propensity to consume on a given income.

When the Keynesian consumption function, in which each individual's consumption behaviour is carried out independently, was taken up by Katona (1960), he inverted the previous argument to say that consumer attitudes initiated changes in economic indicators. The development of this particular viewpoint took place against the background of a boom in mass consumption in the U.S. and Europe. The emphasis on the individual (his freedom in the economy, according to one school, and his individual motivation according to the other) forced economists to seek support from psychological models in order to explain consumer behaviour in the market. Hence, observers of mass consumption came to emphasise the control exerted by the mass media over individual attitudes.

However, parallel to this formulation, was Veblen's conception of consumption as being structured by the differentiation between social classes and the imitation that results from these differences. Duesenberry (1949) confronted the Keynesian consumption function arguing that: the differences in patterns of consumption between societies and the similarities within them required that consumption behaviour be regarded as a social phenomenon.

In the post-war period, under the Keynesian theory, state spending was encouraged in order to generate aggregate demand in the economy. This was in part achieved through the expansion of the social wage and also through the political settlement between those representing capital and those representing organized labour. This negotiation, between opposing class interests, which facilitated the economic boom of the 1960s, brought into the open the transition from the concept of a purely individual wage to that of a social wage in advanced capitalist economies (Gough, 1979). Nevertheless, a strong resistance to an analysis that might bring back the 'embarrassing' labour theory of value maintained the neo-classicists in their emphasis on microeconomic foundations. (Among other things, this helped them, for example, to discredit theories of unemployment developed by Marx (Showler and Sinfield, 1981: 30)).

Collective Consumption

We have seen that a development of thinking in economic as well as in sociological and anthropological perspectives has lead to the analysis of consumption in terms of social classes rather than on individual lines as did some of the original formulations, mainly within the economic field.

What these approaches still do not explain is how and why new "needs" and aspirations appear and develop. The only exception is, perhaps, Halbwachs, which emphasised the fact that "needs" evolved but who also as a result of his Durkheimian approach, could not explain why this happened.

The criticism to the positions of Halbwachs and Douglas comes from the Marxist contribution which claims that needs evolve within a process of relations of production through the dynamic: needs-struggle-satisfaction of needs (Preteceille, 1975). This assumption is based on Marx's formulation on the development of the material life (production)⁸, which according to him is bound to the development of needs and their satisfaction: "the satisfaction of the first needs (the action of satisfying, and the instruments of satisfaction which have been acquired) leads to new needs; and this production of new needs is the first historical act" (1974: 49). However, Marx's emphasis on the laws of capital accumulation directed his analysis of consumption on a rather functional line in relation to the

8. This formulation was ^(expounded) by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology and later on considered by Marx in Capital. A study of the theory of needs in Marx has been done by Agnes Heller, Teoria de las necesidades en Marx, 1978.

production of value and capital accumulation.⁹

Understanding long term changes in consumption raises the issue of social reproduction, which gives an explanation of the way that collective consumption has been important in the organization of complex urban economies.

The important issue that remains then to be considered is that of the social consumption required by the reproduction of labour power.

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9. Marx considered capital accumulation as the main problem and therefore emphasised the productive consumption of the worker. He did not develop a framework in the area in which the worker "belongs to himself" (individual consumption), but his main focus was on the area in which the labour force is transformed into labour-power.

According to Marx:

"The labourer consumes in a twofold way while producing, he consumes by his labour the means of production, and converts them into products with a higher value than that of the capital advanced. This is productive consumption. It is at the same time consumption of his labour power by the capitalist who bought it. On the other hand the labourer turns the money paid to him for his labour-power into means of subsistence: this is his individual consumption".

The reproduction of labour was considered by him only as far as it was necessary for the reproduction of capital.

"The individual consumption of the labourer, whether it proceed within the workshop or outside it, whether it be part of the process of production or not, forms therefore a factor of the production and reproduction of capital. The fact that the labourer consumes his means of subsistence for his own purpose, and not to please the capitalist, has no bearing on the matter ... the maintenance and reproduction of the working-class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital" (Capital, Vol. I: 584).

Marx' disregard of the aspects involved in the individual sphere of consumption may be, in part, due to the fact that workers had very little access to consumption products at the time of his analysis of industrial society.

As capitalism has developed, a better equipped labour force has been required both in terms of skills and health in order to maintain high levels of productivity. This could only be done by developing some areas of consumption which private capital is usually not prepared to pay for, as they seem to be unproductive to the individual capitalist. These areas of consumption, which have to be provided on a collective basis, have created a new source of conflict in the context of complex urban conditions. It is perhaps in this field that the most important contribution to the analysis of consumption has been made by the Marxist schools. They have stressed that the instruments for the satisfaction of needs and aspirations in the sphere of consumption are not only social and economic, but also political.

However, in advanced capitalist countries in which the state takes responsibility for the provision of collective services, the contradiction between the needs of capital and the needs of social reproduction is ambiguous. As Gough has argued:

There is no necessity to assume that the growth of the welfare state will inevitably reduce the quantity of surplus value in the capitalist sector and thus inhibit accumulation and growth. Instead, one can argue that a greater share of wage and income is channelled via the state, some to return to working families, some to the dependent population and some to finance other areas of state expenditure.

(1979: 117)

According to Gough the problem lies in the conflict between the requirements of a capitalist economy as mediated by state expenditure, and those requirements which are demanded by the working class and increasingly by some professional sectors within the middle class. That is, the class balance of forces within capitalist society will, in the last instance,

determine to what extent state expenditure is helping or inhibiting capital accumulation.

Castells argues that social organization in advanced capitalist cities manifests the basic contradiction between capital accumulation needs and the need to socially reproduce labour power. Therefore, the urban question refers to the organization of the means of collective consumption required for such reproduction. To him, the urban question is viewed thus:

"In advanced capitalism it expresses the fundamental contradiction between, on the one hand, the increasing socialisation of consumption (as a result of the concentration of capital and the means of production), and on the other hand, the capitalist logic of the production and distribution of its means of consumption, the outcome of which is a deepening crisis in this sector at the same time as popular protest demands an amelioration of the collective material conditions of daily existence.

(1978: 3)

The urban crisis is important because it shows the link between the urban question and the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. It also shows the implications at the political level, since it can question class power in society. However, consumption has increasingly been socialised in those sectors of the economy which, although needed for the reproduction of labour-power, are unprofitable for private capital. Moreover, the development of class struggle and workers' power has permitted the expansion of popular aspirations and needs, which increasingly have been met by the state.

"The socialisation of consumption is thus accompanied by a growing organisation and mobilisation of the popular masses in relation to the collective means of consumption and the apparatuses charged with their management, particularly at a municipal level. These demands are

expressed, on the one hand, through the union movement organised at the place of production, and on the other hand by new means of mass organisation which have gradually constituted a complete network of movements in the sphere of collective consumption".

(1978: 41)

Why does the socialisation of consumption involve class political organisation? According to Castells it is a consequence of the tension that develops in the allocation of resources in which the interests of production and capital accumulation are dominant. The fact that the capitalist interests are not prepared to pay for the costs of unproductive consumption creates a crisis in this sphere. Thus, class conflict can also be identified outside the factory in the distribution of "indirect wages" in the form of housing, education and other collective services.

Urban Class Conflict

The expression of conflict around urban issues is manifested in the rise and development of urban social movements. An urban social movement is defined as:

"A system of practices resulting from the articulation of a conjuncture of the system of urban agents and other social practices in such a way that its development tends objectively towards the structural transformation of the urban system or towards a substantial modification of the power relations in the class struggle, that is to say, in the last resort, in the power of the state".

(1977a:263)

The state, according to Castells, is an apparatus which results from the crystallisation of the hegemony of successive dominant classes and therefore exercises a series of functions essential to the reproduction of the existing social order. However, at the same time, it is affected by the class struggle between the dominant and dominated classes (1978: 58).

In this context, the social movements are, in some cases organizations, and in others mere social protests that develop against "the institutionally dominant social logic" (1978: 93). The effect these social movements can exercise on the structure of power in the city depends, to a certain extent, on whether they are political, economic or ideological.

Three types of urban movements are differentiated by Castells according to their emphasis on economic, political or ideological aspects of the urban conflict. These are: a] urban trade-unionism, predominantly working-class organization centred around immediate demands concerning the reproduction of the labour force, e.g. housing; b] urban political movement, or multi-class political organisation that, although centred around demands related to the reproduction of the labour force, also questions the logic of the urban system, and c] urban ideological movements, usually organized by students with an emphasis on environmental problems. Which of these three kinds of movements has a stronger impact in the reorganization of the urban system?

"It will be tempting to assume a correlation between these three types and to emphasise the production of urban, political and ideological effects according to whether or not they would be supportive of the dominated classes. But such a coherence does not exist. It is true, however, that there does exist a tendency for purely protest struggles to correlate with positive urban effects, for political struggles to be favourable to the dominated classes, and for ideological struggles to have the effect of reproducing the dominant ideology".

(1978: 146)

Thus the political urban movement tends to be one which may change the power relations in local institutions. An example of this movement is illustrated in the case of the Italian urban social movement, which encouraged the decentralisation of power from the state towards more popularly controlled local institutions. However, Castells does not wish to commit himself as

he concludes that:

"the analysis of urban struggles must consider social relations in each conjuncture, and, moreover, the emergence of these social movements can only be understood through the study of their articulation to class political relations and to a precise historical situation".

(1978: 146)

This remark leaves the concept of urban social movements open not only to particular historical and geographical situations, but also to criticisms concerning its value, as we shall see later.

Castells analysis is relevant to the concerns of this thesis in as far as it demonstrates the contradictions between the needs of capital and the needs for the social reproduction of the labour force at a given time. As we shall see in Barcelona, capital creates disorder in urban space in order to make quick profits, while industrial capital keeps wages at a low level. In this context, labour has been reproduced at a low cost and the role of the state is basically that of maintaining order and repressing any political organization among workers.

This situation has been reported in other developing countries such as Brasil (Kowarick, 1979: 29-53) and referred to as the "logic of disorder". In the urban space the "logic of disorder" involves a cheap reproduction of the labour force by leaving the construction of collective services such as housing, to the workers themselves, often helped by family members and friends, or by providing other services by the state in an inadequate way and at a low cost. These services which tend to connect the centre with the periphery of the city also allow the development of intermediate areas by providing the infra-structure indirectly, e.g. transport facilities.

Moreover, the development of shanty-towns at the outskirts of the city in Barcelona, as in Sao Paulo, has involved the transformation of rural property values into urban property values in the intermediate areas. When it has been convenient for landowners to do so they have removed workers from inner-city or intermediate areas to peripheral ones. This is helped by state policies (Sola-Morales, 1976).

However, the main problem is that of class conflict. In the 1970s advanced capitalist countries have been experiencing a "fiscal crisis of the state" due to the conflict between social classes which has involved a slowing of economic growth and a greater strength of working-class organization. This conflict (class conflict) had been absorbed by the state which had to increase its expenditure in the economic field, helping to restructure industry and also had to increase expenditure in social costs (i.e. unemployment and youth employment schemes). In practice the problem has been expressed in terms of who must pay for the increasing state expenditure.

"In the real world the final burden of taxation is determined by the ebb and flow of class conflict, and will vary with the economic and political strength of the contending classes. Simultaneously the scale and direction of state expenditure, including that on the social services, is also largely influenced by the class balance of forces".

(Gough, 1979: 126)

As argued by O'Connor (1973) it is the price of economic growth that forces the state to maintain social harmony through expenditure in social services. And, in this sense, the growth of the state sector becomes indispensable to the growth of monopoly capital and to total production. Both O'Connor and Gough have pointed out that the centralization of the state in advanced capitalist countries has helped the

accumulation of capital. However, the state is forced to meet the demands of those who suffer most the "costs" of this accumulation.

As pointed out above, Castells has emphasised the development of the demands of collective services by "popular" classes as being an extended expression of class conflict in modern cities. His general conceptualisation of urban conflict, however, has attracted a series of criticisms (see Saunders, 1979: 103-136).

Dunleavy (1980: 52-55), for example, has also pointed out the ambiguities of the concept of "collective consumption". He uses the following criteria; the concept applies to those collective services which do not involve

- a] a non-consumption activity, such as transfer payments (e.g. social security);
- b] commodity consumption (consumer durables and ownership),
- c] commercial services (hotels), d] publicly managed commercial services (gas and electricity supplies). He points out that:

"It is important to note that services which are marketed by state agencies but which are paid for in part by taxes (such as urban public transport or many cultural facilities) are included in collective consumption. Equally services where non-market criteria determine access, but which are run on a quasi-commercial basis with most payments by users (such as public housing) are included in the concept".

(1980: 53)

According to Saunders the basic problem arises not from the concept of "collective consumption" itself but from the dogmatic way in which it has been used in order to explain the development of urban conflict. For example, in the field of housing, two important objections to Castells'

definitions stem from Saunders' analysis of the housing sector in Croydon:

- 1] housing is provided by private capital in a very large proportion,
- 2] even those who live in council housing do not organize a protest movement in the face of a crisis.

The absence of an urban movement in this case is due to the particular development of political organization over consumption in England. This, in turn, must be related to the characteristics of the welfare state and to the level of legitimacy that the state has acquired among the population as provider of certain types of services. Spain, as we shall see, provides a contrasting example in which the role of the state in urbanization has encouraged the development of urban conflict. Thus in the context of urban conflict in England there is an element of disassociation between the local, the regional and the national levels of the economy that obscures class analysis. At the local level for example, collective services may seem to be purely an issue of local tax, rather than of the distribution of wealth in the society as a whole as determined by private capital.

A second criticism of Castells refers to his analysis of the emergence of urban social movements. According to Saunders, who follows Pickvance, how a social base is transformed into a social force remains problematic as does the somewhat mechanical process by which a "structural contradiction" plus an "organizationally competent political leadership" prevents the movement from becoming reformist (1979: 118). Moreover, other means of gaining control over resources such as negotiation have to be considered, according to Saunders, as elements of political success. However, this last point may be considered on the basis of how far the negotiation involves a transformation in the relations of power within the state.

Experience And Class Consciousness

I would like to take further these criticisms of Castells' conceptualization of urban social movements by suggesting that a basic question which has not been elucidated in relation to this question is why people organize around certain services? What is it that shapes particular needs, and what makes men and women organise and demand those services that are "needed"? In order to explore these questions I will consider the approach developed by E.P. Thompson in which experience shapes peoples' economic aspirations and cultural values. According to Thompson:

"The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms".

(1963: 9-10)

It is this perspective, which emphasizes the fact that new experiences create new values, that can help us understand what shapes 'needs'. For example, immigrant workers in Barcelona had a tradition of class-consciousness based on being landless workers and wanting to collectivise land within an anarchist ideology. By the 1970s, these workers organized themselves, with a Communist party leadership, around the demand for collective services such as housing, education and health. How has their ideology of 'total change' been changed into a kind of planning ideology? Why did they organize themselves around educational issues, demanding more schools, and not around the issue of transport? In an objective situation in which both services are required for the reproduction of the labour force, it is important to know which one generates class conflict and why. Also the conditions under which social reproduction takes place are not determined by some functionally specified "interest" of capital or of the dominant

class but have to be won or lost in particular conflicts and struggles.

Thus, against the functionalist explanation, it has been argued:

"Labour is always reproduced with historically specific habits and 'needs' and within a social and cultural world whose character is never exhausted by the functional requirements of capital".

(Johnson, 1979: 229)

How and why do these new habits appear and how do they become the issues at stake in the urban question? What has changed or needed to change in order to produce these new habits or these aspirations for the future. Two basic changes can be observed: one in the mode of production and the productive relations involved, the other in the experiences of people working and living in this mode of production. As Thompson argues:

"What changes, as the mode of production and productive relations change, is the 'experience' of living men and women. And this experience is sorted out in class ways, in social life and in consciousness, in the assent, the resistance, and choices of men and women."

(1979: 21)

In the city, the social consciousness of workers as a class develops from their own experiences and from the possibilities offered to them by the urban milieu. It also develops, however, from the perception of the possibilities other people have in the same milieu. Whether they (the workers) "assent" to or "resist" as a class the social differentiation the city exhibits - this will determine the character of urban class conflict. Class consciousness, I will argue, following Thompson, rises from "social being" and in this sense it is by looking at the way working men and women have organized their lives in the city e.g. in the household economy, that we can begin to understand why the urban

social movements develop in the way they do.

It can be argued, on the other hand, as Pickvance does (1977) that the fact that the urban movement is not uniform in terms of class origin can pose problems for working-class political organization. Also, we know from Castells that, in fact, the more effective urban struggles are those whose social organization is multi-class. However, we also know that in contemporary advanced capitalist societies the union movements are also becoming multi-class. In the end, it can be argued that what is required is a new definition of class and using Thompson's words "class is defined by men (I shall add women too) as they live their own history, and in the end, this is its only definition" (1963: 11)

Finally, this approach is also relevant to the understanding of culture as the result of peoples' shared experiences:

"Class happens when some men, as a result of common experience (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves ..."

(Thompson, 1963: 9)

Likewise Foster argues:

"The patterns of culture that defined any group's identity are not arbitrary but concrete, based upon particular historically determined levels of consumption".

(1974: 5)

The value of Foster's definition lies in the emphasis he puts on concrete experiences in shaping culture. Culture is not abstract but concrete and therefore more closely related to class and class conflict than the large literature on the subject has wanted to recognize (see Thompson, 1961). The analysis of culture relates, I will argue, to the process of social

reproduction (levels of subsistence + levels of skill + ideology) which, in turn, relates to the patterns of consumption. These patterns of consumption are manifested both in the organization of the household economy (individual consumption) and in the organization of social services (collective consumption). However, this is not simply the result of the needs of capital, but the outcome of a complex development of social, economic and political forces (e.g. the characteristics of state organization) through class conflict.

This kind of analysis is particularly relevant to the Barcelona case, where immigrant workers had to adapt to a mature industrial society that exhibited a strong national cultural identity, but that had also been shaped by the peculiarities of the Spanish state. Given the lack of commitment of the Spanish state to urbanization, social relations among immigrant workers have been based on strong family cohesion, kinship ties and neighbourhood solidarity. Do the experiences developed in this context reinforce or weaken urban political organization? Or do these family-based consumption practices reinforce individualism and restrict the chances to be part of a wider information system which brings power and control over resources (as Douglas suggests). What are the effects of the privatization of collective services, encouraged by the Spanish state, on political organization? How have the 'starved' and radical landless workers incorporated themselves in the urban economy as consumers? Has this, as Halbwachs argued been an area in which their collective consciousness has developed.

Social consciousness, I will argue, in the Barcelona context has been more the result of adapting old practices to new situations than of a

sharp integration into a more developed industrial society. Nor has this consciousness been shaped by state institutions (welfare state). However, the dynamics of economic growth and social change have also brought about cultural changes.

"there is no such a thing as economic growth which is not, at the same time, growth or change of a culture; and the growth of social consciousness, like the growth of a poet's mind, can never, in the last analysis, be planned".

(E.P. Thompson, 1967: 97)

Thus, in this thesis, I shall be concerned with the way in which the social characteristics of the immigrant labour force have interacted with the changing conditions of the urban economy in Barcelona and with the peculiarities of its growth, such as the "logic of disorder", the 'exceptional state' etc. This incorporation of immigrant workers into an industrial society, which constitutes the general issue, is complicated by their 'incorporation' into 'Catalan culture'. This, in turn, can be expected to have important effects on their social consciousness.

Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the basic issues and concepts that will guide the thesis. The concept of uneven development locates the context in which the urbanization of Barcelona has been taking place. One of the important aspects of the rapid urban growth of Barcelona has been the cultural heterogeneity brought about by the national context within which the city developed. We have seen the relevance of the Chicago School analysis to this type of growth but we have also seen its limitations. I have argued that both market forces and the peculiarities of state organization are basic to the understanding of the class organization of

immigrant workers in the city.

We can look at this organization both in the spheres of production and consumption and see common characteristics in the life experience of these workers and their families. However, as Halbwachs suggests, it is in the consumption processes that class differentiation and social consciousness of belonging to a particular class is most clearly manifested. I have examined some ways of exploring class organization through his work and through that of Douglas. But their approaches are not adequate to explain the complex processes observed in the city, such as the organization of those areas of consumption that affect class organization, but that are not organized individually. The understanding of the collective organization of consumption, such as health care, education, and housing requires other elements of analysis to which state organization is particularly relevant. The analyses of Gough, Castells, O'Connor and Saunders highlight these issues, which are basic to the understanding of political organization in the city. However, the analysis of class conflict and urban conflict, I have argued must be looked at, not only from a perspective which emphasises the contradiction between the interests of capital and the aspirations and needs of those who suffer most the 'costs' of capital accumulation, but also from the perspective of workers' experiences. In doing so, we are closer to the understanding of how needs emerge among workers, how their class consciousness develops and how their culture is formed and transformed.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

IN SPAIN: THE EXAMPLE OF BARCELONA

The uneven development of the Spanish economy in general has shaped industrialization in the country and Barcelona in particular. The nature of uneven development in Spain explains, I will argue, the pattern of urbanization and urban social organisation. In this context, it is important to examine the attitude of the Spanish state to industrial development and the difficulties which arose from the sharp division of labour between the different regions in the country.

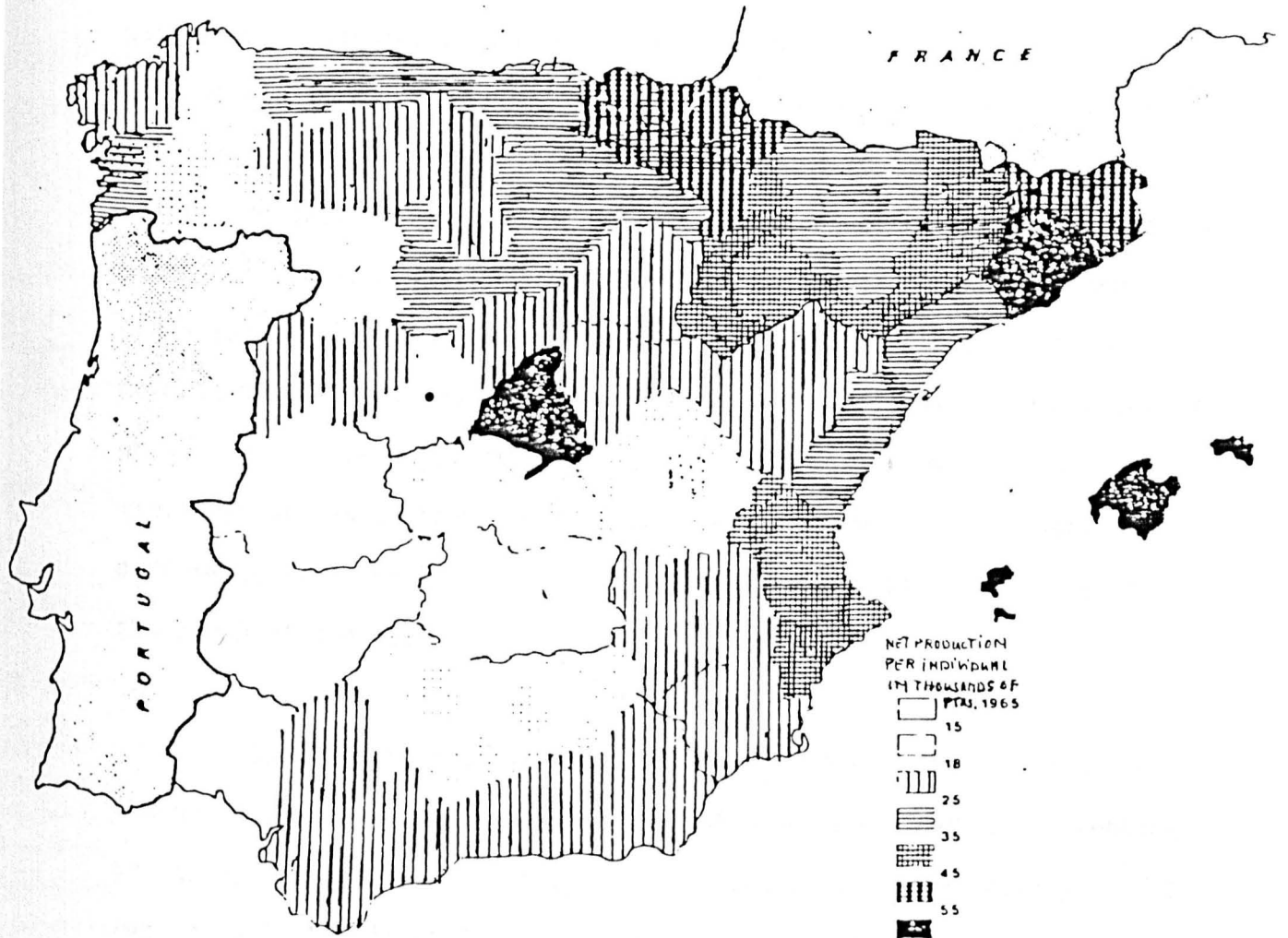
I shall take the Russian case as explained by Trotsky as a model which provides guide lines for the understanding of the Spanish case. According to Trotsky:

"Unevenness, the most general law of the historic process, reveals itself most sharply and complexly in the destiny of the backward countries. Under the whip of external necessity their backward culture is compelled to make leaps. From the universal law of unevenness thus derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of combined development by which we mean a drawing together of different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms".

(1979: 27)

This law of combined development has generally been explored in recent years in the rural context (Löwy, 1981). However, I will consider the problem in the urban context. The cases of Russia and Spain have certain similarities: a] slow economic development; b] economic backwardness; c] a massive rural sector and yet also

Map of Spain



d] some modern industrial centres.

Urbanization that takes place in countries characterized by uneven development will take a different pattern from that of evenly developed countries such as England. Uneven development in Russia gave rise to particular characteristics in the organization of the working class, which were the result of the massive immigration of workers into cities, who without a tradition of urban life formed a large volatile group. This "fresh" proletariat learned the first steps in the political struggle while concentrated in "colossal" enterprises and organised on illegal grounds (Trotsky, 1979: 55). This meant the formation of strong and radical political organizations which ultimately presented an alternative to the established order. Though important similarities can be found in the Spanish case, one no less important difference from the Russian situation has to be considered: that is, the regional question.

In Spain, some regions such as Catalonia experienced a progressive change in the economy parallel to that of developed countries, creating the basis for a more economically and politically mature society. The result in Trotsky's words, of "a combining of separate steps", namely, the "fresh" proletariat from backward Spain with the longer established Catalan workers created a non-homogeneous working class in Barcelona.

In order to explain the peculiarities of working class organization in Barcelona I shall consider those elements of analysis present in the selected model. These elements are: the agrarian structure; the process of industrialization and working class consciousness.

For the purpose of this thesis I will divide the modern economic history of Spain into three basic periods, which I have characterised according to the level of industrial development; competitive industrial capital stage (1850s-1940s), transitional stage (1950s), monopoly capital stage (1960 onwards.)

The Uneven Development Of The Spanish Economy: The Agrarian Question
And The Process Of Industrialisation

Spain as an example of semi-peripheral development,¹ presents a contrast to the transition to industrial capitalism that took place in core countries, such as England.

"if, in England, the Industrial Revolution could be sustained by overseas expansion, in Spain Catalan Industrial growth had to face an imperial, and, also, domestic decay. The artificiality of the Spanish state - an international bridge serving European oligarchies and dominating 'nations' which were unequally developed in all features of their economic and social structure - exploded in the nineteenth century in colonial losses, civil wars and revolutionary upsurges. There was added to the basic class struggle the contradictions of a state in which any pact or alliance did not make explicit the positions of the different bourgeois fractions within an heterogeneous country".

Terrades (1978: 67)

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1. According to Wallerstein in the early modern period the "world system" became differentiated into core countries, such as England, semi-peripheral countries which specialized in commerce and in organizing the production of primary products, such as Spain, and peripheral regions, such as Latin America. An important characteristic of semi-peripheral countries is, Wallerstein argues, the weakness of its domestic bourgeoisie. This lies in the fact that they do not control the majority of sectors of the national economy and they are not well articulated in their class interests. (Wallerstein, 1974; 1976).

In England, several reforms had taken place from the sixteenth century: 1] land from the Church and the nobility was put on the market; 2] a process of proletarianization was encouraged by the Poor Law and enclosures of agricultural land; 3] emigration from the agricultural areas to the urban centres was taking place; 4] an alliance developed between the land-owning class and the merchants (Hill, 1969). These conditions were not present in Spain.

In Spain, the attempts to transform the agrarian structure in order to develop industrialization on a home market basis failed. Agrarian reform, started with the first Disentailment Law in 1798, never achieved the purpose of creating a real transformation of the social and economic structure in the interests of industrial expansion. Nadal (1975: 54-86) has partially explained this, arguing that the reform was not socially but fiscally and politically motivated. In order to pay off part of the national public debt, and foreign debt, the liberal government nationalised and put on the market land from the Church and communal property. This process extended for a century owing to the constant changes of government between liberal and conservative, and to the fact that the latter group was against it. As a result of the system of payment by which it was carried out, a concentration of property took place in the hands of those who already possessed large estates, consolidating the "latifundia" system and creating a large number of landless workers.

This last element can be considered one of the main differences with Russia where, whilst facing a similar agrarian situation, the country remained populated with peasants with "hungry allotments" while those who lost or sold their land became part of the urban proletariat. However,

there was not such a massive population of landless workers remaining in the countryside as happened in Spain. This proved to be of crucial importance in the development of the Anarchist Movement in rural Spain.

In Spain, according to Fontana (1973: 150), the transition from feudalism to capitalism was characterised by a compromise between the state and the aristocracy, and controlled by this class, bringing about a reform from above and making possible the adaptation of agriculture to the needs of a modern economy, but without challenging the hegemony of the old classes. However, even this goal was not fully accomplished. The consequences of this process were the opposite of what was desirable for the development of industry. In most parts of the country (with the exception of Catalonia, Valencia and some areas of Aragon) landowners were not very dynamic in increasing productivity and reinvestment to improve the conditions of land exploitation (e.g. technology). In areas where there was dynamism, for example Valencia, a transfer of capital from the urban economy towards the rural took place in the shape of investment in irrigation and fruit production. The process of proletarianization was not encouraged by an extensive demand for industrial labour (Nadal, 1975: 83). However, other reasons such as the atrophy of capital and the stagnation of the national market have to be considered as causes for the relatively limited expansion of industry.

a.) 1850s-1940s. Competitive industrial stage.

In this period, several factors mitigated against the achievement of a modern industrial society. The economic factors were: the failure to carry out an agrarian reform at a national level that

could have created a satisfactory demand for industry; the alienation of mineral resources by foreign exploitation; mistaken investment in railways rather than in industry by speculative capital, and, at the same time, the lack of an adequate system of transport owing to state incompetence in national planning; and the existence of a limited national market (Tortella, 1975). This last factor interacted with a traditional social structure. The great majority of the working population was employed in agriculture, with very low wages (Table 2.1), in a latifundia system, or were the owners of an unproductive small plots of land within a minifundia system.

Politically, liberal attempts from above to transform society met resistance from landed oligarchs and financiers to the formation of an agricultural "middle class" and also from the landless workers who believed in the need for "total transformation".² Thus, the social structure of the country has for many years, been characterised by strong class differences. In 1900 the division of social classes was more or less as follows: 81 per cent were living from agriculture and from industrial proletarian wages. This proportion corresponded to an economically active population of five million, of which only 918,048 were industrial workers. In contrast, 5.5 per cent were owners either in industry or agriculture; and 13.5 per cent could have been considered members of the middle class which had a total of 800,000 workers (Lacomba,

2. Anarchism in rural Spain, particularly in Andalusia, had a strong millenarian characteristic as every new movement was thought to bring a complete change in the organization of society. The alternative model of society was collectivism, in which all property and instruments of labour were to be held in common.

Table 2.1

Agricultural wages according to regions in 1850

<u>Regions</u>	<u>day wage</u>
Catalonia	12 reales
Andalusia	2 "
Old Castile	3-5 "
New Castile	4-7 "
Galicia	4-5 "

Source: C.N. Keller, "Le Federalism en Espagne", unpublished Ph.D. thesis in J.A. Lacomba, Introducción a la historia económica de la España contemporánea, Madrid, 1972: 122.

1972: 232-34).

This condition of economic backwardness and sharp social and regional differences continued until the 1950s, with the exception of two historical conjunctures, the First World War and the Primo de Rivera dictatorship.

As a consequence of the First World War, there was in Spain a general expansion of the export market and a growth in import substitution industries between 1914 and 1919. In this period both metallurgical industries and mining industries began to develop, and the necessary infrastructure, both railways and mercantile facilities, were expanded (Roldan et al. 1973). This continued during the period in the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, between 1923 and 1930, when the index of production in mining experienced a substantial increase (Table 2.2).

The Primo de Rivera dictatorship developed stimulated state intervention mainly in a network of roads and railways affecting the expansion of industry, and speculation in urban property grew considerably in the largest cities. A tourist industry was even encouraged in the north of the country, a project that suffered from lack of foreign demand and was to be re-awakened in the 1960s with Franco.

However, Primo de Rivera did not try to alter in any way the existing social structure in the agricultural sector. On the question of agrarian reform he planned to resettle "colonies" in the latifundia areas of the south of the country, but without confronting the large land-owners. In the end, agricultural policies were dictated to their advantage (Harrison, 1978).

Table 2.2

Index of mining and industrial production in Spain, 1922-30

<u>Years</u>	<u>Index</u>
1922	84.7
1923	102.5
1924	117.9
1925	121.1
1926	133.7
1927	132.8
1929	141.9
1930	144.0

Source: Velarde Fuentes, J: Politica económica de la Dictadura, Madrid, 1968, p.108; in Lacomba, 1972: 470.

The two main problems with which the Primo de Rivera regime was confronted, agrarian reform and the Catalan question³, were left unresolved when in 1931 the Republicans returned to power as a result of a cooperative agreement between Catalan Republicans, Spanish Republicans, Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists.

Out of the complexity of the politics of the Second Republic it is notable that every reforming enterprise of the Republic was inhibited by lack of money and the persistent gap between the industrial centres and the backward countryside. In 1934 the Bank of Spain argued, that

"if in some sectors the Spanish economic crisis is intimately connected with the world crisis (foreign trade, shipping, steel, iron, etc), in general, however, substantially national trends and characteristics have predominated. The Spanish depression has been, in general, notably less profound than the world's depression, paralleling the latter neither in its beginnings nor its final stages, nor in its most lasting fluctuations. The complete and closed nature of our economy, our limited industrialisation and our totally rudimentary system with its small-scale financing and businesses has brought about our relative isolation from the capitalist world and contributed to make the crisis more superficial"

(Harris[on, 1978: 127)

This last remark is supported by considering the levels of unemployment in Spain (12.8 per cent) by the end of 1933 and England (23 per cent) in August 1932.

The important issue to be analysed here is the uneven character of employment conditions in Spain among different regions and sectors of the

3. I consider this question in the third part of this chapter.

economy. Agricultural unemployment, particularly in Andalusia, occupied a disproportionately high level of the national figure during the Second Republic.

"Out of the 618,947 unemployed in December 1933, 414,640 were classified as agricultural workers, a year later agriculture provided 404,000 out of the 667,698 jobless. Only in the construction industry, where there were 76,000 unemployed in December 1933 and 93,000 in December 1934, did Spain experience similar levels of urban unemployment. The number of jobless in the metallurgical and textile industries in December 1934 were 30,000 and 9,000 respectively"

(Harris¹on, 1978: 141)

The condition of rural workers was especially critical considering that there was no regular unemployment insurance provided.

The agrarian reform was one of the most important problems that confronted the Republic when it took power. The Agrarian Reform Law of September 1932 intended to modify the capitalist nature of rural land tenure but not to destroy it. Control of the means of production in agriculture continued to rest in a few hands. However, land-owners' rationality changed as a result of the wage increase policy forced on them by socialist rural unions. By 1933, wages had approximately doubled over 1931 figures at the cost of more frequent unemployment, since land-owners decided to trim the number of employees. Moreover, rural unemployment in the south was not helped by emigration since strong social and political consciousness kept the workers close to the land, struggling to gain immediate possession of it.

"if land were to be distributed to the peasantry, there was only one group from which it could be taken: the bourgeois owners who in most essentials

were fully integrated into the political structure of the nation and could not be expropriated except at the cost of attacking some of the basic principles of that structure"

(Malefakis, 1970: 91)

In order to change the social structure of the country a more coherent political organisation than the existing one was required. Only the big cities had developed mass political parties. Whereas in the industrial centres labour militancy increased considerably from 1929 to 1933 (96 strikes were recorded in 1929 as against 1,127 in 1933), in the small town politics were controlled by the local cacique⁴, who commanded the local administration, the judicial apparatus and who established a clientele by handing out jobs. In these towns the Catholic Church maintained a privileged position ready to confront the "historic mission" of the Republicans of constructing a lay state with secular education. Under these circumstances the political parties did not have the necessary strength. Political parties were highly divided (26 in 1931) in part due to the existence of the regional parties which forced constant coalitions (Carr, 1980).

If the attempt at an agrarian reform was a failure, autonomy for Catalonia was a triumph. The Catalan Autonomy Statute was overwhelmingly endorsed in a 1931 plebiscite. A parliamentary Act was passed concerning the relations between the central government and the Catalan government in the same year.⁵

4. An extended form, in rural Spain, of political and social corruption by which individuals exercised power in local communities, resulting from the centralist characteristic of the state organization.

5. A detailed analysis of the document can be found in Alonso et al. Documentos para la historia del regionalismo en España, Madrid, 1977: 327-354.

In 1939, the creation of the new despotic state led to the political and economic isolation of Spain immediately after the Civil War and therefore to the creation of an ideology of self-sufficiency. Severe restrictions were imposed on the import of foreign-produced goods. Foreign investment also was restricted to 25% of the initial capital of any project (Taya, 1973).

The accumulation of capital was based primarily on the exploitation of labour. The anti-liberal policies were aimed at the containment of political and class conflict. The state developed an ideology of collaboration between workers and industrialists in a common struggle against liberalism. To do this it created union organization on the basis of "verticalismo", or the vertical integration of capitalists and workers into a common union. These policies implied a conception of the state as being an active executor and definer of social justice in industrial relations. However, this control of wages was not accompanied by a parallel control of prices; therefore these policies effectively favoured the capitalists.

On the other hand, inflation grew dramatically. This continued a tendency that started in the 1920s. The index of prices in the first half of the century shows the accelerating trend quite clearly (Table 2.3). The high inflation rates provoked a "forced saving" attitude in industrial capital. As a result industries suffered from low level of investment and were therefore condemned to stagnation (Lacomba, 1972).

These processes resulted in a relatively small concentration of capital for industrial development and the localisation of the industrial

Table 2.3

Index of prices (1913 = 100)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Index</u>
1913	100
1935	172
1940	292.1
1950	988.6

Source: I.N.E. Anuario Estadístico,
1959.

base in specific regions of the country. Spain contrasted with Russia in the kind of industrial development it experienced. In 1914, according to Trotsky, the capitalist structure and levels of technology in Russia were similar to those of advanced countries such as England. Small enterprises involving less than 100 workers were only 17.8 per cent and large enterprises, above 1,000 workers were 41.1 per cent for the whole country. However, this was not the pattern for Spanish industry, which did not develop large scale industry until 1950s. In those traditional industrial centres, such as Catalonia, concentration of capital did not take place, as we shall see in the next section.

In this period, then, industries remained small in size, using old equipment and methods of organization. At the same time the low level of wages and the consequent low level of individual consumption severely restricted the growth of the home market, with the result that the level of industrial growth remained low (Table 2.4).

b.) 1950s. Transitional stage.

In this period a change in the pattern of industrial growth took place with the opening of the country's economy to foreign investment. Since 1950 industrial growth was stimulated by aid from United States; as a result, in 1953 it was possible to achieve the industrial production index of 1936 (Lacomba, 1972). Moreover, in 1950 the proportion of the economically active population working in agriculture was about the same as in 1930 (Table 2.5).

Spain remained an agricultural country in the process of

Table 2.4

Index of industrial production 1942-1952

(1929 = 100)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Index</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Index</u>
1942	112	1948	140
1943	120	1949	133
1944	122	1950	152
1945	144	1951	172
1946	134	1952	192
1947	137	1953	206

Source: I.N.E. Anuario Estadístico, 1962.

Table 2.5

Active labour force in Spain:

Agriculture and industry

<u>Active labour</u>	<u>Agric.</u>	<u>Indus.</u>
1877	70%	11%
1910	66%	15.8%
1920	57.30%	21.90%
1930	45.51%	26.51%
1940	50.52%	22.52%
1950	47.91%	26.55%

Source: Harrison, An Economic History of Modern Spain, 1978; 69-126 & 150.

change.⁶ In 1956, however, the limitations of the self-sufficient economy established by Franco were exposed by those politicians of the regime who were in favour of "development". The stagnation of industrial growth and rising inflation forced the technocrats associated with the Catholic order, Opus Dei, to open a discussion about the necessity for Spain to become part of the capitalist economy of the West. In the following years (1957-1959) the new government implemented a number of economic measures of freezing wages, stabilizing prices and liberalising the economy with regard to foreign markets. In 1958 the country joined several international organizations: the OEEC, the OECD, the IMF. From these and from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Spain obtained a total support of \$420 millions (Anderson, 1970, Chapter Five). In 1959 the government passed the "Plan de Estabilizacion" which involved a restructuring of the economy and the lifting of controls over the imports of goods and capital during a time of international expansion.

Foreign capital was attracted to Spain because of the relatively low wages of the labour force and because the repressive nature of the regime restricted class conflict. With the plan, the government encouraged domestic saving and pursued measures to reduce inflation, such as cuts in public expenditure, a timid increase in taxation and a wage freeze. Given the continuing weakness of the Spanish state as an economic power, the financiers of industrial growth in this period were the private banks in the hands of the financial class. The role of the state was to support

6. Until 1950 agriculture was the most important source of wealth. But in 1950, industry represented for the first time a higher source than agriculture. Whereas in 1940 the proportions of the Domestic Gross National Product were: agriculture 31.9 per cent, industry 28.3; in 1950 they reversed to: agriculture, 26.5 per cent, industry, 33.1 per cent (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales).

industrial expansion almost exclusively. Since 1941 the "Instituto Nacional de Industria" (INI) has been the institutional means by which domestic industry was protected.⁷ However, between 1943 and 1960 the investment of the INI in industry represented an annual average of about 15 per cent of total industrial investment, whereas in the United Kingdom public industrial investment was 31 per cent.

Banking has been widely considered the great beneficiary through the official policies of the Francoist regime, capitalizing on the deposits made by small investors in the saving banks⁸ during the inflationary period (Roldan, 1978).

Despite the limitations of the plan, it was the first consistent attempt by the regime to coordinate the political economy of the country. The role of international organizations in the design of economic planning was crucial. In fact the Plan de Estabilizacion and the subsequent Plans were a copy of French planning (Anderson, 1970). One of the limitations of these plans was the quite different social and economic structure of Spain in comparison with neighbouring countries. The French plan was conceived in terms of a high concentration of production in industry. However, in Spain only the new industries and those with close links to

7. The role of the INI has to be seen as one of the basic components of a highly protectionist public policy. Until 1957, it was financed almost totally by grants from the government. It created firms or participated with private capital in the creation of new ones, with emphasis on import substitutions and national defence. In 1954 INI owned 12 firms, held a controlling interest in 37, and a minority in 12 (Anderson, 1970: 39-40; Harrison, 1978).

8. In Spain, savings banks are considered to have ties with their locality, tending to develop a reciprocal relation with local communities. They function to absorb most popular savings, but also to organise cultural activities and occasionally provide some social services.

public policy were concentrating production. In Catalonia, for example, most traditional industry had remained small in size and self-capitalised, in part because finance capital did not develop in Catalonia. (After 1925 Catalan banks were in steady decline and by 1955 they were practically non-existent). Thus, the small businesses had few opportunities to incorporate their interests and perspectives within a plan conceived for the market development of the larger firms (Anderson, 1970).

c.) From 1960 onwards. Monopoly capital stage.

The main characteristic of this period is the rapid expansion of the economy. It also presents two important changes in the political economy of the country, one being the development of collective bargaining, the other ^{the} use of planning as a means of economic growth.

As a consequence of the implementation of the "Plan de Estabilizacion", industry experienced considerable growth, as can be seen in the evolution of the index of industrial production (Table 2.6). This increase in industrial production was accompanied by an increase in productivity, as well as by a dramatic increase in imports of foreign capital goods (Table 2.7). An important growth also took place in the amount of capital investment in industry, with an increase of 6.2 per cent to 7.6 per cent in productivity (apart from the dramatic increase of 12.0 in 1961) (Table 2.7).

Although collective bargaining was operating in industry, wages remained at a low level during the 1960s, due to the limited capacity of

Table 2.6

Index in industrial production 1959-1964

<u>Years</u>	<u>Index</u>
1959	98.5
1960	103.9
1961	119.2
1962	133.6
1963	148.8
1964	166.1

Source: E, Fuentes Quintana "Factores estrategicos en el desarrollo económico español" in Ros, J. ed. "Trece economistas españoles ante la economía española, Barcelona, 1975: 81-103.

Table 2.7

Index in economic growth in industry 1959-1964

<u>Years</u>	<u>Total Investment</u>	<u>Import of Capital goods</u>	<u>Increment Productivity</u>
1959	106.7	89.4	2.0
1960	114.7	103.9	6.2
1961	153.5	159.4	12.0
1962	191.2	257.6	7.6
1963	217.3	341.8	7.2
1964	251.4	415.4	6.5

Source: E, Fuentes Quintana op.cit.

workers for negotiation.⁹ It has been argued (Wright, 1977: 68-69) that, in comparison with other European countries, the share of wages was still low in these years. In 1960 wages represented 49 per cent of the national income, thirteen years later in 1973 it only amounted to 55.8 per cent. However, a faster increase was experienced in the following years and by 1975 the wages reached 60 per cent of the national income.

According to Harrison (1978) Spain in the 1960s became the most rapidly expanding economy in Western Europe. The "Spanish miracle" was due to three basic elements: a] foreign investment, b] tourism, c] the cash remittances of Spanish emigrants to Northern Europe.

Foreign investment was attracted by the low level of taxation. The money came from the USA (at the beginning) and European countries - Germany, France, Great Britain, Switzerland and Belgium (in order of importance). The sectors with the largest proportion of foreign capital participation were the chemical industry, food processing, iron and steel (Ferrás, 1977).

The tourist industry developed strikingly, earning the necessary foreign currency to pay for essential imports of foodstuffs and capital goods. Earnings from tourism rose from \$126.6 millions in 1959 to \$3,404,300 millions in 1975 (Harrison, 1978: 156).

9. The 1958 Law of Collective Contracts which supplanted the previous system of wage decrees did not involve the legalisation of workers' unions. The control of the "sindicatos" over collective bargaining remained until mid-1970s, despite increasing militancy amongst workers in underground unions (Wright, 1977: 67-82).

Emigration of large numbers of people (more than a million between 1959 and 1976) contributed to a great extent to the "boom", not only because of the remittance of foreign exchange but also because, as a consequence of their leaving, agricultural wages increased considerably and the demand for mechanization and durable goods expanded into the rural areas.

This period showed, in comparison with the previous one, a substantial shift from agriculture to industry and services.(Table 2.8). Emigration from agricultural areas was encouraged by Government policies in the case of minifundios¹⁰ where a program of concentration of property was implemented, or by inhibition in implementing agricultural policies in latifundios, where one per cent of all holdings still occupied 49 per cent of the cultivated land in Spain. As we know, the result was landless workers remaining for decades in these areas, in part due to the strong solidarity ties reinforced by Anarchist ideology, and in part because the pull factors from the industrial centres were not strong enough to absorb all these workers. Only after the Civil War and the following decades did these labourers risk a change by breaking with the rural ties, when there was no longer any hope for social and economic change. In the way in which this flood of migrants was absorbed by the industrial cities from the 1940s, Spain resembles more underdeveloped countries than it does developed countries, where rural-urban migration has taken place in the early periods of industrialization. In Spain, however, a massive exodus from the land to the industrial centres within the country and outside, in

10. Minifundios are very small plots of land exploited on a family basis. They have been the common pattern of property in some areas of the northern part of Spain, such as Old Castile and Galicia.

Table 2.8
Active labour force in Spain

<u>Years</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Services</u>
1950	47.91%	26.55%	
1960	39.70%	32.98%	27.32%
1970	29.11%	37.28%	33.61%
1975	22.91%	36.77%	40.32%

Source: Harrison, op. cit., 150.

Europe took place encouraged by the Government. As the majority of them were wage-earners, their departure from the land involved a wage increase of 269 per cent between 1957 and 1969 (Harrison, 1978). This increase favoured the developing internal market.

However, most industrial development was concentrated in The Basque Country, Catalonia and Madrid, consolidating an already established regional disequilibrium. In 1973, the three Basque provinces of Vizcaya, Alava and Guipuzcoa, along with Madrid and Barcelona, contained 28.7 per cent of the population and produced 40.0 per cent of the national wealth. At the other extreme, the Galician provinces of Lugo and Orense and the southern provinces of Caceres, Badajoz and Granada had 8.0 per cent of total number of inhabitants and produced 4.7 per cent of net national income (in Harrison, 1978: 166). Planning in Spain was in consequence aimed not at reducing regional inequalities so much as at achieving a high rate of growth.

This aspect and the absence of genuine tax reform were the main criticisms made of the government by opposition economists (Anderson, 1970). In response to critics of the First Development Plan (1963), which emphasized only incentives to industry and economic growth, the Second Plan (1967-1971) and the Third Plan (1972-1974) stressed the social aspects of regional development, such as housing, education and transport. The concept of regional development was introduced, at this time stressing the potential role of provincial participation in the working of the plan.

In general this mode of development increased the gap between the developed and underdeveloped regions of Spain. As a consequence there

was an exodus of migrants to the industrial centre from the backward agricultural areas. Barcelona received around fifty-thousand immigrants a year, almost a third of them coming from Andalusia. During the 1960s the Metropolitan area of the city experienced a yearly immigration coefficient of 59.75 per cent.

"Apart from the Badajoz and Jaen plans of the 1950s, regional planning in Spain dates only from the First Development Plan of 1963. Yet, from the very beginning, the emphasis in regional planning was always on the achievement of a high rate of growth rather than on equity factors. Where backward regions were selected for development the criterion was always that of future growth potential. Moreover, Spanish regional policy always reflected the strong preoccupation of the State with national policy goals"

(Harrison, 1978: 166-67)

In the "growth poles"¹¹ strategy of industrial development five cities of the country (Coruña, Sevilla, Valladolid, Saragosa and Vigo) were incorporated and two others (Burgos and Huelva) were given industrial promotion. "By 1972, 381 new firms had been established in the designated growth poles, providing an additional 54,000 jobs" (Harrison, 1978: 67). However, this attempt to create new geographical industrial centres did not stop the cities of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao from absorbing large quantities of immigrant labour.

After Franco's death in 1975 the oil crisis became more apparent

11. Growth poles theory was developed by the French economist Francois Perroux. It put the emphasis on the multiplier effect of leading industries in geographical areas. These areas have to be of a high growth potential, usually regional capitals with a population of between 150,000 and 200,000 inhabitants (Harrison, 1978: 167).

in Spain, at the same time that a process of return migration from the industrial centres of Europe was taking place. Unemployment figures increased dramatically and the country's balance of payments deficit worsened from \$3,500 million in 1975 to \$4,300 million in 1976. In 1977 the new democratic Government found itself with a conjuncture of economic crisis and structural problems needing resolution. A few years later the newly elected socialist Government ^{was} _Σ confronting the same problems with an increasing number of unemployed, in part due to the restructuring of industry.

The Industrial Development of Barcelona

Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, is about 300 km from the Pyrenees, on the Mediterranean coast. It is a city with a long history as a commercial centre. In the eighteenth century commercial trade became prominent, with the expansion of the market to Latin America. The "Junta de Comercio" was founded in 1763 by leading merchants and industrialists as an instrument for the development of both trade and industry. The benefits obtained by this trade contributed to a large extent to the industrial development of the city and region.

Barcelona is a city that looks towards the sea, and is contained by two rivers (El Llobregat and El Besos) and a range of mountains. These geographical conditions have created a high demographic density. Today three distinctive urban patterns can be observed: the old medieval town extending from the port on one side, where commerce has been concentrated traditionally, to the other side where it meets the Ensanche. This was developed in the middle of the nineteenth century in a regular formation to accomodate the emerging bourgeoisie who wanted to be separated from

other social classes. This was a time of economic expansion and industrial and commercial optimism. Subsequently in this century, it has gradually become the business and commercial district where the central offices of most Banks are located, and at the same time, a middle class residential area. The city's more recent expansion can be seen in the irregular streets of the areas which extended towards the mountains and cross over the rivers. Today, the old urban zone of Barcelona is the nucleus of an urban agglomeration that has leaked beyond the old geographical barriers. This agglomeration includes several peripheral towns (around 30), that form what has been denominated the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, occupying 172.04 km².

The basic economic activities are industry and services. Industry, although spread throughout the city, tends to be located in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Barcelona and in the towns surrounding the city.

Types Of Economic Development

a.] Domestic Industry

Spanish agriculture could not in general supply capital for industrial investment. However, in Catalonia rural savings combined (during the eighteenth century) with profits from agricultural exports were able to finance the textile industry. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century Catalonia had established itself in a position of clear supremacy in cotton production. Concentration of capital was enhanced by constant intermarriage, and capital investment increased considerably (Carr, 1966, 200). Also the essential conditions of industrialization - proletarianization and growth of productivity - were present. According to

Fontana (1961), by the 1820s the Catalan cotton industry employed 100,000 people and produced a value of 215 million reales per year, manufacturing 60,000 quintals of yarn. However, this expansion was frustrated by the loss of the colonies and by the end of the century, industry found its outlet restricted to an impoverished rural domestic market.

The fact that the internal market remained relatively backward restricted not only capital accumulation for the textile industry, but prevented the growth of a consumer market for agricultural machines. Diversification of Barcelona's industrial base away from textiles was severely restricted. A capital goods industry failed to develop as a result both of the lack of capital and of state planning until the period of the First World War when an import substitution industry developed.

Terrades (1978) has shown the existence of a demand for the production of a capital goods, since the factory system in Spain was developing in similar ways to the British:

"Once steam power was generalized, the factory system soon substituted domestic manufacture. In this sense as we have seen Catalonia - in contrast to most peripheral capitalist countries - did not rely on a rural system of domestic manufacturing complementary to a mechanized and concentrated urban factory system. On the contrary, rural mills did not differ in technology from urban ones, once the mechanization process spread towards the middle of the nineteenth century"

(1978: 72)

Given the fact that a demand for capital goods existed in the country, why did this industry not develop as it did in other European

countries? The explanation lies in the characteristics of capital at that time. According to Tortella (1975), capital was scarce, because domestic savings were limited and the existing capital was invested in public debt, and in the railway system encouraged by Government policies.

The railway system was constructed at a time when the metallurgical industry was establishing itself in Barcelona. Alternate Liberal and Conservative governments between 1869-1898 favoured construction concessions which allowed foreign companies to import all railway materials (Nadal, 1975; Tortella, 1975). Moreover, for most of this period national investment was directed into railways at the expense of domestic industry, which registered a return on investment between four and seven times less than that on the railways. Thus, metallurgical industries such as La Maquinista in Barcelona were forced by the limited and fluctuating market to diversify their production.

Although domestic industry had to face difficulties of both internal and external origin, in the second decade of the present century it continued to develop rapidly in Catalonia. In 1919, Barcelona had 360 electrified factories, while Madrid had only 88. In the same year, Barcelona had a total of 209,455 workers, (Table 2.9) while it was not until 1927 that Madrid reached a total 100,937 workers. The labour force in the capital city did not expand very much at that time; by 1931 it had a workforce of only 111,525. By contrast, in Catalonia, the labour force in industry and transport had almost arrived at half a million by 1937 (J. Marimon, 1971: 305).

Table 2.9

Industrialists and workers in Barcelona in 1919

<u>Production</u>	<u>Patrons</u>	<u>Male workers</u>	<u>Female workers</u>	<u>Number of workers for enterprise</u>	<u>TOTAL WORKERS</u>
Fish Ind.	128	277	-	2.16	277
Mines and Cant	9	234	-	26.0	234
Textiles	598	7.991	26.684	57.9	34.675
Water	119	6.835	671	63.0	7.506
Metallurgy	1.751	22.645	2.352	14.6	24.997
Construction	761	14.542	32	19.0	14.574
Wood and cork	1.634	7.689	287	4.88	7.976
Chemical	549	6.923	1.816	15.9	8.739
Skin and leather	452	2.780	849	8.0	3.629
Ceramics & Cryst.	80	3.854	648	56.27	4.502
Paper	145	1.066	1.283	16.2	2.349
Editorial	559	6.113	1.050	12.8	7.163
Food	1.403	5.125	1,397	4.9	6.922
Clothing manufacturing	1.989	5.365	8.036	6.7	13.401
Artistic & Science	490	1.995	336	4.75	2.331
Transport.	390	5.773	28	14.8	5.801
Commerce	18.580	34.512	7.877	2.28	42.389
Public Service	35	16.780	290	487.7	17.070
Other Ind.	1.248	4.303	668	398.0	4.969
TOTAL	30.919	155.151	54.302	6.7	209.455

Source: I.N.E. Anuario Estadístico, 1922-1923.

However, Barcelona, being the most important industrial centre in Spain, showed a small concentration of workers per industry. As is clearly demonstrated in Table 2.9 the industrial sectors with the highest concentration of workers per industry were water, textiles and ceramics and crystals which reached 63.0, 57.9 and 56.3 respectively. In other important sectors, such as metallurgy, the number of workers per enterprise did not surpass 14.6. These figures contrast with those offered by Trotsky for the concentration of labour in industry in Russia. Whereas in Petrograd and Moscow the enterprises above 1,000 workers were 44.4 per cent and 57.8 per cent respectively (Trotsky, 1979: 32), in Barcelona there was hardly any industry employing more than a 1,000 workers by 1919.

In 1937, Catalonia was still an industrial region dominated by the production of textiles: other industries like construction and metallurgy developed in lower proportions (Table 2.10). Thus the general characteristics of industrial development in Catalonia, including Barcelona, were the predominance of textile production over other kinds of industry and size enterprise. Domestic industry mainly developed in small concerns, as is shown by Table 2.9: the average size of a textile factory in 1919 was of 57 workers, while in the metallurgical industry it had not risen above 15 workers per factory.

These characteristics remain important in more recent periods; in 1970 the proportion of firms with less than fifty employees still predominated (Table 2.11). These figures, which should not be taken as an exact representation of reality but as more of an indication (since there is not agreement between different sources of information) of the

Table 2.10
Labour force in Catalonia in Industry
and Transportation, 1937

<u>Industrial Sector</u>	<u>Number of Workers</u>
Textiles	180,000
Clothing	35,000
Metaluric., Electronic, Mecanic	88,000
Construction	73,000
Wood	38.000
Transports	38,000
Chemical	35,000
Editing. Press	24,000
Food	20,000
Total	531.000

Source: J. Marimon. Les classes socials a Catalunya.
Paris, 1971.

Table 2.11
Size of industry in Barcelona
(province included. 1970)

<u>Size</u>	<u>Firms</u> <u>(proportion)</u>	<u>Occupation</u> <u>(proportion)</u>
1 - 10 workers	71.1	25.4
11-20 workers	13.5	18.5
21-50 workers	11.6	31.6
51-100 workers	3.8	24.5
Total	100% (23,770)	100% (370,100)
less 51	45.52% (279,000)	
100-499	31.55% (193,400)	
more than 500	22.93% (140,530)	
Total workers	100% <u>612,930</u>	

Source: Pinilla de las Heras: Estudios sobre cambio social y estructuras sociales en Cataluña, Centro de Investigaciones sociológicas. Madrid, 1979.

general pattern of the size of industry in Barcelona by 1970. From them it can be seen that almost half of the population employed in industry worked in firms of less than 51 workers and, within these firms, a relatively large number employed from one to ten workers. Only 22.93 per cent worked in firms of more than 500 workers (in Pinilla de las Heras, 1979).

In the case of the textile industry, which has Catalan owners, there is a pattern of large numbers of small firms, and a few large industries in the hands of the well established local families, concentrating the highest levels of technology. However, in the case of metallurgical and chemical industries the large firms tend to be closely tied to national and international capital, as we shall see in the next section (Artal, et. al. 1973: 37).

b.] Foreign Investment in Industry in Barcelona

Industry in Barcelona gradually moved, after the Civil War, into the hands of non-local national and international capital. The first penetration was carried out by the National Institute of Industry (INI) soon after the War, the second predominantly in the late 1950s. Foreign capital was located in the metallurgical, electrical and chemical industries. The proportion varied from 10 to 100 per cent, but was generally in between 50 and 100 per cent. This fact was going to have important consequences for aspirations for local autonomy, since important economic decisions increasingly took place outside Catalonia.

Catalonia has absorbed an important proportion of the total foreign

investment in Spain, for example between 1966 and 1969, 33 per cent of the total foreign investment was placed in Catalonia. By comparison, 27 per cent was concentrated in Madrid and only 9 per cent in the Basque Country. However, within Catalonia the largest proportion (87 per cent) was located in Barcelona. Capital in Catalonia came from West Germany (25 per cent), Switzerland (15 per cent) and the U.S.A. (12 per cent). The industrial sectors most affected were chemical industries (42 per cent for Catalonia in general and 32 per cent for Barcelona), metallurgical industries (19 per cent for Catalonia and 35 per cent for Barcelona), and food industries (15 per cent for Catalonia and 17 per cent for Barcelona) (Ferrás, 1977).

Both state capital (INI) and foreign capital are presently invested in firms with a large number of workers. In 1973, the largest firms (most of them with over a 1000 workers) represented a total workforce of 115,973. Of these only 31,011 workers belong to industries owned by Catalan capital; the majority are international, followed by national (Ferrás, 1977: 510-512).

Job Expansion and Immigrant Labour

The development of both domestic, national and international industry in Barcelona facilitated the expansion of job opportunities. This process coincided with the disintegration of the rural structure and the exodus of agricultural workers to the industrial centres. Consequently, Barcelona attracted a significant number of migrants from the rest of Catalonia and the other regions of Spain. The industrial development of Catalonia was faster than that of the country in general (Table 2.12).

Table 2.12

Evolution of the labour force in Catalonia and Spain

	1900		1950		1964		1969	
	<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Spa.</u>	<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Spa.</u>	<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Spa.</u>	<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Spa.</u>
Agriculture	57%	77%	23%	51%	13%	33%	11%	31%
Industry	29	13	46	23	50	33	50	34
Services	14	10	30	25	37	33	39	35

Source: Recolons: La Població de Catalunya, 1974. p.198.

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Spain became a fully industrialised country in the late sixties. However, the industrial capacity of Catalonia in 1950 was only four per cent less than in 1969. This demonstrates the extent to which Catalonia has been a more mature industrial society than the rest of Spain (with the exception of the Basque Country) suffering less dramatic economic changes.

In 1971, Barcelona's labour force was distributed in the following way: agriculture - 4 per cent; industry - 56.4 per cent; and services - 39.6 per cent (Recolons, 1974 :197). The city has offered (since the end of the past century) a wide job market able to absorb not only the local population, but workers from other regions apart from Catalonia. In 1970 the immigrant population in Barcelona formed about 50 per cent of the population of the city, and of these, only 9 per cent of immigrants were born in the region of Catalonia, while 41 per cent came from other regions of Spain.

The proportion of workers in several branches of industry and services underwent changes according to the expansion of firms and the changes in their organisation of production (Table 2.13). Of the industries that developed a considerable number of job opportunities, the building industry occupied the leading position with an increase of 26 per cent in the period 1950-1960, and of 69 per cent in the period 1960-1970. The service sector also experienced an important increase of 52 per cent in the period between 1960 and 1970, whereas manufacturing and transport have increased at a lesser rate. These industrial and service sectors have been strongly affected by an increase in capital intensity (see the increase in energy-related industries in Table 2.13), while a sector such as the building industry has remained small, labour intensive and, with a

Table 2.13
Labour force in Barcelona according
to economic activities

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>△ 1950/60</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>△ 1960/70</u>
Mines	8,914	9,686	9%		
Manufacturing	490,252	583,578	19%	715,147	27%
Building Indus.	77,347	97,452	26%	151,227	69%
Energy	7,783	9,393	21%	12,412	39%
Commerce	116,846	144,912	24%	205,482	52%
Transport	55,659	69,501	25%	85,020	28%
Other services	171,814	199,699	16%	289,230	52%

Source: Pinilla de las Heras: Immigracio i mobilitat social a Catalunya, 1973. v. 2, p: 25.

generalised pattern of sub-contracting. Since this kind of work does not require a high level of skill it has been the source of employment for the majority of migrant workers when they first arrive in Barcelona. This pattern of employment interacted with the kind of immigrant labour the city was receiving, which consisted to a large extent of unskilled workers. Moreover, the increase in the number of jobs in both industry and services facilitated occupational mobility, whereby the new immigrants occupied the jobs which required less skill.

Census data on immigration to Barcelona shows the increase in long distance migration throughout the present century as well as the increase of migration from other regions of Spain. (Table 2.14).

Before 1936, Aragon, Valencia, Andalusia, Murcia and Catalonia were the regions that provided the greatest number of workers to Barcelona. All of them, apart from Andalusia and Catalonia, have been decreasing their supply of labour to Barcelona since 1940, a tendency that continued until 1970. Catalonia, has provided Barcelona with an increasing number of migrants from 1965, after a period of decline from 1940-1964. However, Catalan migrants in the last decades have predominantly taken white-collar jobs in services and industry. On the other hand, the three most backward regions of the country, Andalusia, and to a lesser degree Galicia and Extremadura, have supplied the greatest quantity of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The central regions of Castile and the south west coast (Valencia, Murcia) and Aragon contribute less migrants than before because of alternative opportunities, either in the new firms established in some provincial capitals or arising from the industrialization of Madrid.

Table 2.14

Origin of the immigrants to Barcelona before 1936,
in the period 1940-1964 and in 1970

	<u>before 1936</u>	<u>1940-1964</u>	<u>1970</u>
Andalusia	12.90%	27.82%	22.80%
Aragon	13.94%	9.53%	6.28%
Basque Country	1.26%	1.30%	0.95%
Asturias	0.69%	0.87%	0.56%
Castiles	3.79%	6.30%	4.55%
Galicia	2.45%	5.44%	5.55%
Murcia	9.91%	5.82%	2.03%
Valencian Country	12.45%	5.66%	2.59%
islands	0.89%	0.58%	0.47%
Catalonia (apart from Barcelona)	26.47%	15.50%	34.45%
Extremadura	0.87%	3.19%	4.75%
Others			
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, in Recolons, op.cit., 1974, p.68.

The majority of immigrants to Barcelona found employment as manual workers. It is the aim of the following chapter to explore questions such as the previous training of these workers, and where they learnt routine work. Given the pattern of industrial development in Barcelona, I shall suggest that they usually experience training in small scale workshops and move to more specialised jobs later on. This process could raise questions such as whether this kind of job mobility results in replacement by new migrants, and whether this should be considered a process of social mobility. I shall be particularly interested in looking at the degree to which immigrant labour has the same possibilities for social mobility as Catalan workers.

The industrial expansion of Barcelona offered new job opportunities for both men and women. A high proportion of wage labourers became concentrated in the province of Barcelona, mainly in industry. A large proportion remained within a relatively short distance of the city, in the industrial towns that surround Barcelona. The role of these towns as industrial centres increased in the 1960s with the relocation of industry.

However, in the first decades of the present century women were working mainly in the textile industry, as shown in Table 2.9 above. More recently women have also entered into other sectors of the economy in large numbers, especially in the services (Table 2.15). In 1960, women were significantly represented in industry, official services and commerce. In Barcelona city they formed 28 per cent of the working population,¹²

12. The proportion of women working was higher in Barcelona than in Spain as a whole. Only in 1977, that is seventeen years later, the female working population reached 29 per cent of the national total (OECD, April, 1980, in *Women of Europe: "Women in Spain"*, Commission of the European Communities, September, 1981).

Table 2.15
Male and female labour force in Barcelona
according to economic activities

	<u>City</u>		<u>Province</u>	
	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Agriculture	4,246	218	72,871	4,019
Mines	515	81	9,468	218
Industry	191,697	60,177	392,611	190,967
Building Ind.	43,617	1,114	95,726	1,726
Electricity	5,232	436	8,776	617
Commerce	79,741	21,841	109,805	35,107
Transport	42,813	2,596	65,846	3,655
Official Serv.	72,697	76,295	98,923	100,776
Activities not specified	34,182	22,776	41,474	28,742
TOTAL	474,740	185,534	895,500	365,827

Source: Censo de Población, 1960.

mostly as waged labour (Table 2.16).

The relatively large number of job opportunities for women as wage labourers in both industry and services suggest that immigrant women in Barcelona played an active role in the economy outside the household. At the same time they were able to contribute to the family income by incorporating a second wage. This fact is relevant to the development of an affluent working class with a relatively high level of consumption, as will be explored in chapter five.

Relocation of Industry

Since the early 1960s a tendency towards decentralisation and relocation of industry has taken place in Barcelona. This process was encouraged by a] the demand for land and labour, b] the creation of new industrial settlements, c] expansion of existing industries. 611 industries were ready to move between 1964 and 1973, the proportion increasing dramatically from 1965. This relocation of industry is in most cases from the old central industrial and residential areas of the city. The tendency is to move to the Metropolitan area and to the first "crown"¹³ of villages outside Barcelona. Very few (9.48 per cent) had Barcelona city as a destination (Falegas, n.d.: 232-324).

However, parallel to this process there has also been a tendency for many new industries to be located in Barcelona or in the Metropolitan area. In the period between 1964 and 1970 there was an increase of

13. The concept of "crown" has been used to explain the urban growth of Barcelona which spreads concentrically, as concentric from the old city towards the Metropolitan area by M. Sola-Morales (1974).

Table 2.16

Occupational structure: male and female in Barcelona

	<u>City</u>		<u>Province</u>	
	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Employees	25,080	2,020	44,915	3,598
Employers	17,401	2,613	58,176	8,222
Independent workers	11,342	3,703	20,423	5,112
Wage labour	408,901	154,107	735,842	308,393
No specified	6,728	21,219	9,595	29,743
TOTAL	474,740	186,534	895,500	366,827

Source: Censo de Población, 1960.

4,853 establishments in Barcelona city, 3,033 establishments in the Metropolitan area, 2,136 in the "Comarca" and 1,199 in the rest of the province. These figures show the tendency for industry to remain close to the city (Romaguera y Dot, 1972: 366). This is mainly due to the lack of policy on land-use planning and transportation, which make it difficult in economic terms for individual industrialists to abandon the city.

On the other hand, with economic recession in the 1970s some industries have chosen to move in order to sell speculatively the inner city land, or to make redundant part of the labour force. However, 80 per cent of the workers in industries which moved have tended to remain in their jobs (a total of 31,467 in the period 1964-1972) (Falegas, n.d.). One example of an industry wanting to make profits from the sale of industrial land, as it will be discussed in detail later, was La Maquinista.

This process of relocation of industry could have some implications for the general process of urbanization and for the individual experiences of the workers affected by it. Does the relocation of industry create a division between the traditional local workers and the newly arrived immigrants to Barcelona?. In exploring the case of Barcelona, we have become aware of the complexity of its social structure; a relatively mature society has been absorbing a continuing influx of immigrant labour of rural origin with a very different social background, who have experienced sharp changes in their ways of life. An important question is raised by this situation: what are the implications of the particular factors affecting Barcelona's growth for the development of class consciousness¹⁴ and ethnic identity?.

14. Although I shall refer to the development of class consciousness in general in the following section, the question particularly points out to the development of working class consciousness.

Class Consciousness and the Regional Question in Barcelona

One of the peculiarities of the uneven development of Spain has been the rise in modern times of the regional question in those parts of the country where industrialization began. In Catalonia nationalist feeling re-emerged in the middle of the 19th century among industrialists who resented the central state's lack of commitment to industrial expansion. This movement interacted with the anti-statist ideology of the radical young proletariat which organised around the anarchist ideology. Immigrant workers brought with them from some of the rural areas of the country "collectivist" ideas, which implied a belief in social equality and freedom. Immigrant workers in Barcelona were very similar to those described by Trotsky:

"In Russia the proletariat did not arise gradually through the ages, carrying with itself the burden of the past as in England, but in leaps involving sharp changes of environment, ties relations, and a sharp break with the past. It is just this fact - combined with the concentrated oppressions of czarism - that made the Russian workers hospitable to the boldest conclusions of revolutionary thought".

(1979: 33)

While the two movements in Barcelona shared a strong position against the central state, they could be expected to be in opposition at those moments in which their class interests came into conflict.

Although the modern "Catalan Movement" was emerging in 1850s with the revival of the Catalan language and arts, the industrial bourgeoisie did not become active in the nationalist movement until the end of the century. However, from the 1840s, Catalan industrialists organised

themselves through the "Instituto Industrial de Cataluna", primarily to defend high tariff barriers. Years later the Instituto was re-organized as the well known "Fomento de Trabajo Nacional", after a free-trade government was established in Spain with the revolution of 1869 (Brenan, 1967: 27).

Catalan industrialists resented the central state's trade policies. They claimed that the lack of tariff protection was doubly damaging to the expansion of the metallurgical industries, which not only did not have enough capital investment but also could not compete with cheaper imported materials (Castillo, 1955). In fact, when "protectionist" measures were effectively introduced in 1891, the textile industry was already mechanized, the railways had been constructed (two thirds with foreign capital and equipment) without any substantial participation in either by national industry (Nadal, 1975: 158).

Catalan nationalist feelings were not restricted to the industrial bourgeoisie, they were widely rooted in the Catalan population which had experienced the repression of its language and laws (Jutglar, 1973: 171-172).¹⁵ "Catalanism" was widespread in rural areas, especially since the defeat of the Carlists in 1876. The federal movement also was welcomed by intellectuals in Barcelona between 1868 and 1873 (Brenan, 1967: 28). By the 1890s "Catalanism" had emerged strongly both in the political and cultural spheres. In the cultural realm there were two tendencies: one traditional and conservative, with strong Catholic

15. Between 1822 and 1837 Catalonia had lost her penal law, her commercial law, her coinage, her special tribunals and the right to use the Catalan language in schools (Brenan, 1967: 27).

beliefs('Catalonia and the Church cannot be separated' said the ideologist of the conservative movement at that time) and spreading mainly in rural areas, the other a more urban orientated one which claimed that Catalonia was progressive, practical and more open to European influence than the rest of Spain.

In the political field "Catalanism" was a conservative affair run by businessmen, since the left movement of Catalan nationalism did not become organized until the second decade of the following century (those representing the progressive tendency like Almiral did not have much influence in the movement at that time). In 1882, however, both tendencies subscribed to the important document of Las Bases de Manresa in the meeting organized by the right wing organization Union Catalanista. The resolution stressed the need for "home rule, a Catalan-speaking state with posts reserved for born or nationalized Catalans" within the federal state of the "Iberian nations" (Carr, 1980: 64).

This fact has been interpreted (Brenan, 1967: 29) in relation to the loss of the last colonies in Latin America. Catalan industrialists, who had large economic interests in these colonies, particularly in Cuba, resented the way in which the central state had conducted the process of independence. The administration of the central state, they argued, was inflicting high costs on the Catalan people.

"And it was when this feeling came to a head among the Catalan manufacturers and merged with the clerical sentiments of the 'comfortable classes' of the large towns and with the Carlist traditions of the country districts, that Catalan Nationalism became for the first time a powerful and disintegrating force in Spanish politics".

(Brenan, 1967: 29)

Carr (1980) argues that there existed in the nationalist movement, a "sort of caciquism" in the hands of businessmen. In Catalonia, the industrial and financial bourgeoisie was dominated by twenty or so families (fifteen textile concerns owned 80 per cent of the industry by the turn of the twentieth century). However, parallel to this capital concentration was a generalised pattern of small enterprises in which owners liked to see their factories as their "homes" and their workers as "family" members. This paternalism was especially strong in the outlying villages around Barcelona. The urban labour force of Barcelona did not willingly accomodate the paternalist approach of the Catalan manufacturers.

By the 1880s, anarchist ideology had had a visible effect on industrial workers in Barcelona. After the break between Marx and Bakunin, Spanish workers, influenced by this break, absorbed both socialist and anarchist ideologies. In the first two decades of the twentieth century the Socialist Union was already predominant in central and northern Spain (The Basque Country, Asturias, Madrid and Castile), whereas the Anarchist Union absorbed most of the workers in Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia and Andalusia, i.e., the east and south of the country. Barcelona received a significant number of migrants from Aragon, Valencia and Andalusia, reinforcing the development of the Anarchist Movement in the city.

It could be expected that workers in Barcelona, being an industrial centre, would have developed a socialist ideology in the first place, as in most industrial centres in Europe. In 1928 a group of Catalan politicians and militant workers analysed the reasons for the relative

failure of socialism in Barcelona. Theirs still seems to be the most convincing account. It was argued that Anarchism developed because of: a] the small size of Catalan industry, b] the difficulties of workers' struggles, due to the reluctance of industrialists to negotiate with workers when they were abundantly supplied with cheap immigrant labour c] discontinuity in the direction of the movement as a result of political repression from Madrid, d] revolutionary messianic ideology, e] anti-statist feelings existing in Catalonia because of the lack of benefits such as social services, from the central state, f] the moderate spirit and centralism of the leadership of the Spanish Socialist party (in Balcells, 1973: 5-40). These conditions existing in Catalonia and the previous experiences brought by the "half-starving" landless agricultural labourers of the south and east created the conditions for the development of the Anarchist movement in Barcelona.

By 1910, the strongest workers' union in Barcelona was Anarcho-syndicalist, and it continued to expand until the Civil War in 1936, only to disappear with post-war repression. With the economic expansion brought about by the First World War, union strength began to increase and resulted in wage increases paid out of the rising profits of manufacturers. Both socialists and Anarcho-syndicalist unions increased in numbers. However, the latter exhibited an extraordinary capacity of sudden recruitment in comparison with the slower growth of the Socialist Union¹⁶ (Carr, 1980: 59). I suggest that the Socialist Union appealed more to established and qualified workers, whereas Anarchism

16. In 1919 the C.N.T. (National Workers Confederation) exceeded 700,000 members, three times more than the number subscribed to the Socialist U.G.T. (General Workers Union) in Balcells, 1968: 179.

attracted the unskilled, newly recruited workers.¹⁷ Thus it was the young proletariat, similar to that described by Trotsky, that formed the social base of the Anarchist movement in Barcelona.

How did the two movements, "Catalanism" and "Anarchism" with such opposed class interests come together in Barcelona? Although they shared a common anti-central state feeling, to the C.N.T. the nationalists were "gentlemen who claimed a monopoly of Catalan politics in order to further their class interest, not to achieve the freedom of Catalonia" (Salvador Seguí, leader of the Anarchist movement in Carr, 1980: 67). Thus the failure of the Catalan movement to incorporate within it the popular classes was in part due to the ostentation and wealth exhibited by the established rich and newly rich industrial and prosperous groups which more actively supported the nationalist movement (Jutglar, 1973: 182-186; Balcells, 1968: 12-15).

In 1919, for example, the conflict of interests between the two groups became obvious. On one side, the Catalan industrial bourgeoisie, having benefited from the economic expansion of the War period, wanted to translate its economic importance into political influence at the national level. On the other side, workers aspirations were frustrated by rising inflation in Barcelona. The same day that the parliament in Madrid had to vote for the proposal for a referendum of the autonomous status of Catalonia, the workers initiated a general strike. As a result, the central government suspended constitutional guarantees

17. I base this suggestion on interviews carried out with some of La Maquinista workers. It has also been argued by Carr (1980: 57). I shall return to this question in the following chapter.

with the consequent frustration of nationalist attempts to form a Catalan government and the union's struggle to improve standards of living among the working class (Balcells ,1968: 73-89).

However, the new-found strength of the unions met with very strong opposition later, when profits began to decline, although economic expansion continued, into the early 1920s (Balcells, 1968, 1971 and 1973). The radical character of the urban working class, mainly in Barcelona, and the gap between this class and the liberal-conservative bourgeoisie which resisted workers' demands, facilitated the welcome given to the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship by the industrialist and the business class in 1923. Catalan industrialists wanted to suppress labour unrest, increase the level of tariff protection and sympathy for their "separatist" views (Harrison, 1978). Thus the alliance between Catalan nationalists, and the anti-Catalanist army proved to what extent class interests were stronger than nationalist interests at that time.

Nevertheless, Catalan nationalist became rapidly disenchanted with the dictatorship. The traditional anti-Catalanist sentiments in Madrid, "forced Primo de Rivera to go back on his promise. In 1924 the Mancomunitat¹⁸ was abolished by the Dictatorship" (Harrison, 1978: 102).

18. The Catalan provinces - Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona and Lerida - were united in 1913, constituting the Mancomunitat, which had an administrative character involving the improvement and conservation of the Catalan communication system (roads, transport). It had a President and an assembly with representatives from the four provinces (Santamaria et. al. 1977: 178-180).

By the end of the decade Catalan autonomy was more a concern of the middle classes, who were becoming involved in the nationalist movement. In 1930 Primo de Rivera resigned, a year later the Second Republic was proclaimed first in Barcelona and soon after in the rest of Spain, with the victory of the Left in the local elections.

In 1931 the first political party which implied an alliance between the Catalan movement and a section of the workers' movement (Anarchists were not included) was created. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia) wanted a Catalan nation in which both business and public services were nationalised. For two years Catalan politics were directed by E.R.C. with the help of three other parties including the Catalan socialist party. The party which represented Catalan industrialists (Lliga Regionalista) was in opposition.

In 1932 an Autonomy statute was granted in Catalonia, involving the delegations of management of services.¹⁹ However, the victory of the Right-wing parties in the general elections of 1933 made it difficult to carry out a satisfactory programme.

The alliance between workers and Catalan nationalists did not prove to be a lasting one. In Catalonia as in the rest of Spain workers became disenchanted by the failure of the "armchair" intellectuals and petty bourgeois partners. As a result "the breakdown of the working relationship between the socialists and Republicans permitted a shift to the right

19. By 1932 the Autonomous Catalan Statut included the responsibilities of the Catalan government over the management of education, health, policy, roads and transport system and local media (Santamaria et. al. 1977: 355-365).

in the general election of 1933" (Harrison, 1978: 125). Between 1933 and 1936 political polarisation developed based around to the still existent sharp class differences. The radical character of this polarisation precipitated the general elections of 1936, the victory of the Popular Front and the Civil War.

What happened to the Anarchist movement? Since the general strike of 1919:

"the harshness of the Catalan employers' counter-offensive, together with the repressive policies of the State ..., had the effect of widening an already existing rift within the C.N.T. between anarchists and syndicalists. Before long, moderate syndicalist leaders like Pestaña and Seguí lost control of the movement under the pressure of events to younger and more violent elements. The ensuing civil war in Barcelona from 1919 to 1923 between anarchist gunmen and the hired assassins of the "sindicatos libres" paid by the employers, marked the end of the C.N.T. as a mass movement of organised labour"

(Harrison, 1978: 121)

The Anarchist movement became violently hostile to any form of government; only during the Civil War did it participate again, in the Popular Front, by which time it was unfortunately too late.

Besides class conflict, what separated the Catalan movement from the Anarchist movement was their position on the organisation of the state. Whereas the Anarchists did not believe in any kind of state, the Catalan movement wanted to create a Catalan state. It was the "unplanned centralisation" of the Spanish state with the consequent disregard for the specific problems of Catalonia as an industrial region

in an agricultural country that provoked such a reaction against the central state.

"... one must remember that since the middle of the last century in spite of its strong local and provincial feelings, Spain has had one of the most centralized governments in Europe and that every country postman, village schoolmaster and customs official has owed his appointment to the minister in Madrid, (...). There was practically no civil service and, except for one or two technical branches, candidates for the Government service were not troubled with competitive examination".

(Brenan, 1967: 19-20)

Under these characteristics of bureaucratic organization it became easier to explain at a time of the expansion of industry and services the increasing participation of the middle class in the nationalist movements in Barcelona. It can be suggested that there was not only the threat to the language and Catalan institutions but also the undermining of real possibilities for social mobility experienced by some sectors of the Catalan population.

Another important point to consider, if we are to understand the political tension between Catalonia and the central state, has been the lack of power of the local administration. Since 1883, the nation has been divided into legally uniform provinces, such that backwards rural provinces have the same legal status as the developed provinces such as Barcelona. Two representatives were appointed to represent local interests: the Governor, the state's chief provincial representative, was designated by the head of state; and the Mayor, the state's municipal representative, who is the chief executive officer of a locally elected council. However, in practice the two roles have not been clearly

separated (Medhurst, 1973: 180-183). Moreover, the lack of control over resources by local governments has further restricted their activities. As Medhurst, 1973: 205, has pointed out "the state has increasingly tended to become the paymaster of local authorities and so be in a position to influence the speed and nature of local development".

With the coming to power of the Franco dictatorship, in 1939, the situation was reinforced. The established "Organic Democracy" made sure that the local administration would not challenge the political institutions of the regime (as we shall see in chapter Six). Moreover, Catalonia lost its autonomy and the workers' unions were suppressed. In the first years of the dictatorship strong political repression was exercised which affected both the Catalan and the workers movement.

When, in 1958, the "Ley de Convenios Colectivos" was passed, the state no longer fixed industrial wages and enterprises could negotiate their own agreements with the workers. This made it possible for workers to hold meetings as part of the negotiations. Workers' Commissions emerged in industrial centres, initially as isolated islands and later, in the 1960s, as an organized movement. The traditional Workers' unions, Socialist and Anarcho-syndicalist, did not play a prominent part in the initial stages. It was the Communist Party, which practiced "entrism", or occupation of posts by militants, within the Francoist bureaucratic structure. In this way the Community Party members and members of the Workers' Commissions (closely related) were increasingly introduced into factories as the representatives of the workers in the official syndical union. However, "employers who wished to modernize and make productivity deals, if such deals were to stick at

the shop floor, negotiated with the illegal unions" (Carr, 1980: 161).

In Catalonia, "a Catalan cultural revival was the symbol of a national protest" (Carr, 1980: 170), particularly from the 1960s onwards. In 1971, the underground organization, Catalan Assembly, co-ordinated a national opposition to the regime on the basis of its undemocratic character. This protest was supported by both right and left wing parties. Illegal workers' unions included a recognition of Catalan autonomy as one of the social rights for social democracy. Moreover, urban social movements in Barcelona (developed from Family Associations, cultural organizations, educational centres and religious groups) considered democratic control of local councils to be not only a political right but also a necessary social conquest in order to end offensive urban inequality. The working class (mainly immigrant) and the progressive middle class were the protagonists, demanding Catalan political autonomy in the 1970s under the slogan: "Freedom, Amnesty, Autonomous Status". Thus, once more an alliance of classes took place in order to achieve political autonomy.

However, by the end of the 1970s social and economic conditions had changed in both Catalonia and Spain. The workers' and students' movements were, from the beginning of the 1970s, demonstrating their strength openly in the streets of the larger cities and their existence could no longer be ignored by the government. In Barcelona, this form of protest against the despotic regime involved the political organization of factory workers, neighbourhood associations, students and on many occasions, young priests opposed to the hierarchy. In the last years of the regime, opposition to the government was widespread amongst many

sectors of society, both inside and outside political parties in the urban arena.

After Franco's death, Catalonia registered a majority of Socialist votes in the general elections of 1977. However, in the local elections Barcelona became represented by Socialists and Communists, as did most of the major cities. Again, in trade union elections, these same parties shared the votes of the workers (the Anarchist union did not recover from the repression suffered after the Civil War). Only the elections for political autonomy proved to have different results: the victor, *Convergencia Democratica*, was basically supported by small-scale Catalan businessmen and "petty bourgeois" families, mainly in rural areas.

What was the attitude of immigrant workers to the formation of a Catalan government? As the press commented in Barcelona, the immigrant workers demonstrated more sympathy than real support for a nationalist government. However, in contrast with the Anarchist' leaders declarations against the nationalists at the beginning of the century, Socialist and Communist union leaders did not, in 1980, express opposition to the formation of a Catalan government.

Nevertheless, it can be suggested that they saw in the local council, rather than the Catalan government a more obvious channel through which to put forward their electoral aspirations for the local administration. These fluctuations demonstrate the significance of the immigrant issue in Catalan politics, particularly in Barcelona.²⁰

20. In the case of Andalusians, an attempt was made by the Andalusian Socialist Party to politicise immigrant identity in Barcelona. This made possible the entry of a member of this party to the Catalan parliament, however, the majority of Andalusian workers and immigrant workers, in general, were not sympathetic to what they saw as an attempt to politically divide the workers.

Conclusions

We have seen that if we wish to understand the urbanization of Barcelona we have to consider the particular pattern of industrialization that developed in Spain in which the state played an important role. The lack of commitment of the Spanish state to industrial expansion strengthened the traditional power structure based on the political control of the economy by agricultural landlords. Despite attempts to achieve an "industrial revolution", Spain remained a predominantly agricultural country until the 1950s, only in regions such as Catalonia and the Basque Country did a relatively strong industrial bourgeoisie emerge in the nineteenth century. Thus, the law of uneven and combined development developed by Trotsky in his analysis of Russia seems to be of value in relation to Spain. However, a distinctive feature of uneven development in Spain has been the continuing relevance of the "regional question" in those regions where industrial development emerged. In Catalonia, the nationalist movement has been of considerable importance in the politics of industrialization. In Barcelona, this movement interacted with the radical political attitude of the "fresh" immigrant proletariat up to the Civil War. As we have seen, immigration has been a key aspect of the social structure of Barcelona and of the political organization of the city. Since the 1960s, when Spain finally achieved its "industrial revolution", working class consciousness and nationalist interests in Barcelona have united in a struggle to restore democracy and Catalan autonomy. However, class and ethnic divisions remain problematic and the immigrant issue still poses important questions in the present situation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CASE OF LA MAQUINISTA TERRESTRE Y MARITIMA. AN EXPLORATION INTO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LABOUR FORCE IN BARCELONA

This chapter is based on a study of one factory in Barcelona. It explores, in greater depth the tendencies noted in the previous chapter with respect to the characteristics of industrial expansion in Barcelona. Two processes are considered: a] the conditions under which industry has developed within the context of the Spanish economy, and b] Barcelona's workforce characteristics and conditions of reproduction.

Barcelona developed as an industrial city earlier and to a greater extent than other Spanish cities (eg. Madrid). It did so in the context of an agricultural economy in which the state did not support the creation and expansion of industry. Two processes shaped the growth of Barcelona. First, Catalan industrialists had to operate in an unstable market. Second, Catalan industrialists were forced to assume the financial responsibility for infrastructure and services which in other countries were taken on by the state. Thus a pattern of privatization developed, based on industrial colonies, mainly in the textile industry (Terrades, 1978). However, in the case of large engineering factories such as La Maquinista, state indifference to the needs of industry modified production.

La Maquinista, one of the largest firms in Barcelona, was founded in 1855 to make textile machinery, steam engines and boilers for the navy and merchant marine, railway engines and gas and water powered motors. This diversification of production was required in order to operate in limited and fluctuating markets. It represents the first attempt to consolidate

industrialization in Barcelona through the concentration of capital and labour in order to provide capital goods. Textile machinery had to be built on license from Platts of Oldham. Collaboration with other foreign firms enabled La Maquinista to produce diesel and steam engines, rolling stock for the railways and tramways. Thus, not only was a diversification of production necessary but the work itself had also to be organized under foreign license.

A central feature of Barcelona's labour force is the constant influx of immigrant labour. This process of immigration resulted from the increasing income opportunities the city offered to workers from the rest of Catalonia, but predominantly from distant regions of the country. What is unclear from the general statistics is the extent to which this migrant labour has been assimilated into the different sectors of the economy and positions in occupational structure. The study of La Maquinista provides an interesting example of the participation of migrants in industry. It allows us to see to what extent these immigrant workers resemble the young proletariat referred to by Trotsky in his study of the industrial revolution in Russia. Further, it allows ^{us} to see how the immigrant workers interacted with Catalan workers in the occupational structure of industry. In contrast to native workers, migrants, especially those from rural areas with relatively low levels of education, might be expected to predominate in small-scale industry, workshops and services. Such a migrant insertion into the urban economy has been reported in many Latin American countries. where migrants to cities work in construction, personal services and small-scale industry (Butterworth and Chance, 1981). The extent to which migrants participate in large-scale industry demanding high levels of skill, such as La Maquinista, provides an indication of whether or not migrants

suffer occupational disadvantage by comparison with native workers.

Description Of The Firm

The headquarters of La Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima are in San Andres, occupying 257.662 square metres. It is composed of the General Office, technical departments and the following workshops: diesel engine; assembly shops; machine shops; boiler-making and structural manufacturing workshops; general stores; public works machinery technical assistance; apprentice training platforms; laboratories; quality control; machine park, boilers and structures equipment shops.

The firm is basically divided into three main sectors: One is occupied by the managers and the technicians, where the manufacturing cycle begins with the marketing function, the initial task of obtaining orders. When an order has been secured the work of design takes place. This section of the firm consists of professional highly qualified staff, employed in research and development activities. Few manual workers enter this section, foremen go there to discuss the order and problems of its production in the workshops and they take the designs to the workshops. located at the end of the premises. Thus, the foremen develop a strong sense of responsibility over the work to be done. In the workshops, the diversity of functions creates a high division of tasks. In general, the operations are large involving very modern technology and tasks, therefore, change according to each new consignment of machinery to be produced. There is very little assembly line production which therefore means that a high level of specialization and hence of skilled labour is required. Work organization, then, involves the formation of groups of workers, each operating on a particular

unit of production. Labour is organized under a foreman with small numbers of skilled workers helped by apprentices. The manufacturing cycle ends where it began, under the supervision of the managers.

This unitised organization of production requires a communication system which brings people together on a day-to-day operational basis. It is often in this communication process that skills are passed on from senior workers to less skilled workers and apprentices.

A third, separate building houses the clerical and ancillary staff. the training section and the canteen. This building functions as the meeting place for all La Maquinista workers, and it is here that day to day contact between manual workers and some of the non-manual workforce is established. Workplace meetings over wage-bargaining and work conditions are also held within this building.

Table 3.1

Distribution of the posts within La Maquinista

Managers and technicians	569
Clerical and service employees	222
Foremen	40
Manual workers	1,615
Apprentices	132
TOTAL	2,578

Source: La Maquinista

1. The total number of workers will change slightly for each table because some of the variables information were missing in La Maquinista records.

Characteristics Of The Workforce

In this section two dominant issues will be considered: 1] the participation and occupational position of immigrants in La Maquinista; 2] the relation between industry and urbanization from the point of view of the workers' residence. In order to develop the discussion, I shall analyse the contemporary characteristics of the labour force and then consider the changes that have taken place in the characteristics of the firm's labour force as a result of the fundamental economic changes of recent years.

a) The Actual Workforce

In 1977, the composition of the labour force in the firm (Table 3.2) shows a high level of employment of immigrant workers from regions such as Andalusia and Castiles, which are located a long distance from Catalonia. Whereas, nearby regions, such as Aragon or Valencia, contribute fewer workers. Workers from industrially developed areas such as the Basque country do not represent a significant proportion in the total number of workers. This distribution reflects the more general distribution of migrants in the city. Table 2.14 showed the increasing importance of immigrants from Andalusia and Castiles and their decreasing importance from areas such as Aragon and Valencia, a tendency shared by the immigrants from the Basque country.

These figures show that the uneven character of the industrialization process in Spain has not lessened in recent years. This means that regional disequilibrium has not decreased, despite a programme of regional planning. Andalusia has remained controlled by the latifundia system, whereas Galicia

Table 3.2

Origin of workers in La Maquinista

Barcelona	33.8 (515)
Rest of Catalonia	3.6 (55)
Andalusia	26.8 (408)
Aragon	5.0 (76)
Basque count. and Asturias	3.0 (46)
Castiles	12.6 (192)
Galicia	3.7 (55)
Murcia	7.8 (119)
Valencia country	2.8 (43)
Islands	<u>0.8</u> (13)
	99.9
Total workers	1,522

Source: La Maquinista records.

and northern Castile have continued to be divided into small holdings. although a certain concentration of property has taken place under the programme of "Concentracion Parcelaria". This programme attempted to rationalise production by the concentration of land ownership and technological inputs.

This pattern of migration and labour recruitment over long distance is similar to that occurring in the urbanization process of many Latin American countries (Roberts, 1981: 215). It contrasts, however, with the experience of core economies such as England, as pointed out in the previous chapter. In Manchester, for example, the labour input into the economy during the process of industrialisation was provided mainly by short-distance migration from the industrialised rural areas, with the exception of the Irish, who constituted the largest proportion of unskilled labour (Roberts, 1981: 197).

Workers in La Maquinista are, in general, of rural origin, especially those who are born outside the region of Catalonia (Table 3.3). This finding reinforces the argument put forward in the previous chapters, stressing the importance of the rural structure for the pattern of urbanization in Barcelona.

There is no single pattern of long distance rural-urban migration; it varies according to personal opportunities. From the information gathered in interviews, it appears that in some cases there was only a single move by workers from the place of origin to Barcelona. Usually, the move involved very scarce and limited economic resources, such as small amounts saved to cover the train ticket to Barcelona and to rent accommodation for a few

Table 3.3

Rural and urban origin of manual workers in Maquinista

Origin

Barcelona and Catalan cities	34.1%	(519)
Rural Catalonia	3.4	(51)
Cities of Spain	8.1	(123)
Rural Spain	<u>54.4</u>	(828)
	100.0	
Total workers	1,521	

Source: La Maquinista records.

months. In other cases, men acquired some skills in the building industry or in industrial workshops of medium-sized cities of the provinces, located between their place of origin and Barcelona. In fewer cases, workers had migrated to work in large factories for a few years in a northern European country.

In general, Barcelona was the place where most of the workers interviewed had established their working careers. It is evident that the large number of small-scale industries gave unskilled workers the opportunity to get experience in a workshop, before entering a more specialised factory. In fact, a large part of La Maquinista's work-force had worked in a workshop or factory before they were employed by the firm. Only 9.6 per cent of workers had no previous work experience in Barcelona. On the other hand, 40.0 per cent had one job before entering La Maquinista, 30.3 per cent had two jobs and 19.8 per cent had worked in three or more different jobs. Thus, learning industrial skills took place in one or more factories, mainly through work experience rather than apprenticeship.

Out of the total labour force in La Maquinista in 1977, the proportion of manual workers born in Barcelona or in other Catalan provinces was 37.5 per cent, by comparison with 62.5 per cent of workers born in other regions of the country. In contrast, among the non-manual workers of the firm (which includes managers and white-collar workers) 72.6 per cent were Catalan, while 37.4 per cent were migrants. The comparison between the figures for manual workers and white collar employees shows that Catalans are likely to occupy a higher status in the occupational structure than are migrants.

In 1977, the skill structure of the manual labour force (Table 3.4) displayed two important characteristics: [a] the high level of skill of the workers in general; [b] the relative homogeneity of skills among them. Thus, in La Maquinista there is a high degree of specialization among the labour force in general. This raises the question: To what extent does this highly skilled homogeneity involve a tendency towards the de-skilling of labour? If that is the case, we may expect to find among workers a feeling of frustration over their working career, resulting in more importance being placed on the purchasing capacity of their income than on the organization of work and class organization. I shall leave this question open for the time being.

The other basic issue here is that of the relation between industry and urbanization, which will be considered by looking at the residential patterns of the factory's workers. It has been noted above that the process whereby industry relocated from the inner city areas of Barcelona to the periphery of the city encouraged a similar tendency in the expansion of housing. However, it is not clear to what extent industrial workers live near the factories in which they work. Taking La Maquinista workers as an example, we can see (Table 3.5) that the majority of them reside in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Barcelona, but not necessarily near the factory.

Only 9.65 per cent of the labour force live in the inner city areas, whereas 36.5 per cent live in the medium-site areas and 53.7 per cent in those areas located on the periphery. However, further distinctions have to be considered, such as which areas are located near to the factory and which ones involve long journeys. The firm is located in San Andres, not very

Table 3.4

Occupational structure of the labour force, 1977

Skilled	73.2%	(1,115)
Semi-skilled	26.5	(404)
Un-skilled	0.3	(4)
Apprentices	<u>0.0</u>	(0)
	100.0	
Total workers	1,523	

Source: La Maquinista records.

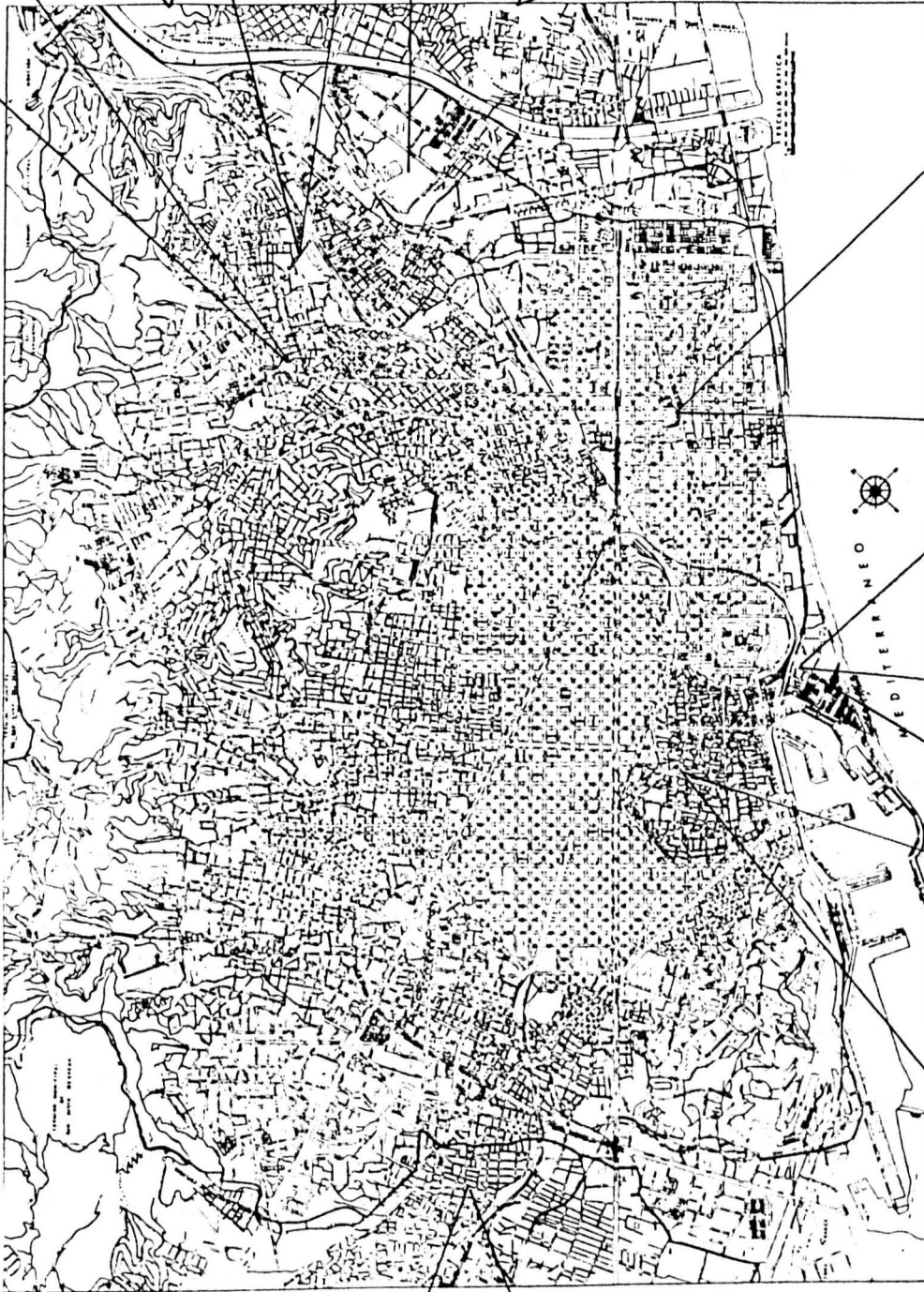
Table 3.5

Residence of workers

<u>Inner city areas</u>	Old Town	3.1	9.7%
	Barceloneta	6.6	
	Pueblo Nuevo	8.7	
<u>Medium site areas</u>	San Andres	12.6	36.5%
	Buen Pastor-Meridiana	15.2	
	Verdum	15.6	
<u>Peripheral Areas</u>	Sta. Coloma	14.5	53.7%
	Badalona-S. Adriam	6.7	
	Hospitalet	16.9	
<hr/> Total workers			99.9% 1523

Source: La Maquinista records.

URBAN TRACING OF BARCELONA



VERDUN

SANTA COLUMA

BUEN PASTOR-
-MERIDIANA

NEW LA MAQUINISTA
FACTORY

BARCELONA -
SAN ADRIAN

PUEBLO NUEVO

LA BARCELONETA

OLD LA MAQUINISTA
FACTORY

OLD TOWN

HOSPITALET

far from Buen Pastor-Meridiana. The table shows that only 27.8 per cent of the workers live in adjacent neighbourhoods, while the rest live at relatively long distances. I suggest that there is a tendency for the workers to live in the newly constructed areas, whether they are located close to the firm or not. In fact it is interesting to note that 16.9 per cent live in Hospitalet, an area located at the other end of Barcelona (see map).

The evidence of these three tables has important implications for our argument. From them, we can see that migrants are an important part of the labour force, and that most immigrant workers are of rural origin. These two factors make the importance of the regional question apparent, as it reflects the heavy component of industrial workers of rural origin settling in an industrial society. The tables also show that most of these immigrant workers are skilled, which means that they have undergone a process of learning through industrial experience. Moreover, they are located in different areas of Barcelona, but mainly on the periphery of the city.

Important similarities with the Russian case are present here, such as the presence of young workers from rural backgrounds ready to change attitudes and become skilled workers in large industries of the main cities. However, an important distinction should be drawn between the Russian and Spanish proletariats, that is the volatility of this last group until recent years. In Russia, and particularly in the Vyborg industrial district, workers were concentrated in industries in the areas where they lived and around which they organized politically in 1917 (Trotsky, 1979). The picture offered of these workers is one of stability both in the job and place of residence. In Barcelona, however, immigrant workers in most

cases had already changed jobs since they arrived, before entering La Maquinista. In the same way, there are some indications that the relocation of industry on the outskirts of the city has facilitated both industrial and urban mobility among workers. I shall explore these questions in the following sections.

b) Changes in the workforce

In this section I will explore the extent to which the present characteristics of the workforce in La Maquinista are the outcome of a continuing process. As in the previous section the variables to analyse are the origin of the workers, skill level and pattern of residence. One of the main aims here is to see the extent to which migrants have been a constant element of the labour force in Barcelona. In order to observe the changes that have taken place in recent years, the information has been grouped into decades (with the exception of Table 3.6 which only considers recruitment periods of five years out of each decade).

From the figures in Table 3.6, it can be seen that the presence of migrant workers in the labour force of La Maquinista has been constant since the 1940s. In fact, the proportion of immigrants slightly surpasses that of workers from Catalonia. However, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the proportion of Catalan immigrants has also been high in these periods (Table 2.14). This suggests that Catalans may not be so heavily represented in the manual work force as they may be in services or white collar posts. If this has been the case, it could be expected that a process developed in the city by which the occupational mobility of Catalans and their advantageous position in the labour market in general (due to

Table 3.6
Origin of workers in time

<u>Those recruited in Years</u>	<u>Barcelona</u>	<u>Catalan villages</u>	<u>Immigrants</u>	<u>Total</u>
1945-49	36.2%	5.6%	60.0%	902
1955-59	48.1%	2.5%	49.4%	790
1965-69	42.5%	4.2%	53.3%	650
1974-76	29.1%	2.1%	70.2%	272
Total				2,614

Source: La Maquinista records.

to higher skill levels and knowledge of the Catalan language) have left a space for immigrants from other regions in the manual labour force of industry.

With respect to workers from Barcelona, whose date^{te} of entry into the firm was from 1960 onwards, it was found that in some cases they were second generation migrants and a few of them had fathers who were also workers in La Maquinista: Tentatively, this suggests that in contrast with Catalans, other immigrants remain in the manual workforce, whereas the influx of immigrants into the labour market could have given Catalans the opportunity to experience occupational mobility towards non manual jobs. I shall consider this question later on in this chapter.

With the relocation of the industrial premises of La Maquinista from La Barceloneta to San Andres in the late 1950s, the growth of the firm's workforce shows a high increase similar to that of the 1940s (Table 3.7). There was also a tendency to employ more highly skilled labour in the 1960s by comparison with previous periods. For example, among those workers recruited between 1950 and 1959 that became part of the stable labour force, only 19 per cent entered as skilled labour, whereas the rest entered in the following proportions: 6 per cent semi-skilled; 70.8 per cent unskilled and 4.2 per cent apprentices (a total of 376 workers). However, in the 1960s a change took place in this pattern; out of the 254 workers recruited in these years which became part of the stable workforce of the firm, 39.5 per cent were skilled, 14.5 per cent semi-skilled, 31.18 per cent unskilled and 14.3 per cent apprentices. This tendency increased more dramatically in the period 1970-1976 when the proportion of skilled workers employed rose to 46.7 per cent. Moreover, if the unstable labour force is also considered this tendency is manifested more sharply³.

3. This information from La Maquinista records has also been computerised.

Table 3.7

Growth of the workforce

<u>Years</u>	<u>Workers</u>
1940	443
1950	882
1960	1,258
1970	1,272
1975	1,392

Source: La Maquinista records.

The number of 'unstable' workers decreased from 855 in 1950-1959 to 740 in the 1960s. Among this group the proportion of skilled and apprentices was considerably higher than the rest; between 1960-1969 43.4 per cent and 37.5 per cent, whereas the proportion of semi-skilled was 6.5 per cent and unskilled only 12.6 per cent. This tendency has continued during the seventies when there was a turnover of only 135 workers recorded from 1970 to 1976. In these years the proportion of skilled workers that entered the factory within this group was 44.2 per cent, whereas only 3.3 per cent were unskilled workers.

From these figures it can be seen that two tendencies have appeared in recent years: 1] the stabilization of labour, 2] the increasing employment of skilled labour and the consequent decrease in employment of unskilled workers. This change in industrial organization should be understood in the context of the significant transformation of the Spanish economy in the 1960s, more in line with advanced capitalist countries, involving an homogenization of the working class in terms of skill. I shall return to this issue later in this chapter.

What were the consequences of the factory's relocation for the process of urbanization? Did the place of residence of workers change as well in those years? Through interviews conducted in the firm with managers and workers, we were told that when the premises of the factory were relocated from La Barceloneta to San Andres some changes were observed in the firm's policies. Early retirement was offered to the older workers who did not want to move from La Barceloneta and for whom the introduction of long daily journeys, at their age, was troublesome. Facilities such as loans were given to workers who wanted to move to areas near the factory.

A few buildings were constructed on the firm's own land around the factory, where some of the workers went to live, although no significant numbers were properly relocated according to formal planning. In the majority of cases, the workers of La Maquinista found their accommodation by other means, without the assistance of the firm.

Have, then, changes in worker's residence occurred in relation to the firm's relocation?

As the figures in Table 3.8 demonstrate, the historical pattern of residence for workers is one of movement from the inner, city and medium-site neighbourhoods towards the periphery of the city. This change in the pattern of residence seems to be more marked in the decade 1960-1969, which corresponded to the expansion of the economy in general and of industry in particular. Thus, a close correlation developed between industrial development and urbanization in Barcelona. Which kind of urbanization developed in terms of housing and services? How, and by whom, were these provided? Did workers in general, and migrant workers in particular, move house, or was this pattern of urbanization the result of new waves of immigration? It seems that both patterns were present; however, I shall leave these questions for the following chapter.

Another interesting aspect of these figures is that they show a relatively high number of workers in La Maquinista remained in the inner city area in the 1970s. This proportion corresponds to 'unstable' workers. I had the opportunity to interview two of these temporary workers in La Maquinista who were, in both cases, sons of factory' workers. Encouraged by their parents they entered La Maquinista on the basis that it was a stable

Table 3.8

Change in the patterns of residence of workers

<u>Areas</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Medium Site</u>	<u>Peripheral</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Years of first entry</u>				
1912-39	28.7%	47.2%	23.9%	205
1940-49	21.3%	42.7%	36.3%	1,844
1950-59	18.5%	40.2%	39.4%	1,288
1960-69	9.9%	39.2%	50.1%	1,144
1970-76	16.7%	34.1%	48.8%	585
TOTAL				5,066

Source: La Maquinista records.

firm where they could learn a skill. But in both cases, they found wages lower than in other enterprises and decided to change jobs. In one case, the worker and his family still lives in the inner city area of La Barceloneta, whereas the other one has moved outside Barcelona. Thus, if we compare the figures for this last period with the figures for 1977 we can be sure that it is 'high turnover labour' and not 'stable labour' that tends to remain in the inner city areas of Barcelona.

This raises important questions: Are those workers who leave the factory better qualified and able to get better paid jobs? Which group tends to be more mobile, Catalans or migrants? I shall be concerned with these questions in the following section on occupational mobility.

In this section we have seen that La Maquinista, like many other industries in Barcelona, has been an enterprise where both Catalan and migrant workers have learned industrial skills. A new trend towards a more stabilized labour force, started in 1960s. This stabilization of the industrial labour force could have involved a more stable pattern of urbanization. However, Table 3.8 demonstrates the way that in the last two decades workers have moved towards the peripheral neighbourhoods of Barcelona. This pattern can be interpreted as a consequence of a lack of planning. Thus even when a job has been secured workers may still have to find suitable accommodation. I shall explore these patterns in the following chapters through three case studies.

Occupational Mobility

Here I wish to discuss some of the questions that have been raised in the previous section that refer to the characteristics of Barcelona as

an industrial city outlined in Chapter Two. We know that urbanization in Barcelona has taken place with the participation of large numbers of immigrants who are an active part of the city's labour process. However, we also want to know to what extent job expansion and the changing industrial organization gave scope for occupation^{al}/mobility and maybe social mobility. What are the industrial employment opportunities for these workers in relation to Catalan workers? Such questions aim to illuminate the issue of whether or not there is a differentiated working class in Barcelona.

Firstly, I shall explore the general characteristics of the occupational mobility experienced by both Catalan and immigrants in La Maquinista without establishing this division. Secondly, I shall look at the two groups in order to compare their position in the firm.

[a] General characteristics of the workforce

Between 1940 and 1977, members of the existing workforce and those who have left the factory experienced occupational mobility (Table 3.9). This has been especially the case for those workers that stayed in the factory and who constitute the present workforce. A large proportion of those workers who left the firm between 1950 and 1970 were skilled. For example, in the 1960s out of the total workers who left the factory in those years, 60.1 per cent were skilled. This finding has two important implications: a] a considerable proportion of these workers acquired their skills while in the firm, b] they left La Maquinista looking for better jobs. According to the firm's employment manager this was a common trend in the years in which Barcelona experienced an expansion in job opportunities. He also pointed out that workers trained in La Maquinista

Table 3.9

Category occupied by workers when leaving and/or in 1977

<u>Period of entry stable/unstable</u>	<u>skilled</u>	<u>semi-skilled</u>	<u>unskilled</u>	<u>apprentice</u>	<u>total</u>
<u>1940-1949</u>					
Present work force	65.9	29.7	0.3	0.0	283
Those who have left	41.2	24.4	21.3	12.5	1,080
<u>1950-1959</u>					
Present work force	65.5	32.5	0.0	0.0	395
Those who have left	60.1	8.2	13.1	9.4	780
<u>1960-1969</u>					
Present work force	82.3	15.2	0.0	0.0	368
Those who have left	59.6	12.1	8.0	19.2	620
<u>1970-1976</u>					
Present work force	73.2	25.6	0.7	0.0	445
Those who have left	47.4	31.6	3.3	14.1	135
TOTAL					4,106

Source: La Maquinista records.

are likely to find well paid jobs in large-scale industries, often with higher wages than in La Maquinista. For example, many of these workers went to the car industry SEAT, established in Barcelona in the late 1960s.

Another important consequence of this process of job mobility was that new replacement workers were needed by the firm. Although, as we have seen, a proportion of these entered La Maquinista as skilled workers many found in the factory the opportunity to acquire skills through the work process. Thus, it can be suggested that industries in Barcelona have offered scope for occupational mobility and that the growth of the city itself has extended the nature and scope of employment opportunities.

However, this finding needs to be specified in such a way that we can tell more about the occupational mobility of these workers. For example, we want to know the proportion of manual workers that have entered as unskilled and have become semi-skilled or skilled. In order to explore this I shall look at the labour force divided into three groups: 1] those who retired before the 1970s; 2] those workers who were 'unstable'; and 3] those who have become part of the present workforce or 'stable' workers.

Table 3.10 shows the occupational mobility for three categories of workers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled). Whereas in the case of skilled workers the majority remained as such (only 6.99 per cent became foremen), in the case of semi-skilled workers 56.44 per cent experienced mobility and in the case of the unskilled workers 91.14 moved to another category. Thus, we can suggest from Table 3.10 that while there has been an occupational mobility, the less skill a worker had at the point of entry the more possibilities for mobility he had within La Maquinista.

Table 3.10

Occupational mobility before 1970s (retired workers)

Occupational status at entry	Occupational status at retiring				Total w.
	Foremen	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	
Skilled	6.99	93.01			186
Semi-skilled	3.96	52.48	41.58	1.98	101
Un-skilled	2.53	24.05	64.56	8.86	79
Apprentices	-	-	-	-	
Total workers	19	254	93	9	362

Source: La Maquinista records.

To what extent has this been a generalised characteristic? We will answer this question by looking at the other two groups. In the case of 'unstable' workers, we can see in Table 3.11 that a larger proportion came as skilled labour and remained as such, with the exception of the 3.4 per cent of workers that became foremen. On the other side, the unskilled workers moved upwards in almost fifty per cent of the cases (13.12 per cent to skilled and 33.75 per cent to semi-skilled). However, the most dramatic changes were those experienced by apprentices, who either became skilled workers or left the factory after a short period of time with the same status. This latter group have done relatively better than those who entered as unskilled workers. However, the difference is not very notable considering the fact that apprentices received training whereas unskilled workers learned through work experience. The fact that many workers became skilled through work experience is an important point to be considered, because it shows how it has been possible for immigrant workers, as well as Catalans, to make their industrial career without a formal training. If this pattern were repeated among most workers in Barcelona, it would emphasise the point that labour has been a cheap resource for industry and for the economy of the country as a whole, more so than in most European countries.

Before any conclusions are drawn it is necessary to consider the characteristics of those workers who have remained in the firm and constitute the existing workforce. In Table 3.12 we can see that the occupational mobility of this group of workers has been more dramatic than in the previous group. This is especially so for the apprentices of whom ^m96.61 per cent had become either skilled workers or foremen by 1977. Workers entering as unskilled became skilled in more than 50 per cent of the cases, and a

Table 3.11

Occupational mobility among unstable workers

Occupational status at entry	Occupational status at leaving					
	Foremen	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Appren.	Total w.
Skilled	3.40	96.17	0.43			1,175
Semi-skilled	1.37	21.92	76.71			365
Un-skilled	-	13.12	33.75	52.50	0.63	800
Apprentices	1.19	46.43	2.38	1.19	48.81	840
Total workers	55	1,705	575	430	415	3,180

Source: La Maquinista records.

Table 3.12

Occupational mobility among stable workers

Occupational status at entry	Occupational Status in 1977				
	Foremen	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Total w.
Skilled	1.98	98.02	-	-	505
Semi-skilled	1.41	52.11	46.48	-	213
Unskilled	1.88	49.83	47.60	0.69	584
Apprentices	4.52	92.09	3.39	-	177
Total workers	32	1,060	383	4	1,479

Source: La Maquinista records.

similar pattern is found among those whose status was semi-skilled at the point of entry. Thus, it can be suggested that La Maquinista has been a place where workers had built up their career in industry originally as manual labour.

[b] Catalans and immigrant workers

One question remains unclear from these figures. Have immigrant workers experienced the same possibilities as Catalan workers for occupational mobility? More generally, is there a differentiated working class based on ethnic divisions?.

If occupational mobility was experienced equally by Catalan and immigrant workers in La Maquinista, does this reflect a change in whatever the tendency was in the past? To answer this question I shall first consider the group of workers that retired before the 1970s to show the character of occupational mobility in the past. Consideration will then focus on the workers that left the factory after a few years and then on the existing workforce. The results of this enquiry have important implications for understanding the relations between industrial organization and class organization.

In Table 3.13 it can be observed that by comparing both groups, although Catalans entered the firm with a slight advantage (the proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants was higher than that of Catalans) once they are inside a similar pattern of occupational mobility can be seen. Catalans did a little better, though, in moving into the most advantageous positions. As these figures show 9.8 per cent of the Catalan skilled workers became foremen and 45.45 per cent of the semi-skilled became skilled,

Table 3.13

Occupational mobility among retired workers

Occupational status at entry	Occupational status at retiring									
	CATALANS					IMMIGRANTS				
	Foremen	skilled	semi-skilled	unskilled	Total	foremen	skilled	semi-skilled	unskilled	Total
skilled	9.80	90.20			92	4.17	93.75	2.08		96
semi-skilled	3.03	45.45	51.52		33	3.03	33.33	60.61	3.03	66
un-skilled	4.17	29.17	54.16	12.50	24	1.82	21.82	69.09	7.27	55
<hr/>										
TOTAL	11	105	30	3	149	7	124	80	6	217
	(7.38)	(70.47)	(20.13)	(2.02)		(3.23)	(57.14)	(36.87)	(2.76)	
<hr/>										

Source: La Maquinista records.

while 4.17 per cent of the immigrant skilled workers became foremen and 33.33 per cent of the semi-skilled became skilled. However, these differences are not so relevant as to indicate ethnic discrimination. Has this general pattern continued in the contemporary period?

Table 3.14 shows that among those workers who were more 'unstable', Catalans also have a small advantage at the point of entry. If we compare the proportions of Catalans and immigrants that were employed in the different categories, there is a higher proportion of skilled in the first group. However, the difference is partially explained by the higher proportion of apprentices in the first group (20.74 per cent of the total) in relation to the second group (only 5.15 per cent of the total). Also, a higher proportion of Catalan apprentices moved to skilled positions than immigrants (59.26 per cent) who remained as such when they left the factory.⁴ Nevertheless, unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants did experience occupational mobility in a similar manner to that of Catalans. If we look at the figures in Table 3.14 we can see that among Catalans 2.88 per cent of the skilled workers became foremen and 21.74 per cent of the semi-skilled became skilled. In the case of the immigrant group 3.82 per cent skilled became foremen and 21.28 per cent of the semi-skilled became skilled workers. Thus differences have been reduced considerably if we compare the 'unstable' workers of this table with the 'retired' workers shown in Table 3.13.

Did the stabilization of labour, to which we have referred above, affect Catalan and immigrant groups alike or did immigrants remain volatile in the industrial labour market? Table 3.15 shows that among the more

4. This high proportion of immigrants leaving the factory as apprentices can indicate that they stay for a very short period of time. It can be suggested that they constituted a highly volatile group.

Table 3.14

Occupational mobility among unstable workers

Occupational status at entry	Occupational status at leaving											
	CATALANS					Total	IMMIGRANTS					Total
	Foremen	skilled	semi- skilled	unskill	apprent		Foreman	skilled	semi- skilled	unskill	apprent	
skilled	2.88	97.22				520	3.82	95.42	0.76			655
semi- skilled		21.74	78.26			115	-	21.28	78.72			235
unskilled		28.85	23.08	46.15	1.92	260	-	5.66	38.68	55.66		530
apprent.	0.69	50.00	2.08	1.39	45.84	720	3.70	33.34	3.70	-	59.26	135
TOTAL	20 (1.24)	965 (59.75)	165 (10.22)	130 (8.05)	335 (20.74)	1,615	30 (1.93)	750 (48.23)	400 (25.72)	295 (18.97)	80 (5.15)	1,555

Source: La Maquinista records.

Table 3.15

Occupational mobility among stable workers

Occupational status at entry	Occupational status in 1977									
	CATALANS				Total	IMMIGRANTS				
	Foremen	skilled	semi-skilled	unskilled		Foremen	skilled	semi-skilled	unskilled	Total
skilled	-	100%			178	0.94	99.06			320
semi-skilled	1.33	57.33	41.33		75	1.46	48.91	49.63		137
unskilled	2.10	51.05	46.15	0.70	143	1.83	49.31	48.17	0.69	438
apprent.	4.08	91.87	4.08		147	6.66	93.33			30
<hr/>										
TOTAL	10	429	103	1	543	15	628	279	3	925
	(1.84)	(79.00)	(18.97)	(0.19)		(1.62)	(67.89)	(30.16)	(0.33)	

Source: La Maquinista records.

stable workers (those who have been in the firm for a relatively long period of time and were still in the firm in 1977) the differences between the two groups are not very salient. Very similar proportions of Catalans (32.2 per cent) and immigrants (34.5 per cent) entered the firm as skilled labour. In fact what these figures show is a very small advantage of the second group. However, higher proportion of Catalans entered as apprentices, while immigrants entered in a large proportion as unskilled labour. Differences in occupational mobility within the factory are very small, and if we look at Table 3.15 we can see that both groups have experienced similar occupational mobility. Thus it can be argued that immigrants were part and parcel of the process of stabilization of the labour force in Barcelona.

It is important to note that immigrant workers in industry do not constitute a uniform phenomena. Given the pattern of uneven development of Spain it is important to consider how this pattern has affected workers' position in the labour market. Hence I shall compare the occupational mobility of members of the present workforce of La Maquinista according to the kind of region they come from, e.g. an industrially developed region such as Basque country, a less but still partially developed region, such as Valencia, or an underdeveloped region, Andalusia.

In Table 3.16 it can be seen that workers from the Basque country entered the firm as skilled in a very large proportion (71.2 per cent) by comparison with workers from the other two regions (31.6 per cent Valencians and 34.3 per cent Andalusians). The proportion of unskilled workers at entry shows a dramatic difference between Basques and Valencians (29.7 and 23.7 per cent) on the one hand, and Andalusians (44.5 per cent) on the other.

Table 3.16

Occupational mobility of immigrant workers from Basque Country, Valencia and Andalusia.

	<u>Entry</u>			<u>1977</u>		
	<u>Basq. Country</u>	<u>Valencia</u>	<u>Andalusia</u>	<u>Basq. Country</u>	<u>Valencia</u>	<u>Andalusia</u>
Foremen	-	-	-	5.1	2.6	0.6
Skilled	71.2	31.6	34.3	71.8	63.2	68.5
Semi-skilled	3.7	34.2	18.6	23.1	34.2	30.3
Unskilled	29.7	23.7	44.5	0.0	0.0	0.6
Apprentices	5.4	10.2	2.6	-	-	-
	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00	<hr/> 100.00
TOTAL	(38)	(38)	(344)	(38)	(38)	(344)

Source: La Maquinista records.

There are clear differences in the level of skills according to the degree of development of the region workers came from. However, it is interesting to see how industrial employment in Barcelona offered opportunities for reducing these differences. If we look back to the same table, we can see that differences have been considerably reduced, especially between Andalucians and Valencians where in fact Andalusians in 1977 occupied a slightly better position. In the case of Basque's workers, occupational mobility has been less dramatic than that of the Andalusians but they have still maintained an advantageous position (5.1 per cent foremen against 0.6 per cent). It can be concluded that the learning of skills in and through industrial employment in Barcelona has reduced the occupational differences that immigrants brought with them from their region of origin.

The information presented here, based on an analysis of La Maquinista's changing workforce indicates that industrial employment in Barcelona provided similar opportunities for immigrants and Catalan workers alike to experience occupational mobility. However, the information discussed here has been concerned only with manual workers. Although the occupational and social mobility of non-manual workers exceeds the purposes of this thesis, it seems important to consider the findings of research on social mobility which included data on both manual and non-manual workers.

In a study conducted in Barcelona (Pinilla de las Heras, 1973, 1975, 1976 and 1978) who focused on social mobility among Catalans and immigrants in recent years, it was found that Catalans were more likely to move from manual to non-manual work than immigrants. The study found that Catalans developed more careers of an administrative nature. In a sample of 92 firms, involving 4,400 men, it was found that the higher the socio-professional

category, the lower the percentage of immigrants.

As we have seen in this chapter, a similar trend is discernable in La Maquinista. It may be that an important proportion of La Maquinista's Catalan white collar workers entered the firm as manual workers. If that were the case, and Pinilla de las Heras' findings seem to support this view, it can be suggested that although very little discrimination is found towards immigrants within the manual workforce Catalans experience more opportunities to develop their careers outside the manual workforce. Further, Pinilla de las Heras research is more generally relevant to this thesis since it supports the hypothesis put forward in Chapter Two, that with the insertion of migrants into Barcelona's workforce, Catalans have tended to move up in the occupational structure, becoming white collar workers.

Homogeneization, De-skilling And Union Organization

A process of homogeneization of the workforce has taken place in La Maquinista. An important implication of this process of homogeneization, for this thesis, is whether or not such a process brings about similar economic opportunities to workers in the urban economy through wages. Two aspects are important here: a] difference in wages according to skill, and b] changes in wages over time. The first aspect relates to the process of homogeneization described in this chapter. The second aspect provides a very interesting standpoint from which to examine the changes in living conditions among workers in Barcelona.

We have seen in this chapter that in La Maquinista most of the

workers have learned their skill through work experience rather than through formal training. Within this context, the homogeneization and possible de-skilling of the workforce in Barcelona may have different implications for the organization of the working class⁴ than in other European countries where skilling processes take place through institutional means. And where skilling levels may have been a social conquest. However, the concept of 'de-skilling' (as used by Braverman, 1974) remains relevant to the case of La Maquinista as it points to the decreasing control of workers over the work processes and work organization.

According to interviews with workers, who have been in the firm for a long period of time, there has been an increasing separation between the design of projects and work planning, and the actual execution of the work. The increasing technological complexity of the technology used and produced in the factory has, according to the workers and staff interviewed, accentuated the division between managers and engineers on the one hand, and workers on the other.

The decreasing control of workers over the work organization took place, mainly, in the period in which the workers' unions were vanished. This process, then, could not be resisted by union confrontation. When underground unions started to negotiate wages in the 1960s, however, they concentrated their strength on wage increases. According to informants working in La Maquinista in the pre-Civil War period, salaries varied greatly between skilled and non-skilled workers. By 1978 differences in the wage for different categories of workers were not very prominent. While

4. The difficulties to establish implications from changes in the proportion of skilled labour employed in industry to changes in the class structure have been pointed out by Lee (1983: 146-162).

a skilled worker earned 157.8 ptas. in an hour, a semi-skilled earned 151.3 ptas and an unskilled earned 148.9 ptas in an hour. Thus the process of homogeneization has also been translated ^{into} monetary terms.

The importance of trade union organization in changing working conditions in La Maquinista requires special note. In the pre-Civil War period, according to interviews with workers, the Anarcho-syndicalist union was dominant among the un-skilled workers, who at that time were in the majority. According to the same sources, the skilled and white collar workers of the time were affiliated to the Socialist Union. The Anarcho-syndicalist workers had their own ideas about work organization and during the Civil War period they collectivized the factory, taking full responsibility for production and distribution. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say how successful they were as the firm provided no information on this subject. However, the end of the Civil War and the establishment of the dictatorship brought a complete ban on workers' organizations. Many Anarcho-syndicalist workers left the firm, although those who wanted to remain, and had not been leaders, could return to the factory if they wished (according to one ex-director), and some did seem to have done so.

When workers' organizations began again in the late-1950s, on an underground basis, most of the leaders were affiliated to Workers Commissions (linked to the Communist Party). According to informants, in the union elections of 1978, the proportion of workers in La Maquinista unionized within the Workers Commissions was slightly higher than those unionized within the U.G.T. or Socialist Union. But it was in the Socialist Union where white collar workers tended to be more present. Thus, a new division seems to have appeared between the manual and non-manual workers, instead

of between the skilled and unskilled workers.

Without entering into a discussion on the different policies of the two workers' unions, I wish to point out that both, Workers Commissions and General Workers Union, have been basically concerned with workers' wage-bargaining power. There was no indication from interviews with workers that either have attempted to negotiate changes in the organization of production in the firm. They seem to have been much more concerned with, first being able to negotiate (1950s and 1960s) and then (1970s) with the purchasing capacities of workers in the urban economy.

Turning to the evolution of wages in La Maquinista for skilled workers (Table 3.17), we can see that wages went down in real terms from 1940 to 1951. They show a minor increase in 1952 which continued steadily (with the exception of 1957) until the early 1960s. It is clear that until the 1960s, workers' wages were kept at low, subsistence, levels. This corresponds to the nature of the urban industrial economy of those years, which experienced relatively slow growth (see Chapter Two). It was not until the economic boom of the 1960s that more and better job opportunities were offered in industry. Although trade unions remained illegal, the 1960s witnessed increased involvement of workers in wage negotiations.

If we examine the evolution of wages from 1964 to 1977, we can see a constant increase from 1966 onwards which becomes more salient in the 1970s. From 1964 to 1969 a skilled worker earned an increase of 2.6 ptas more an hour, from 1970 to 1977 he earned an increase of 15.8 ptas more an hour.

Thus these figures reflect the increasing union activity and power

Table 3.17

Evolution of wages in La Maquinista: 1940-1977 for skilled workers **
(in ptas/hour)

<u>1940-1963</u>		<u>1964-1977*</u>	
1940	15	1964	19
1941	12.3	1965	18.5
1942	13.7	1966	20.7
1943	13.8	1967	21.0
1944	13.2	1968	21.5
1945	13	1969	21.6
1946	10.9	1970	22.5
1947	9.7	1971	23.4
1948	9	1972	25.1
1949	8.9	1973	27.9
1950	8.4	1974	30
1951	8	1975	34.7
1952	8.5	1976	33.9
1953	8.3	1977	38.2
1954	8.6		
1955	9.1		
1956	9.1		
1957	12		
1958	10.8		
1959	10.7		
1960	10.7		
1961	11.1		
1962	10.5		
1963	9.8		

Source: La Maquinista.

* Due to the change in the definition and stipulation of salaries that took place with the 'Decreto 55/63' promulgated in 1964 it has been necessary to construct to separate series.

** These series have been deflated by cost of living.

in negotiation with management on wage increases.

Conclusions

This Chapter has shown the extent to which immigrant workers have been incorporated into industrial development in Barcelona. We have seen through the data collected in La Maquinista that a large proportion of the work force was of rural origin. Many of these workers migrated from underdeveloped areas of the country and acquired industrial work experience by working in several workshops in Barcelona. Others learned industrial skills within La Maquinista itself. We have also seen a process of stabilization among these immigrant workers, who in the past appeared to be a volatile social grouping. This "fresh" proletariat has gradually become less differentiated from the more established traditional Catalan working class. Similar opportunities for occupational mobility within the work-force have enabled both groups to cooperate in union organization. However, a new distinction seems to have appeared between manual and non-manual workers, with Catalans tending to be more highly represented in the latter category.

Within the city the relocation of factories, such as La Maquinista, has had important implications. Since La Maquinista was relocated from La Barceloneta to San Andres, the process of worker dispersal throughout the city has become widespread. The pattern of workers residence has changed, from inner city areas, such as La Barceloneta, to the peripheral neighbourhoods of Barcelona. According to some of the workers, this has involved a weakening of the social relations that used to sustain La Maquinista workers themselves and their families.

The main issues around which workers organize are no longer to do with work organization but with increasing wages in order to improve individual standards of living. This increase in wages, I suggest, had important implications for the purchasing capacity of the workers and their families and for the way in which they organized their household economy. Moreover, increasing purchasing capacity among workers can be expected to translate into aspirations for better living conditions, e.g. - in housing and environmental services - which will become manifested in the city.

CHAPTER FOUR

URBAN GROWTH IN BARCELONA: THE CASE STUDIES OF LA BARCELONETA, VALLBONA AND CIUDAD MERIDIANA

Barcelona has been shaped historically by the pattern of industrial development described in Chapter Two. It is a city in which small-scale industry predominates, but which experienced important changes in the 1960s, with the transformation of the economy and the establishment of modern large-scale firms. The relocation of industry from inner city areas to peripheral areas has been an important factor in changing the residential structure and character of Barcelona. From the nineteenth century onwards, Barcelona has exercised considerable attraction as a centre for job opportunities for those living in other parts of Catalonia and, increasingly, from other regions of Spain. This attraction is crucial to an understanding of the social structure of the city. Migrants settled in different parts of the city, depending to a great extent on the location of job opportunities.

In order to understand the urbanization processes at work in Barcelona it is necessary to explore the ways in which migration patterns and industrial development have shaped residential patterns and housing facilities. The state's lack of commitment to industrialization was paralleled by its lack of intervention in urbanization. Housing in Barcelona has not, until recently, been an issue for which the state felt itself responsible. As a result, the organization of most urban space, residential and industrial, is a product of private initiative and widespread land speculation. Working class housing has developed

as a result of individual action and not of state planning.

These themes will be explored through case studies of three areas. The three case studies are put forward as examples of what would appear to be crucial stages in Barcelona's recent development. All three are residential settlements for workers. Thus, they also highlight some of the historical and contemporary processes within which the social and cultural assimilation of migrant workers is taking place.

Urbanization Processes in Barcelona

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Barcelona experienced an important transformation: industrial and population growth was manifested geographically with the destruction of the medieval walls and the extension of the city with the construction of the "Ensanche". This district was built by, and for, the bourgeoisie and the middle classes as an isolated solution to the problems of the growth of production, no consideration was given to the spatial problems of industrial development and workers' housing.

Urban land became a source of capital speculation at that time: whereas in theory, the Ensanche project was an attempt to create a rational space integrating "rural into urban and urban into rural" by the provision of a lot of "green" areas, the reality was quite different. This area, under the control of the landowners, was transformed from a built area of 67,000m³ to 294,771m³. The valorization of the land in this and the following period created an important disequilibrium between the centre and periphery of the city. In the new centre the prices of land

multiplied between thirty and sixty times and sometimes even more (Capel, 1977: 37). There was also an increasing transformation of rural rent into urban rent¹ in the areas between the centre and the periphery (Sola-Morales, 1974).

From that period the city developed in two opposite directions: the bourgeoisie's 'rationally' planned areas and the irregular and unplanned working class settlements of the old city and of small towns in the "exterior crown", which became city slums. They spread outwards concentrically from the old city walls towards the peripheral towns. Through the nineteenth century, however, these towns remained geographically distinct. With reference to them, it was said,

"In general they are irregular, they do not follow any law; the buildings and the roads are the expression of the individual actions and have been successively built in this way, in accordance with the owners' own objectives and purposes".

(Cerde, 1867)

a.] Immigration

By the end of the nineteenth century Barcelona had around half a million population and 28 per cent of them were born outside Barcelona. Most of the immigrant population were members of the labouring classes and this immigration was both short and long distance. Catalan villages and the regions of Aragon and Valencia were the initial suppliers. However, Andalusia also produced the first wave in what was to become a continuous surge of migrants, especially after 1940. As we know from Chapter two, important "push" factors for migration were present after

1. Land ownership around Barcelona city has been classified as rural and taxed accordingly at a lower rate; however, substantial returns have been gained by the owners when the land was converted for urban use.

the Civil War in those areas in which agriculture remained unreformed and large numbers of landless workers moved long distances due to the uneven development of the Spanish economy.

Immigration to Barcelona city grew considerably from 1900, especially from 1911 till 1930 (Table 4.1). It dropped in the years of the Republic, in part due to the expectations of agricultural workers for a land distribution and it went up again after the Civil War ended.

These figures show clearly the extent of immigration and its importance for the urbanization process of Barcelona. Until 1961, population growth due to immigration had been larger than that of natural growth. As it was shown in chapter two, the origins of the immigrants have changed somewhat over the course of this century. Before 1936, the proportion of immigrants from the rest of Catalonia was still higher than that from any other region. After 1940 the pattern changed, with an increasing proportion of immigrants from other regions, particularly Andalusia. As we know, this tendency was evident in the workforce of La Maquinista. A point which shows the extent to which industrial development reflects the general pattern of urbanization in the case of Barcelona.

Andalusians came to Barcelona ^{in a} higher proportion than Catalans up to 1967. Since then there has been a shift and the proportion of this group surpasses that of the Andalusians. As we know from chapter 2 this was a period in which the city expanded more in services traditionally employing more Catalans than migrants. A similar pattern can be suggested for those who came from Castile, since given the centralist character of

Table 4.1

Population growth in Barcelona 1901-1970

<u>Years</u>	<u>natural growth</u>	<u>immigration</u>	<u>absolute growth</u>
1901-1910	382	49,675	50,057
1911-1920	-14,767	137,691	122,924
1921-1930	30,982	264,248	295,230
1931-1940	-9,077	84,687	75,610
1941-1950	42,175	156,829	199,004
1951-1960	91,345	186,339	277,684
1961-1970	151,773	35,506	187.299

Source: L. Recolons, La poblacio de Catalunya, Barcelona, 1974, 250.

the Spanish state a large proportion of the bureaucratic staff has been traditionally occupied by Castilians. In the case of the Castilians, however, there was also a large number of industrial labourers, as we were able to see in La Maquinista's data. In conclusion we can argue that there had been a pattern in which immigration is increasingly from distant regions.

b.] Housing expansion in Barcelona: the lack of urban planning

The increasing number of immigrant workers in Barcelona was not paralleled by a similar increase in the number of houses, with a subsequent deficit (Table 4.2). Between 1818 and 1887 the population in the city increased by 314,022. This disparity between the number of houses and population increase can be partly account^{ed} for by noting the reduction in living space within each house. For instance in 1858 although there were only 5,637 houses they were divided into 44,833 flats (Cerdà, 1867), as some of them were divided up into smaller rooms, as had happened in La Barceloneta.

The unplanned nature of working class residential areas at that time in Barcelona can be seen as a result of two important factors. Firstly, the lack of state provision for services and construction, which partly as a consequence of the extreme centralisation of government was not explicitly concerned with industrial development (taking place in the periphery of the country). Secondly, bourgeois capital was mainly speculative in nature, and found higher rates of return through investment in bourgeois areas. Consequently, there was not investment in the provision of housing for an unstable working class market due to fluctuations

Table 4.2

Number of housing units in Barcelona: 1818-1887

<u>Year</u>		<u>increase</u>
1818	5,797	1826-1818 = 1.0%
1826	5,856	1860-1826 = 33.28%
1860	8,778	1875-1860 = 3.59%
1875	9,105	1887-1875 = 20.94%
1887	11,518	

Source: F. Carreras y Candi, 1914.

in job demand, in which workers were paid low and interrupted wages.

In the first decades of the twentieth century the state seemed to be more intent on expressing its awareness of the deficiency in urban housing and the rights of the consumers than on any practical attempt to transform them. A good example of this was the "Ley de Casas Baratas" (law of cheap houses) in 1911 and the "Segunda Ley de Casas Baratas" (second law of cheap houses) in 1921, which resulted in the construction of only eight hundred houses in Barcelona between 1924 and 1929. However, the state also intervened by obliging the local government to guarantee the payment of rent to companies that built certain number of houses. As a result of this policy, 2,229 houses were built between 1927 and 1929.

In the second decade of the twentieth century, during a period of rapid capital accumulation, the bourgeoisie promoted two ideas regarding the expansion of the city. Firstly, the ideas of "Big Barcelona"², that is a cosmopolitan "modern" city, which was to be stimulated further with the development of infrastructure (buses, underground, port) in the mid 1920s. This opened up opportunities for speculative domestic capital to invest in alliance with foreign capital. Secondly, the idea of a "garden city" ideology similar to that in England. This project ultimately failed as neither the bourgeoisie nor the middle classes moved into these areas between the Ensanche and the peripheral towns, and the working people were unable to exploit the idea, given their low wages. The resultant

2. The Big Barcelona project was promoted by the Catalan bourgeoisie at a time of industrial expansion. They saw in the municipal management of planning a potential platform for participation in the state power (Roca, 1977: 19).

reality was to be quite different from the original ideas, as shall be shown later.

However, none of these plans made any significant contributions to the workers' housing problem, which was tackled in a number of different ways. Many of the immigrants who came without their families found accommodation in "sleeping houses" or cheap hostels. In 1927 approximately one hundred thousand people were living in flats that were sub-let (in individual rooms) (Busquets, 1976: 60).

Immigrants built their own huts to live in, both in public areas where they only tended to pay tax occasionally and in private areas where rent had to be paid daily. There was little public control of this type of housing (in the majority of cases illegal) except when the government wanted to use the land to build houses or roads, in which case the inhabitants were forced to move away. This was the beginning of "marginal urbanization" in Barcelona: a model promoted through the division of the land in the garden city areas into small plots that were then sold at a low price but with no infrastructural facilities. This mode was to become a factor in the later expansion of the city (Sola-Morales, 1976). Thus, housing for immigrant workers was not provided by private firms. Neither was the state very active in the provision of housing for them and of other urban services, so people had to find individual solutions and rely on personal networks, as we shall show in the following chapters.

From 1939 the state attempted to alleviate nationally the housing problem through the creation of the National Institute of Housing and the passing of several laws. However, no attempt was made by the central

government to understand the different local necessities. For example in 1939 the "Ley de Viviendas Protegidas" (law of protected houses) was a limited attempt to give state protection for credit and tax relief. In 1942 the Obra Sindical del Hogar was created under the control of the "vertical syndicate" and the Interior Ministry. At that time it was the most effective state institution in the provision of housing at the national level. Barcelona was the first province where it was put into effect and by the 1950s, 6,450 housing units had been constructed. Its activities were to continue until the 1970s (Fortuny i Jubert, 1976).

However, in Barcelona the "marginal urbanization" pattern began to develop more extensively at a time when 45,000 immigrants were coming into the city yearly (Sola -Morales, 1976). This represented an alternative form of growth with a reduction in the costs of construction (workers continued to earn low wages). Their relative self management, and the transformation of housing into a flexible model that developed according to the size and necessities of the families fitted with a pattern of immigration in which kinship constituted the basic economic and social support for the newcomers. These areas suffered from the disadvantage of not being "urbanised" and, therefore, families had to organise and provide their own infrastructure and services. From the point of view of the land sellers, this involved a transfer from rural rent into urban rent not only through the introduction of services but also the prospect of future urban planning. This model spread from the outer boundaries of the Ensanche towards the industrial crown and beyond that into the province in an ad hoc manner (Sola-Morales, 1976).

Until the mid 1950s, the attitude of the local council was to try

to force industry to take responsibility for housing expansion. "It is industry that has to be first interested in resolving efficiently and in a definite way the big problem of housing ... the enterprise has to be in principle the one responsible for the accommodation of people that are working for them on their property", (local councillor of Sabadell in 1952, in Sola-Morales, 1976). An example of the local government's implementation of these policies can be found in the "compulsory purchase of three small areas of land in which they obliged certain industries (mainly service industries) to build houses for their workers (Memoria de la Comision de Urbanismo de Barcelona, 1955-1959). Between 1939 and 1954 only 5,652 housing units were built by the public sector.

The period from 1953 to 1959 saw a transition from the subsistence infrastructure of autarchy to a financial infrastructure. In this period an important plan was promoted in Barcelona at the local level called "Plan Comarcal" from which developed the "Comision de Urbanismo de Barcelona". In this plan not only were the problems of Barcelona city considered, but also that of the province surrounding the city where important industrial and population settlements had been established which were being incorporated into the metropolitan area.

The basis of the plan was the organization of industry and housing on urban land under a de-centralised standard based on the principle of the separation of factories from residential areas (Ciudad Meridiana is an example of this view). Complementary to this was the special emphasis given to the organization of large roads to facilitate transport. The means for the execution of the plan were the "Planes Parciales"

(partial plans) which established that the Plan Comarcal should be implemented in small units as the necessity arose. However, the mechanism was such that it usually transformed the initial plan in favour of specific private interests (see Chapter Six).

The introduction of "Plan de Urgencia Social" signalled important changes in the planning system and urban local economy. The "Plan de Urgencia Social", was the result of the economic transformation brought about by the introduction of foreign capital. The most important changes observed in the urban expansion were: a] the size of capital involved, e.g. encouraging large investment of capital in urban infrastructure (housing); b] new construction techniques; c] financial investment became more independent from the construction industries. Only big financial firms could participate in these large construction projects, which involved the removal of the small scale owners into a marginal position. As most construction industries remained small in size, a separation was created between financial and construction sectors of the economy.

The 1960s and 1970s were characterised by increasing state intervention to stimulate the economy. However, planning was more

"... a political instrument providing encouragement to the private sector by ensuring that public investment would not compete with private investment and by providing public incentives to stimulate private initiative".

(Richardson, 1975: 8)

State policy aimed at reducing unemployment and at providing a large home market by integrating the workers into a mass consumption programme.

In Barcelona this particular policy was aimed at assimilation of immigrant workers by encouraging them to buy flats, e.g. facilitating long term loans through the saving banks.

Part of the programme in Barcelona involved the decentralisation of industrial concerns by relocating factories outside the city. Despite the aim to organize the anarchic growth of the city, it has been suggested (Roberts, 1981: 211) that the fragmented nature of the industrial structure was an obstacle to planned urban growth. In 1953, within the confines of Barcelona, 280 hectares were occupied by large industries (with more than 500 workers) and 437 hectares occupied by medium and small size firms. These figures became even more disproportionate in the 1960s and 1970s when many large firms moved beyond the city boundaries. Within the city, therefore, there remained a multiplicity of small- and medium-sized firms. Their interests were not in accordance with that of the "Plan Comarcal" but in the manipulation of the Planes Parciales to enable them to remain where they were.

The strategy of the large industrial firms transformed the city into a residential and cosmopolitan area, similar to the "Big Barcelona" idea of the 1920s. These strategies were largely speculative in nature, through the conversion of obsolete factory land into middle class residential areas, the construction of highways into the city, etc. An example of this was the "Plan de la Ribera" that affected the renewal of La Barceloneta.

By tracing the expansion of the city we can see a process in the growth of the workers' residential areas. This has developed in accordance

with three different patterns:

1.] The old medieval city and La Barceloneta were becoming increasingly neglected as part of the owners' strategy of looking for a re-planning of the area that would result in an increase in land value.

2.] The large demand for housing and the lack of provision resulted in a relative generalisation of the informal urbanization, especially of the metropolitan area. A consolidation of this pattern was in part due to an increase of house ownership under long-term credits which to some extent restricted the mobility of the owners. State policy regarding these developments varied in different areas. Sometimes they left the shanty towns to develop in their own way, perhaps introducing some services. In other cases, they did not consent to any improvements at all (Busquets, 1976).

3.] New working class areas were constructed , mainly in the 1960s and 1970s, in the form of "housing blocks" at the periphery of the city and in the metropolitan areas. In terms of planning this was the sphere in which the state was most active and represents the "assimilation of the immigrants" ideology and the absorption of "shanty towns" dwellers into houses of very low quality, constructed both by the administration and by private initiative. In Table 4.3 we can see that: a] until 1955 there was a limited provision of housing with a total restriction of the private sector; and b] in 1960 there was a transfer of "initiative" from public³ to private housing construction. However, this increase in the number of houses built was not accompanied by a parallel provision of services.

3. Public housing in Spain usually involves the purchase of land, construction of basic infrastructure and selling to individual owners. Thus, in contrast with England, there is not a system of council houses by the state.

Table 4.3

Houses built by public and private sectors
in Barcelona and Metropolitan areas

<u>Date</u>	<u>Public</u>		<u>Private</u>	
	<u>blocks/flats</u>		<u>blocks/flats</u>	
Until 1936	4	2,207	0	0
1939-1955	9	3,904	0	0
1955-1965	13	31,171	4	12,945
1965-1972	9	41,383	16	59,755

Source: Ferrer Aixala: Poligonos de vivienda en la Comarca de Barcelona
(II), 1974: 29.

Both the decentralization of industry and the construction of housing for workers at the periphery of the city resulted in spatial mobility. This mobility can be seen in Tables 4.4. and 4.5, which re-emphasises our findings in the example of the workers of La Maquinista.

The important characteristics shown by these figures are:

1.] the concentration of population in the peripheral areas of Barcelona, with a parallel decrease of population in the inner city areas. 2.] the concentration of manual workers and their families in these peripheral areas. Thus, it has been recorded (Recollons, 1974) that in the districts (X, XII and IX) where there was the largest concentration of population, seventy per cent of the population worked in industries (production and service) as manual labour.

I further suggest that it is these districts that house the heaviest concentrations of immigrant workers. This would have important implications, as most of the immigrant proletariat would be spatially separated from other social classes and from most of the Catalan population. If this is the case it could be expected that serious problems may arise in the social, economic, cultural and political adaptation of these people to life in Catalonia.

Nature of Urban Growth and Social Organization in La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana

a.) Description of the Three Areas

The three areas presented here in the form of case studies were selected because they correspond to distinct stages in Barcelona's

Table 4.4
Population increase by districts in Barcelona
between 1924 and 1930

<u>District</u>	<u>Population increase by</u>	<u>Percentage increase</u>
I	9.197	10.56
II	15,063	19.61
III	11,053	22.76
IV	13,053	12.98
V	4,892	4.75
VI	19.541	26.03
VII	26.958	30.34
VIII	23.232	27.03
IX	45,210	47.45
X	23,106	40.25
	<u>191,305</u>	<u>23.37</u>

Source: Jaume Aiguader I Miro, 1932 .

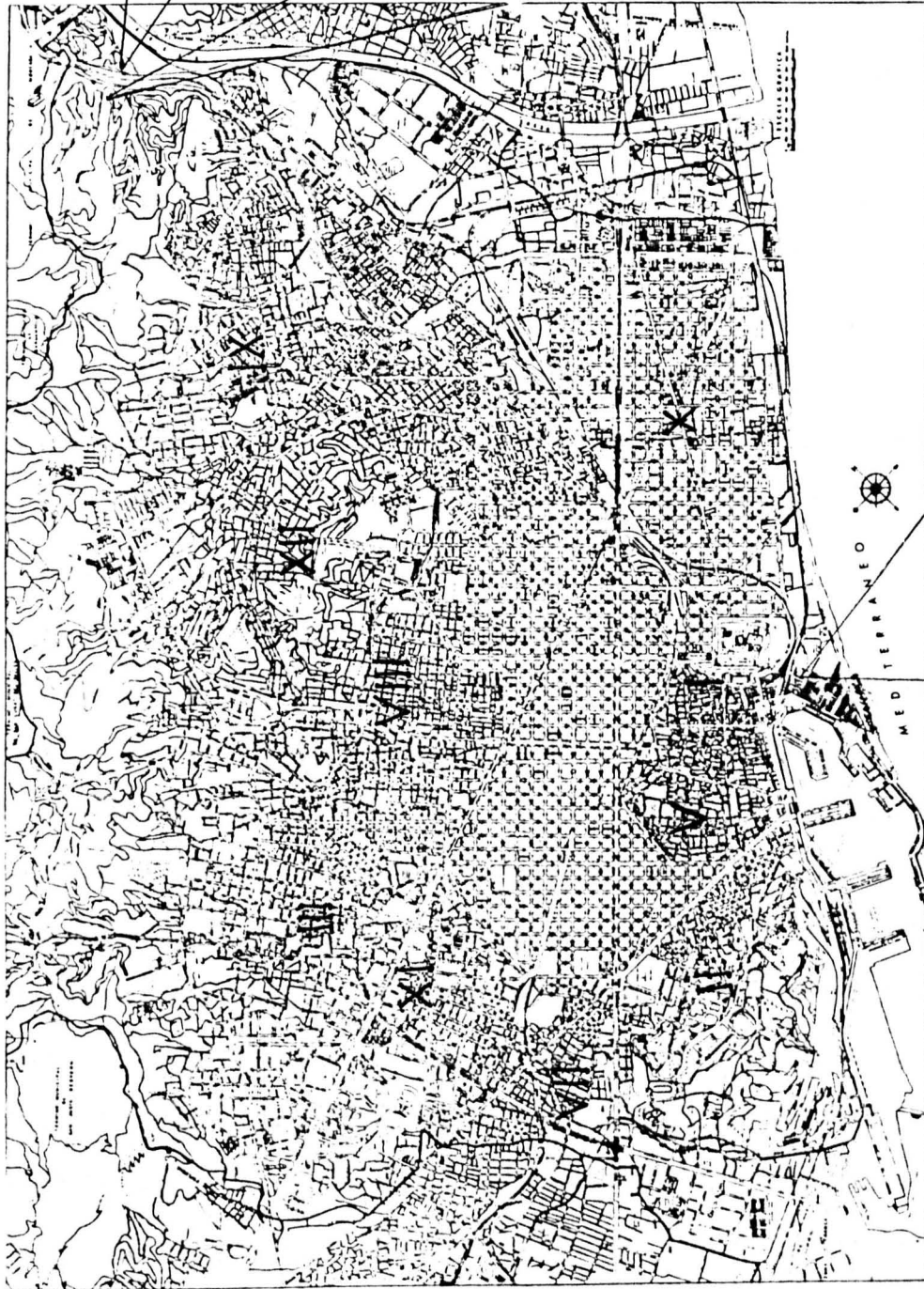
Table 4.5

Population increase by districts in Barcelona, and
percentage of the increased population in these districts

<u>Districts</u>	<u>1951-60</u>	<u>1961-70</u>
	<u>pop. increase/percentage</u> <u>of Barcelona increase</u>	<u>pop. increase/percentage</u> <u>of Barcelona increase</u>
V	-2.351/-0.8%	-32.765/-17.5
I	-875/-0.3	-25.364/-13.5
IV	-1,620/-0.6	-20.124/-10.7
VI	223/0.1	-9.539/-5.1
VII	5.596/2.0	3.650/1.9
II	14.657/5.3	-10.451/-5.6
VIII	14.488/5.2	8.188/4.4
XI	17.245/6.2	10.739/5.7
III	28.276/10.2	26.797/14.3
X	24.659/8.9	31.689/16.9
XII	61.025/22.0	66.067/35.3
IX	116.361/41.9	138.392/73.9
	<u>277.684/100</u>	<u>187.279/100</u>

Source: Recolons, 1974, Table 63, 241.

URBAN TRACING OF BARCELONA



VALLBONA

CIUDAD
MERIDIANA

LA BARCELONETA

industrial-urban evolution. The first area, 'La Barceloneta', is an example of a pattern of urbanization that corresponds to the stage of 'competitive industrial capital' and to the 'subsistence wage economy'. The second area, 'Vallbona', is an example of a pattern of urbanization that corresponds to a stage of limited industrial expansion deeply affected by the characteristics of the 'exceptional state' (Poulantzas, 1976) under Franco. As this was a transitional period in the development of Spanish capitalism, I have termed the stage 'subsistence in transition wage economy'. The third area, 'Ciudad Meridiana', is an example of a more recent pattern of urbanization that corresponds to the stage of 'monopoly capital' and to the 'financial wage economy', in which the wages received by industrial workers made possible for them a more active participation in the economy as consumers.

- (1) 'La Barceloneta' is a traditional working class neighbourhood located adjacent to the port of Barcelona, about a mile from the city centre. Built in the 18th century, the area expanded throughout the next century as industry moved in. Most of the industrial activity was small-scale, mainly workshops, following the general pattern found throughout the city. However, some large firms also settled and established themselves in the area. Engineering factories, such as 'La Maquinista', together with docklands created the production basis for a community with strong local feelings. Although some workshops remain in the area, 'La Barceloneta' is nowadays popular for its restaurants and tourist services. A large proportion of the population are employed in the city's service sector. As an inner city area, with deteriorating housing conditions and a declining resident population, 'La Barceloneta' became the target for a replanning programme. This

programme was vigorously opposed by the local Neighbourhood Association as non-democratic.

- (2) 'Vallbona' is 'self-constructed' working class settlement located some six miles from the city centre, on the north-eastern periphery of Barcelona. In the 1950s, it grew as a shanty town. Apart from a couple of workshops, it had no industry. This pattern of urbanization was illegal, since the area was deemed 'rural' by the "General Urbanization Plan of Barcelona" of 1953. However, administrative corruption enabled the land owners to sell small portions of land to immigrants. The immigrants built their own houses with poor, cheap and available materials. Most of the population of 'Vallbona' stayed for a few years, until they had acquired the economic conditions to allow them to move to better neighbourhoods. However, a group of families have remained since the early days and these have developed a community organization of marked political character. As with 'La Barceloneta', 'Vallbona' has become the target for a planning programme.
- (3) 'Ciudad Meridiana' was planned as a 'new town' type of working class settlement in the early 1960s. It is located at the same distance from the city centre as 'Vallbona', the two areas being separated by a motorway. 'Ciudad Meridiana' consists entirely of newly constructed housing blocks, very similar to other working class residential areas to be found on the periphery of Barcelona. As for 'Vallbona', most of the male population work in factories, usually located at considerable distances, which gives the neighbourhood the character of a 'dormitory city'. Of the people who moved into 'Ciudad Meridiana' from 1963

onwards, the majority were immigrants who had previously dwelt in Barcelona and some came from shanty towns like 'Vallbona'. In fact, a large group of people came from 'Vallbona'. Others came from more traditional areas like 'La Barceloneta'. Whereas in 'La Barceloneta' and 'Vallbona' housing was mainly provided by small-scale capital, 'Ciudad Meridiana' was built by a large company with local and international capital. Unlike the other two areas, this company was concerned to develop a community organization which could act as an intermediary between the company and the residents, who protested about the poor materials used in housing construction and which debased living conditions. Thus, as in the other two areas, housing became a key issue for political action. However, in the case of 'Ciudad Meridiana' the most radical protests have centred on schools rather than housing.

b.) Immigration

I had previously considered the origins of the immigrant population in Barcelona as a whole. It is now time to consider the origins of the populations of the three neighbourhoods investigated. The figures shown in Table 4.6 support our hypothesis that the immigrant population is largely concentrated in residential areas on the periphery of Barcelona. The proportion^s of immigrants in 'Vallbona' and 'Ciudad Meridiana' (64.1 per cent and 62.2 per cent) are almost double that found in 'La Barceloneta' (37.8 per cent). The low proportion of Catalan immigrants in these three areas supports our suggestion that such immigrants tend to be located somewhere else in the occupational and urban structure. Those of Andalusian origin occupy a predominant position, more than they do within the city in general, which conforms with our view that they are mainly located in the

Table 4.6

Population origin in 1975: La Barceloneta, Vallbona, Ciudad Meridiana

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>La Barceloneta</u>	<u>Vallbona</u>	<u>Ciudad Meridiana</u>
Barcelona	59.9%	35.9%	37.8%
Catalan provinces	3.2%	2.0%	1.4%
Andalusia	15.1%	32.9%	32.0%
Castiles	6.0%	14.6%	17.2%
Aragon	6.8%	4.6%	6.1%
Valencian country	8.4%	5.0%	4.2%
Others	1.3%	5.3%	2.0%
Total population	(23,085)	(2,479)	(16,042)
Immigrant population	37.8%	64.1%	62.2%

Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona.

less advantageous positions of the urban structure. The relatively high proportion of Castilians indicates that this immigrant group includes workers and not merely members of the central state bureaucracy, as is often believed in Catalonia.

The figures suggest that the relatively high number of people born in Barcelona is caused by children of immigrants, especially in the most recently established neighbourhoods. In Table 4.7 we can see that a relatively large proportion of the populations of 'Vallbona' and 'Ciudad Meridiana' are under 19 years of age. By contrast, 'La Barceloneta' has relatively more people in the age groups 60 to 70+. It seems as if it is the younger people who tend to be more mobile and who, therefore, occupy the most recently developed urban areas alongside the new waves of immigrants. Such conditions can be expected to have important implications for the kind of social and political organization found in these areas.

When did the immigrant populations of these three areas arrive in Barcelona? As we can see in Table 4.8, there are important differences between a traditional neighbourhood like 'La Barceloneta', which absorbed people from outside Barcelona gradually, and newly developed neighbourhoods, which absorbed most of the recently arrived immigrants quite rapidly. Located in residential areas on the periphery of the city, these immigrants may have found it more difficult to come into contact with the Catalan population. Does this fact strengthen social organization on the basis of kinship ties? To what extent does it encourage social solidarity through political organization? These questions will be introduced in

Table 4.7

Population age in 1975: La Barceloneta, Vallbona, Ciudad Meridiana

<u>Age</u>	<u>La Barceloneta</u>	<u>Vallbona</u>	<u>Ciudad Meridiana</u>
1 to 19	26.11%	36.67%	40.82%
20 to 59	52.77%	47.67%	53.54%
60 to 69	12.11%	8.74%	3.97%
70+	9.01%	6.92%	2.64%
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona.

Table 4.8
Year of arrived in Barcelona

<u>Years</u>	<u>La Barceloneta</u>	<u>Vallbona</u>	<u>Ciudad Meridiana</u>
before 1941	13.1%	3.2%	2.0%
1941-1950	7.2%	5.5%	3.5%
1951-1975	18.0%	56.3%	53.0%

Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona.

the rest of this chapter and in the following chapters.

Before moving to the next section, I want first to consider the sex and occupational distribution of the population in the three areas. In comparing them it can be seen (Table 4.9) that some relevant differences arise. In 'La Barceloneta' there is a higher proportion of people working in administrative jobs than in 'Vallbona' and 'Ciudad Meridiana' where the proportion of industrial workers is more dominant among the men. La Barceloneta has also a higher proportion of men working in the construction industry, which suggests a high turnover of residents in the area, since as we know there are usually the newly arrived immigrants in the city that work in this industry. In the case of women, however, these figures do not reflect the hourly paid workers, and therefore their participation in the labour market looks very low in the three areas. Finally, it is interesting to notice the higher proportion of students in 'Ciudad Meridiana', which could have important consequences in the impact of the schooling issue in the area.

c.) La Barceloneta

'La Barceloneta' grew out of an extra-mural settlement which was converted into a suburb in the middle of the eighteenth century, between the port area and the beach of Barcelona. By 1787 the general outline of the area was determined by the commercial trade activities of the docks, the military settlements in two army quarters and the small houses occupied by fishermen, small shopkeepers and dock workers. The houses were owned by every family (Tatjer, 1973), and each one of the houses was usually able to combine the functions of the household

Table 4.9

Occupational distribution by sex in the three areas, 1975.

	<u>La Barceloneta</u>		<u>Vallbona</u>		<u>Ciudad Meridiana</u>	
	men	/ women	men	/ women	men	/ women
Technicians]						
Artists]						
Professionals]	10.7%	2.3%	3.2%	2.1%	4.0%	1.2%
Foremen]						
Administrative staff	11.7%	8.2%	4.8%	3.7%	4.6%	3.1%
Construction workers	8.7%	0.2%	3.1%	0.3%	4.7%	0.1.
Service workers	4.2%	3.2%	2.8%	4.2%	2.7%	2.7%
Industrial workers	27.3%	4.1%	32.1%	3.9%	37.1%	4.9%
Students	25.0%	21.3%	29.3%	28.6%	37.9%	36.2%
Retired	9.7%	9.1%	7.7%	9.8%	3.4%	2.5%
Housewives		43.8%		30.1%		42.1%
Not included	5.7%	7.8%	17.0%	17.3%	5.6%	7.2%
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona.

and the productive function of the shop or store depending on the family's occupation. The ground floor was used as a productive space and the first floor as the unit of household consumption.

Barceloneta grew 'internally' until the first decades of the nineteenth century as there was no major immigration into the area. The barrio⁴ expanded gradually in terms of population and housing towards the beach where the "barracas" were gradually destroyed and the inhabitants moved to the new houses.

The transition of the area began between the 1830s and 1850s with the beginning of immigration into the barrio and the establishment of industry. There was a movement of people from the east coast of Spain (Tarragona, Castellon, Valencia and Alicante) to 'La Barceloneta' (Guiter de Cubas, 1921). These were mostly fishermen and sailors, and consequently were able to arrive by sea. Usually, the men came first through their work and their families followed gradually.

Industrial transformation began with the establishment in 1836 of a large factory, El Nuevo Vulcano, for the production of freighters. This was followed by the establishment of small workshops complementary to industrial production. There were several reasons why these industries located here. La Barceloneta, being situated near the port had easy access to the port facilities but was also sufficiently close to the city centre to provide easy access to the market, which was combined with a general

4. The Spanish translation for neighbourhood often involves a community identification of the people in the area.

movement outside of the city walls because of the shortage of space.

An important factor in the industrialization of the area was that capital for industry came mainly from Barcelona and not La Barceloneta itself (only one of the factories was financially established from the neighbourhood). This fact is relevant, for it created a kind of financial dependence on Barcelona, while some idea of autonomy was developing among people dedicated to the traditional industries of fishing and selling and the small workshops. In this sense, it is possible to refer to some de-personalisation of the barrio in the changing use of space that began with the settlement of industry.

In 1856, the most important factory for heavy machinery production in Spain 'La Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima', was established in La Barceloneta. It was the result of capital raised from different places and resources, principally from the textile industry, metallurgical industry, and capital accumulated from the colonies in America (Cuba) centred on Catalonia, Basque industrialists, and some foreign capital. As we have seen the workforce of this factory grew substantially in the following decades. Being the main enterprise in the area, it provided abundant jobs for the local population. Local networks and kinship ties were the means to get a job in La Maquinista.

Under these industrial transformations, the traditional neighbourhoods of the barrio reveal that residents started building a second floor on their houses in 1839, which were then divided into two or four flats, used by two or four families. As there does not appear to be any industrial

or government investment in these projects we must assume that they were the result of individually motivated actions. Twenty years later the pattern became uniform throughout the barrio and continued to develop. From 1868 onwards there was an increase in the number of people building a fourth floor, using the same divisions for all floors. By 1930, only 15.3 per cent of the houses remained with one or two floors, whereas 49.1 per cent had more than four (Tatjer, 1973).

The difficulties facing the expansion of the city during a period of important economic development and population growth are due to the fact that the city was unable to expand spatially because the defensive policy implemented by ^a militarist state required defensive city walls. As a result of this policy, the concentration of population inside the city of Barcelona grew daily, developing a structure of "vertical" spatial segregation. This segregation was manifested in the quality of life of those living on the top floors, which were constructed of inferior materials and usually were smaller in size.

This pattern of vertical expansion, which was common throughout the city, created a deterioration of the conditions of life in La Barceloneta. As a result part of the population moved out to the barrio and into the Ensanche (where the bourgeoisie and upper middle class lived), while the major part of the population increase evident in La Barceloneta was due to immigration.

Immigrant family moved house two or more times within the area, usually of the same landlord, until they found the most suitable house for their needs and economic possibilities. The general pattern whereby

families moved more than twice, was helped by the fact that there was no system of deposits until the 1940s.

The case of Mr. Lopez illustrates this pattern. He arrived in Barcelona with his wife in 1930, when he started working in La Maquinista. They rented a room in which they lived for two years, until they had saved enough to move into better accommodation. In 1932 they rented a flat in La Barceloneta in a house occupied by the landlord and tenants. They moved into another flat, since this was far too expensive for them, within the barrio at half the rent of the previous one, but this was old and the landlord was living outside La Barceloneta. The house has been deteriorating over the years, but any improvement of the flats would have implied an increase in the rent. The fact that a number of the tenants are retired and cannot afford to pay higher rents contributes to the deterioration of the houses. This deterioration is desired by the landlords, who may expect an increase in house values if the area is reconstructed.

At the same time, a concentration of property has taken place. In 1976 industry occupied 37 per cent of the area of La Barceloneta, the central administration (railway station) occupied 18 per cent and the local administration (market, hospitals) occupied 14 per cent. Of the remaining 31 per cent occupied by private landowners, 75 per cent constituted large properties and 25 per cent small and medium sized ownership (Tatjer, 1978).

Another characteristic of the development of La Barceloneta has been the change in the structure of housing tenancy. By 1977 only 30 per cent of the landlords of housing block (mainly those with small and medium

size property) lived in the area, while 50 per cent had their residence in other parts of the city and 20 per cent lived in the province of Barcelona. These owners tended to have little interest in the improvement of house conditions, which is one of the main 'push factors' encouraging people to move from La Barceloneta to other areas of Barcelona. Moreover, only 9.9 per cent of the residents are owner-occupiers, which also contributes to the turnover of residents. Thus, the key element in La Barceloneta's population growth has been the constant influx of migrants.

The morphology of the area has not changed very much. In fact, 90 per cent of La Barceloneta's buildings were constructed before 1939. Only around a hundred have been built since 1940. Those built in the post Civil War period (1940-1950) were the result of private investment. In 1951, however, a project was developed to construct several buildings designed to change the appearance of a 'degraded area', which were financed by the state through the local council. In the following decades both private and public investment have contributed to house construction in the area (Tatjer, 1978).

Despite these recent constructions, there is a clear outward movement of population towards more modern and peripheral residential areas of Barcelona. Kinship patterns showed that there is an important relationship between spatial dispersal and occupation in the main industries: fishing, dockwork and engineering industry.

In the docks, there is a high level of occupational reproduction within a family from one generation to the next. In fact, workers are

recruited through family networks, it being easy to get a job there if a member of the family is a dockworker. We consider the docks to be a traditional industry in which the development of a certain level of skill does not involve spatial mobility for the work-place. This promotes a higher degree of integration with the place of residence among the workers, at the same time that an occupational endogamy tends to develop between families.

There is a well developed black market in the area as a consequence of trade with foreign countries, in which, in some cases, the dockworkers' relatives are actively involved. This helps to provide a higher rate of income, which at the same time strengthens the reasons for remaining in the area. One of the informants explained how this market developed within his family: apparently only one of the men worked on the docks when he started bringing certain goods such as tobacco, watches and bracelets. His wife used to sell them in the flat where they lived until they had enough money to open a shop in the barrio. When he explained this, at least three men of the family were working on the docks, but a great deal of the income was also coming from the shop. This seems to be a well developed process in La Barceloneta, although the residents said that it has declined a lot recently.

Industrial workers appear to be the most mobile, with second generation workers leaving the barrio as soon as they have formed new families. There appear to be three main reasons for this. Firstly, the skills learned can be used in a number of different factories located outside the area, especially after the decentralization of industry towards the periphery of the city. Secondly, the main factory,

La Maquinista, moved its operations to a different area in the late 1950s. Thirdly, their attachment to the neighbourhoods did not compensate for the increasingly long journeys to work, given the poor and deteriorating housing conditions. Only those who were born or grew up in La Barceloneta kept a strong sense of loyalty to the barrio. For many of the elderly, no area could compete with La Barceloneta and its advantages, such as being in the centre of the city and the traditional social relations. Thus, although some of La Maquinista's workers would never move, they are very few in relation to the total workforce of the factory.

The fishing industry tends to come somewhere between these two poles. Often only one son stayed in the industry with the shortfall in labour being made up from immigrants. Traditionally, the work of fishing involved family labour in which women played an active role in helping to mend the nets. However, nowadays the industry tends to operate far from family organization and with higher concentration of boat ownership. This concentration forced some of the old fishermen and their sons to change occupations, usually on the docks or in the fish-market, or even opening a restaurant.

The functions of the barrio itself is changing from a highly industrialized area to an area that is specialized in services: restaurants, commerce, entertainments, etc. although some industries remain in the barrio. The household has also changed towards being solely a family habitat or a unit of consumption. La Barceloneta has been transformed into a "zona tipica" where groups of people from Barcelona go to meet in bars and restaurants. An interesting aspect of tourist trade to consider here is

that there are different restaurants for daily meals and for special occasions. Only ^afew of the former are recommended by the tourist guides which reinforces the divisions of functions.

As a traditional working class neighbourhood in which factories and production centres in general and workers residential areas were found together, La Barceloneta has a political atmosphere which is an outcome of the social and economic organization. From the first decade of the twentieth century, Anarchist ideology became particularly powerful and influential in the area. Its influence was due to the militancy of the manual workers of La Maquinista and of dockworkers. This close relationship between social and political interests helped in periods of workers' strikes. For example, shops did not hesitate to provide food on credit. Besides union organizations, the Republican "casinos", provided places for popular rendezvous where political and social issues were debated, where amateur dramatics were performed and where youth organizations and social clubs were developed. The interesting feature of these meeting places is that they were used by entire families and therefore kinship relations were reinforced, creating a tradition of community life in the neighbourhood. However, this tradition was frustrated after the Civil War with the repressive character of Franco's regime.

From 1940 onwards, only the open spaces for public rendezvous and the bars maintained a level of social communication. Nowadays two plazas, two avenues and the beach esplanade are the only public places which are frequented by the residents. In the last decade, new clubs have developed,

these tend to be age specialized, e.g., sports club for young people. The parish Church and the Neighbourhood Association are places for social interaction on a more formal basis.

The origin of the Neighbourhood Association dates back to around 1968 when young and politicised neighbours started to meet to discuss general political issues and concrete problems affecting the area such as the lack of social services and a threatened planning scheme that could destroy community life. This urban plan was developed according to the economic interests of the large industries located in the area, such as La Maquinista, which were moving their premises out from La Barceloneta. The main problem was that the plan completely ignored the residents needs and interests. It aimed to transform the area into a middle class residential area, with the consequence that the existing residents would not be able to afford the new rent and house prices. Residents support for the Neighbourhood Association's organized protest increased in importance and were supported by underground left-wing political parties and professionals, such as architects, economists and lawyers.

In the case of La Barceloneta, industry has played an important role in the urbanization of the area, not only when it was established there but also when it moved out. A traditional working class neighbourhood, La Barceloneta for many years was characterized by an integration of factory and residential organization. This, I suggest, had important implications for the development of political consciousness among the residents.

d.) Vallbona

Vallbona is located on the north periphery of Barcelona. From 1950 it was an illegally established squatter settlement, since in 1953 "El Plan General Metropolitano" had officially declared the area a "natural reserve". However, the owner of a large plot of land encouraged the demand for housing by immigrants. Through a well-drawn network of members in the only legal political party, La Falange, (the fascist party supported by Franco) he sold small portions of land to immigrants recruited mainly from shanty towns on the opposite side of the city. Prices were reasonably according to the buyers, but they were then faced with the government and with the police who were against them establishing a settlement. Further, no basic necessities, such as water supply and electricity, were provided by the local government.

However, the shanty town developed rapidly. Usually the construction of the house was carried out in the night with the help of relatives, neighbours and friends, using cheap materials. They built a room that functioned as a home for some time, until they could save enough to continue with the rest of the rooms. Gradually the shanty dwelling would acquire the character of a house. An informal market, then, was predominant in the development of Vallbona.

In the 1960s, with the construction of the motorway from Barcelona to the region's centre, Vallbona was physically cut off from the city and access to nearby barrios became difficult. Both the physical isolation and the illegal character of the settlement had reinforced its "marginality". However, the social, economic and political life, far

from being "marginal" is assimilated into the city's structure. Men tend to work in industry, although their low level of skill pushes them into construction or small scale industries. As with other workers, they are members of unions with experience in political organization.

According to the Official Plan no industrial settlement was to take place in the area. The population of Vallbona had to walk every day to the nearest bus stop, more than a mile distant, to go to work. Transport and collective services were not provided by the state, which did not recognize the settlement. Thus collective services have been the result of the residents struggle to remain in the area and legitimize their existence as citizens. From 1967 onwards some facilities have been provided, a lighting system, public drinking fountains, washing places and telephones. Up to 1973 there were no asphalted streets and there was no local bus service.

The population of Vallbona had to build their private economy at the same time as they organized the community in order to get access to public services. However, property was developed in the area among the residents. Some of the original founders engaged in the steady development of their improving local conditions. Others left the area in the late 1960s and 1970s, moving to the next barrio, Ciudad Meridiana. Some improved their ownership capacity by buying more land and renting it to the newcomers, or enlarging their own house.

In 1978, 39 per cent of the population owned their house, although only 35 per cent of those that believed to be owners had a legal contract

of ownership and 29 per cent of them could not exhibit any kind of document, whereas the rest had some sort of evidence of being owners. Out of the 61 per cent of the population who rent their houses, only 7 per cent had an official contract, 25 per cent had a private contract, 16 per cent are renting houses that belong to a relative, and 52 per cent did not know their status as tenants (Neighbourhood Association report). This level of informality has been, in part, due to the low level of literacy of most of the inhabitants.

Property speculation became a source of corruption and manipulation. facilitated by the informal character of its development. On the one hand, it shows the owners' strategy of increasing the value of the land, specially considering that it was denominated as a natural reserve. Thus after the community settlement and legalization of the area as "urban" there was a good profit to be made. On the other hand, it shows the character of the administration in those years and its laxity towards corruption. However, this example has to be seen within the economic structure of the country at the time in combination with the political system: both elements are part of what has been already defined as an "exceptional state".

In the 1950s and 1960s the area grew steadily yet with a stable population. By 1970 some geographical mobility was noticeable with people moving from the barrio to other areas of apartment construction. However, the original "colonos" located in 'El Llano' (flat area where the houses are of better condition) tended to remain in the area. Thus, since 1970 the barrio has been somewhat divided into two communities, one stable, and the other highly mobile and living in poorer conditions.

According to the residents' perceptions, Vallbona is a village where every one knows their neighbours' lives, and where traditional obligations among the community, such as baptisms, funerals and visits to sick people, are practised. According to informants, in the past the area was highly religious in the surface due to a Jesuit community established in the barrio, which formally controlled the population. The Jesuits acted as sponsors for jobs, etc. When this congregation left the barrio the leaders of the community continued to perform similar roles. Thus it is not surprising to see, in this context, how the president of the Neighbourhood Association, a militant of the Communist Party is at the same time a popular godfather of the children in the barrio.

Kinship relations and social networks are the means of easy access to the barrio and to the necessary information on housing loans. According to the president of the Neighbourhood Association (one of the first residents to settle in Vallbona), when he arrived there were four families from his village of origin living there. Since then more than 200 families, from the same village, located in the province of Caceres, in the southwest of Spain, live in Vallbona. Most of these families stayed in the neighbourhood until they were able to move to other areas where they could live in flats with more urban facilities. In the case of his family, only three relatives out of ten different nuclear families have remained in Vallbona, as most of them are now residents in Ciudad Meridiana.

While I was there, social networks appeared important in exchanging

information and in political organization. However, as was mentioned earlier, the system of communication operates mainly in what the residents denominate "El Llano" (the plain) where the longest established neighbours live. On the other side of Vallbona, the most mobile population does not participate in the meetings organized by the Neighbourhood Association and to some extent can be considered as outside the network. This fact which is common in every neighbourhood, tends to be more noticeable in Vallbona. Moreover, it is possible that some of these residents operate on the margins of legality, on income derived from petty crime.

In interviews with the school teachers it was commonly agreed that the children's education is in a large number of cases undermined by the parents carelessness, especially by the father's addiction to alcohol. Although I do not want to suggest that this is a generalised pattern, it is worth mentioning that the bars of Vallbona were always frequented by men in the mornings as well as afternoons and evenings as is traditional in most parts of Barcelona. The fact that there is no industry in Vallbona, suggest that in mostcases these men were unemployed.

There is a certain vulnerability among Vallbona's male workers in periods of economic recession. Although the majority work in industry, the less stable residents who have arrived recently, to Barcelona are usually employed in industries such as the building industry, which are more sensitive to economic crisis. This was the impression gathered from interviews which was complemented by the fact that in recent years women have started to work outside the household. For many women in Vallbona this is a new practice which in most cases is considered "shameful". In

this respect, of the three cases studied, Vallbona appears to be the one that upholds the most traditional values. This seems due in part to the fact that Vallbona is physically as well as economically badly connected with the job market.

The lack of services and market facilities obliges the population of Vallbona to visit Ciudad Meridiana at least three times a week. To them this modern neighbourhood involves for those who move there, a step up on the social mobility scale, and implies an accumulation of money that they do not actually have. Some of them define Vallbona as poor, whereas the younger and more politicised residents see themselves as living in an alternative manner to the boureoise integrating model represented by placed like Ciudad Meridiana, where workers want to become "middle class" people.

However, it is difficult to define Vallbona as a poor neighbourhood, because some of the houses are well finished and well decorated and also because the family income in some cases is not much lower than in the other three areas according to interviews. Again the family operates as an economic unit. What, then, are the main differences from the other two case studies? Why has Vallbona been ^{denu}minated by urbanists "marginal"? These questions shall be explored in the following chapters.

However, in contrast with urban areas with similar characteristics to many Latin American cities (Butterworth and Chance, 1981: 160-167), social and political organization in the area has been of strong nature. In 1967 the first political organization emerged ruled by the only legal party, La Falange. A year later underground left wing militants formed

in combination with young Catholics what it has been one of the most radical Neighbourhood Associations in Barcelona. As in the case of La Barceloneta in the last few years the main issue of political action has been housing, and in similar way the neighbourhood is in the midst of a process of planned development. In this case the main conflict that has developed has been between large owners and tenants, while the position of single house owners has tended to be more ambivalent. However, house ownership has not necessarily involved inhibitions about political activity. This raises an interesting question regarding workers' political attitudes in the process of transition from subsistence wage economies into financial wage economies. What is the nature of political organization on urban issues when workers become owner-occupiers?. This question shall be discussed in Chapter Six.

e.) Ciudad Meridiana

Ciudad Meridiana was originally the same parcel of land as Vallbona, until it was divided by the motorway in ^{the} early 1960s. The land belonged to the same person who sold this portion to the enterprise "Urbanizaciones Torre Baro" to build an entirely new housing bloc suburb for the immigrant working class. According to the "Segundo Plan Nacional de la Vivienda" (Second National Housing Plan) in 1961 an agreement was made to stimulate private companies in the construction of working class housing by giving loan facilities at low interest. Ciudad Meridiana is an example of this plan in practice.

It was originally conceived in 1964 for a 10,996 population of 2,199 households. However, in 1972 the number of households was to

increase to 4,000 which involved a higher housing density in the area, and a certain amount of land speculation to the detriment of green space. This speculative development of the barrio was widely promoted in other areas, such as Vallbona, La Barceloneta and the periphery of Barcelona. Thus, most of the immigrants that came to Ciudad Meridiana have lived previously in Barcelona. For most of them this spatial mobility involved a kind of social mobility since they were to become owners instead of tenants. This was the result of a programme of "access to property" encouraged by government measures as we saw earlier on.

This area is a typical result of the organization of capital in a monopolistic stage. Only one company organized the planning, "Urbanizaciones Torre Baro S.A.". This company was created in 1957 with local, national and international capital.⁵ The president was also president of one of Barcelona's savings bank and of several other industries. This large financial organization had difficulties in dealing with the three small-size firms involved in the construction, which did not have the necessary equipment and labour supervision to carry out a big project like Ciudad Meridiana.

Acquisition of flats took place through the same company, which financed, individual loans. Families paid a deposit a year before the flat was occupied and only after ten or twenty years would they become owners. At the present, mortgage repayments are paid into local saving

5. The main shareholder of this enterprise was also involved in the construction of large projects in Madrid and Malaga. In 1975, the president of the board was a town councillor in Barcelona (Alibes, at. al. 1975: 76-77).

banks every three months and only in some cases is an agent involved.

Construction took place in three stages. The first stage between 1963 and 1965. The blocks built in this period are badly finished and the residents had to improve the conditions of the flats as soon as they moved in. The second stage took place in between 1967 and 1969. These blocks are better off than the previous ones although they maintain the same structure: block of 48 flats, small in size and with extensive dampness due in part to the low quality of building material. The third stage, between 1971 and 1973 had a different pattern of construction, they are quite well finished and durable goods such as cookers were included in the flat. Each block had between 28 and 32 flats, designed to be more private than the other two types.

The difference in quality of the housing had encourage the spatial mobility of some people within the area. For example, Mr. Bernal and his family bought a flat in 1963 which they left in 1973 to move to a better one in the area; the difference in price was large, but the eldest daughter's work outside the household helped to meet the higher mortgage. This is not a unique case, as families in Ciudad Meridiana tend to be united into the household economy enjoying higher standards of living than in the two other areas.

The barrio is considered by working class outsiders as a "middle class" settlement. However, Ciudad Meridiana is inhabited by industrial workers, most of them manual workers, in the same proportion than Vallbona and in a slightly higher proportion than La Barceloneta as we have seen in Table 4.9.

To what extent the area was supposed to be specifically for residence is unclear. Some workshops and small industries were planned and some workers even came to the barrio with the expectation of finding there a job. However, Ciudad Meridiana did not develop as an industrial area and residents had to travel every day to the work-place, which in most cases were located on the opposite side of Barcelona, i.e. more than an hour's travelling time each way.

Transport facilities, though they exist, are not suitable in the majority of cases. Workers tend to use private transport individually, or in small groups when they work at the same factory. Almost every family has a private car. Women complain of wasting time when they need to go outside the area to get services lacking in the barrio such as hospitals. There is a relatively little contact with relatives living in other parts of the city and this is in part due to transport difficulties.

There is a feeling, in Ciudad Meridiana, of being "isolated" from the rest of the city, not only in terms of physical distance but also with regard to problems of transport and accessibility to the area. The latter is a problem because of its location on the border of the motorway. The population is composed of immigrants in a larger proportion than in La Barceloneta as we saw in Table 4.6 where intermarriage between Catalans and immigrants was found. In Ciudad Meridiana as in Vallbona, on the contrary a sort of "regional endogamy" reigns, which inhibits immigrants' assimilation into "Catalan culture", especially the language.

The pattern of life in Ciudad Meridiana is that of a dormitory suburb

for the men, who tend to be outside the area most of the day, whereas women remain with the children working in the household or as house-cleaners elsewhere nearby (usually only for a few hours a day), while the children are at school.

By comparison with the men, women in Ciudad Meridiana appear to be more aware of the children's problems at school and participate more in school meetings. In many cases they maintain personal contact with teachers, which is almost impossible for the men.

In the same way social contact with relatives is more frequent among women than among men, though they 'formally' exchange visits with relatives on Sunday when the men are at home. However, in general kinship ties remain strong despite the affluent character of the area when compared with the other two cases. Relatives are always ready to help, e.g. decorating, tiling, .. and with the pursuit of low cost building materials. From the interviews, it was relatively common to find that two or more brothers and sisters settled in the area because other members of the family already lived there.

Ciudad Meridiana does not have a stable population. There appears to be high mobility to other areas of Barcelona, usually nearer to the city centre. A large part of the people interviewed admits having the expectation of moving, in the future, to an area located in the medium site part of Barcelona (see map of previous chapter). The reasons given are usually better communications, transport, better shopping centres and social services.

As it was conceived as a residential neighbourhood, Ciudad Meridiana is provided with a large shopping centre. There are few bars where families go on Sunday and on summer evenings. By contrast with La Barceloneta and Vallbona, the bars are not very often visited by most men. The women argue that men here care more about their families and therefore keep away from drinking and wandering around bars. This appears to be a break in the cultural pattern in relation to previous habits.

Social relationships are centred on and developed within the housing block, with other neighbours or within the flat with relatives. In this way there is very little social interaction in the streets or public places as can be found in La Barceloneta. Housing blocks in Ciudad Meridiana, as in many other areas of Barcelona of similar character, are units of social and economic organization, around which the neighbours organize regular meetings to discuss the administration of the building and other problems that arise.

Private initiatives are developed within each block. For example one block organized a food cooperative with a division of labour for transporting the food from a central market to the block where it is stored and distributed. In the same way information moves freely within each block while communication between blocks is almost non-existent.

Privatisation is the most striking characteristic aspect of life in Ciudad Meridiana. The residents are conscious of this and some are very critical about the "lack of solidarity". Collective services, such as schools and health services are privatised due to the same state

inhibition referred to earlier. However, in Ciudad Meridiana, there is a legitimization of privatising public concerns, as a way of showing social mobility.

Political organization developed from 1966 in Ciudad Meridiana, at first directed by The Falange. Four years later, in 1970, a second organization influenced by the Communist Party and other left-wing parties was developing. Although general participation has decreased in the last few years, when public meetings are organized to discuss a specific problem that concerns the population of the area the number of residents present is usually high.

Conclusions

In this Chapter we have seen the relevance of immigration in the urbanization of Barcelona, especially in the development of working class settlements. These areas, in contrast with those built for the Catalan bourgeoisie, have developed in a chaotic manner, almost without any planning. As a result, immigrant workers followed individual strategies in the pursuit of accommodation. In the three case studies, however, important differences had emerged in accordance with the period in which they developed. Thus, historically defined political and economic forces have shaped the main characteristics of each area. La Barceloneta, a traditional inner city area maintains elements of traditional working class social and economic organization combined with the modern tourist industry. These functions and its location in the city facilitates social and cultural interaction between immigrants and Catalans. In contrast, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana, which are located in the periphery of Barcelona, are

mainly residential settlements. In them there is a high concentration of immigrant population with very little interaction with the Catalan population (few people in these areas speak Catalan language and inter-marriage between Catalans and immigrants is uncommon). However, the three areas appear to have developed strong social and political organization, which shall be explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGING PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION IN THE

THREE AREAS STUDIED

As an industrial city, Barcelona has developed in line with the economic stages that have influenced and shaped patterns of individual consumption among workers and residents. Chapter Three showed how workers have come to occupy a more secure position in the labour market as a result of industrial expansion and the demand for a skilled workforce. The analysis of La Maquinista showed that since the late 1960s, and more so in the 1970s, wages have increased considerably. These wage increases were a result of economic expansion and the growth of union organization among workers. In turn, these wage increases have encouraged workers to participate more widely and actively in Barcelona's consumer markets. This Chapter explores the implications of these changes for patterns of consumption among workers, with a particular focus on the employment of men and women, patterns of residence and the organization of the household economy.

What, in the context of this study, is the value of analysing patterns of individual consumption? [1] By reconstructing the characteristics of consumption in previous periods and comparing them with those of the modern period, we highlight and gain insight into the importance of people's experiences in coping with changes in the urban economy. In more general terms, it is illustrative of the way in which labour is encouraged, at different periods, to reproduce itself as a social class. [2] It allows us to explore the extent to which the patterns of individual consumption that emerged in the developed city undermine or devalue attempts to organize

the urban environment more on the basis of collective consumption, that is through an increase in the state's responsibility for the provision of collective services.

In Chapter One it was argued that the analysis of consumption practices was a possible path to understanding class organization and class consciousness. However, the analysis of consumption practices cannot be separated from those aspects of people's biographies which belong to other spheres of the urban economy, such as production and distribution. The complexities of the issues here have been signalled by E.P. Thompson.

"... how far a dominant social character plus a structure of feelings plus the direct intervention of power plus market forces and systems of promotion and reward plus institutions can make and constitute together a system of ideas and beliefs, a constellation of received ideas and orthodox attitudes, a 'false consciousness' or a class ideology which is more than the sum of its parts and which has a logic of its own"(1961: 37)

This is, then, an ambitious task towards which this Chapter claims only to be a first step.

In Barcelona, as in the rest of Spain, the most stable institution around which the majority of people organize and plan their daily existence remains the family. Within this context, the organization of the household economy is the basic cell for the organization of material life. Accordingly, this Chapter begins with an overview of the households which formed the focus of fieldwork in the three areas, and then moves on to look at the ways in which immigrant workers have organized their household economies in three different periods: [a] the subsistence wage economy, [b] the subsistence wage economy in transition, and [c] the financial wage economy.

Overview of the Characteristics of the population Included in the study

Fieldwork in the three areas focused on a core group of 46 households. Through key informants, kinship cards, formal and informal interviews, information was collected on a total of 282 persons across three generations.

[a] the male and female heads of the core households (92 persons).

[b] the children of the heads of the core households (34 persons).

[c] the parents of the heads of the core households (40 persons), and

[d] the male siblings of the heads of the core households (116 persons).

For the purposes of presentation and discussion, the information is organized here in terms of generational categories. The discussion of the children of the heads of the core households is restricted to those who are over 14 years of age, since this is the age at which compulsory schooling finishes and decisions must be made whether or not to continue the child's education or whether, if possible, to enter the workforce.

In this overview of the characteristics of the people included in this study, it is important to remember that they are all members of low-income families. Their inclusion in the study involved a process of selection based on contacts and referrals through social networks - among workers from La Maquinista in La Barceloneta, neighbourhood associations in La Barceloneta and Vallbona, and schools in Ciudad Meridiana. Consequently, most of the families included in this study are likely to be among the more outgoing, involved and some active, in neighbourhood affairs. Since the people included in this study do not constitute a "representative sample", caution is needed in generalizing from the findings. However, the data on place of origin, occupations and consumption seems to be an accurate reflection of

the trends and patterns prevalent among low-income immigrants in Barcelona.

Among the parents of the male and female heads of the core households, 97 per cent were born outside Barcelona - 3 per cent came from other parts of Catalonia and 94 per cent from other regions of Spain (with 22.5 per cent from Aragon, Valencia and the Islands). The pattern of place of origin among this parental group coincides with the general pattern contained in the statistics on migration to Barcelona presented in Chapter Two. Indeed, if we distinguish between the parents of the couples in the core households over 50 years of age from those under 50 years of age, we see that the parents of the first set of couples in a majority of cases were born in Aragon, Valencia and the Islands. This reflects the pre-1940s pattern of migration to Barcelona outlined in Chapter Two. In my sample, these older couples were mainly located in traditional neighbourhoods, such as La Barceloneta, in which the earlier migrants concentrated. Those of their parents who came to Barcelona, as well as several males in the older group, worked in the fishing industry, on the docks and in large scale industry, e.g. La Maquinista.

Among the male and female heads of the core households and their male siblings, 72 per cent were born outside Catalonia. If we consider those over 50 years of age and compare them with those under 50 years of age, we find that the proportion of immigrants in the first group is 60 per cent, while in the second and younger group the proportion is 76 per cent. In recent years, migration has been a constant process in Barcelona and this is reflected in these figures, as it is in the city-wide statistics given earlier. Are there differences in the patterns of urban incorporation between this group and those of their parental group? There is some evidence of

mobility between sectors of the urban economy. In contrast to their parents, the 162 male household heads are less likely to work in agriculture or fishing (4 per cent), or work in construction (14.4 per cent). They are more likely to work in industry (54.4 per cent), blue-collar services (21.6 per cent) and white-collar services (5.6 per cent). The job mobility information obtained in interviews indicates that, during their working careers, male household heads had moved from employment in small-scale industry to employment in large-scale industry. In general, they are a more skilled group of workers than their parents.

Turning to the female heads of the core group of households, it was found that the lives of the majority of these women were centred on, and confined to, the household, as was the case for their mothers. Only 13 women, of the core sample of 46 households, were in work at the time of this study. Of these 13, only 2 women were in full-time work, the other 11 worked part-time. These part-time female workers were all employed in the service sector, as either shop assistants or house cleaners. Of the 2 full-time female workers, (both worked in a geriatric home), one was a woman in her late-forties with no maternal responsibilities in the household, the other was a younger woman who had to combine her responsibility for her children with a full-time job.

The extent to which these women were confined to the household indicates the constraints on them of domestic chores as well as the traditional ideology concerning the place of women in Spanish society. Many of the women in the sample households, who did not work outside the household, took-in occasional work in order to earn extra money, i.e. knitting garments or making artificial flowers in their "spare time" at home.

The general picture we get of these core households then, is one that illustrates Douglas' (1979) concept of "small-scale class", discussed in Chapter One. A condition where the male heads of households are pushed to take a second job, or to work "overtime", in order to provide a decent income for the household economy. In turn, this leaves working males less time for participating in the activities which make up local social and political organization.

The role and participation of women, especially younger women, in the labour market could be expected to change in the future. In part, this is because employment and income opportunities have increased and, in part, because there is less ideological pressure (from the Church) for women to devote themselves to the household and child-rearing.

What characteristics do we find among the children of the core households? Have the levels of education and skill improved for both males and females? Among the children of the heads of the core group of 46 households, 34 were over 14 years of age. Of these, 6 (17.6 per cent) continued their education, with the aim of entering the technical professions. Of the remaining 28, 17 males and 11 females, these are variously distributed in the labour market. Among the 17 males, 10 (58.8 per cent) worked in industry as skilled workers (with one exception, who is a semi-skilled worker), 5 (29.4 per cent) worked in the service sector, 1 worked in the fishing industry and 1 was a professional biologist. Thus, as in previous generations, the proportion of male workers in industry remains very high. However, none of the children worked in construction. There is, then, some evidence of upward social mobility, as in the cases of those continuing their education and that of the professional. However, the most striking

finding is the continuity of occupational status between children and their parents.

The females in the over 14 children group present a similar occupational picture to those of the males in this group. Of the 11 females on which information was collected, 54.5 per cent worked in industry, 36.3 per cent worked in the service sector, and one was unemployed. One interesting aspect of females who worked in industry is that they were concentrated in the textile and clothing industry. Further, all of these women were either single or, if married, had no children. Among those females in this group who did not work, 2 had stopped work when they became mothers. Thus, as in the previous generation, maternity confined women to the household.

With regard to this third generation, levels of skill have advanced and there is also a degree of mobility between industrial sectors. However, industry remains the predominant source of employment.

It can be expected that changes in patterns of household organization and patterns of consumption will be reflected in the practices of people who belong to the different generations - the parental group, the heads of the core households, and the children over 14 years of age of the core households. These changes in household organization and consumption patterns can also be expected to reflect the way in which these families become incorporated into the urban economy, in terms of their time of arrival, their occupational

position and the extent of their social networks in the urban milieu.

In the following sections of this Chapter, the emphasis falls upon the experiences of the people included in the study. This is in order to explore the household strategies they evolve to cope with the opportunities offered by market forces in the city. These two aspects, market forces in the city and their own backgrounds, were interrelated and to some extent shaped by the development of the forces of production, at specific stages in their lives. Thus, we begin by looking at the way these families organized their material existence in the three periods identified and discussed earlier in this thesis - the subsistence wage economy period (up to 1930s), the subsistence wage economy in transition period (1940s to 1950s), and the financial wage economy period (1960s onwards). I am particularly concerned to note changes in patterns of consumption across these three periods. These different points in time inevitably coincide with points in space, and for example, the early period draws upon information collected from families living in La Barceloneta.

For the first and earliest period, data from 4 households are considered. For the second period, data from 7 households are considered. For the third and recent period, data from 26 households are considered. This gives a total of 37 households. The criteria for locating these households in a particular period is the year in which the household heads were married. In the second period, account will be taken of changes taking

place in households from the first period, (making a total of 11 households). In the same way, the third period also takes account of changes in households from the previous two periods (making a total of 37 households. This is less than the core group of 46 households because it was not possible to obtain comparable information for 9 of these households, although the information on migration and occupational characteristics was valuable.

The Subsistence Wage Economy Period: up to 1939

Apart from the years immediately following the First World War, industrial development in Barcelona in this period was slow and fragmentary. In general, the "ups and downs" of the economy, and especially of industry, in this period led to periodic economic crises, which meant interrupted employment and irregular wages for working men. While trade union organization was strong in the early decades of this period, in only a few cases did members receive economic support from their unions. For many years the wages of most workers remained at subsistence levels. Accordingly, most of a worker's income was taken up with expenditure on food and accommodation, with little money left over for other items, such as clothing.

The living conditions, life-styles and dress of workers in the early decades of the 20th Century had changed little from those of the 19th Century. Cerda (1867) provides a vivid and relevant description of an important differentiation within the working class population.

"It is undeniable that within the working class there are some members, whose presentation is distinguished from their fellow mates, they 'shine' in the streets and market places in religious and profane places. They are called the 'distinguished' to differentiate them from those others who

are part of the common people, that is the class condemned to a laborious life in the darkness. As the distinguished they are more visible, more sumptuous and fonder of all kinds of feasting; they represent a considerable number which misleads to those who are happy with appearance without penetrating deeper into reality; and they are people with simple satisfaction, sometimes with the purpose of arguing against the worker's complaints. When they see in the dancing places a group of these smart youths dressed like gentlemen, they assert that those are the working class, without considering that those who belong to these groups, so smart, are only a very small number that because of very special circumstances can show themselves in a relevant way, while the great majority of their companions are forced to hide their poverty in the lonely darkness"

(1867: 566)

Cerda estimates that the proportion of these privileged workers was about 11 per cent of the total number of workers. His basic point is that the great majority of workers lived in poverty stricken conditions.

Similar descriptions were given by residents and shopkeepers in La Barceloneta when refer^ring to conditions in the early decades of this century. Shopkeepers who dealt in cloth and clothing commented that most industrial workers were not good customers, since they spent very little money on clothing. In contrast, dockworkers were relatively prosperous and all shopkeepers looked upon them as valued customers. Thus, the majority of workers could identify themselves by way of the fact that they shared a common life-style and appearance, as members of one class in contrast to a very limited number of privileged workers and to people from other social classes. This feeling of a common identity among workers was reinforced, among those who worked in La Maquinista at the time, through

frequent social interaction in bars and "casas del pueblo" (people's houses), where local affairs and politics were discussed. When referring to this period, all informants were careful to impress upon me the importance of this sense of a common working class identity and the importance of the support provided by a close-knit localized working class communal environment.

Immigrants came to La Barceloneta in search of jobs in the industries located in the area and some decided to move into the neighbourhood. The experiences of immigrants settling in La Barceloneta in this period can be best illustrated by looking carefully at one particular case. Manuel and his wife migrated from Cartagena (Murcia) to Barcelona in 1930. He was 28 years of age. With the help of his brother, who had been employed in La Maquinista since 1924, Manuel obtained a job as a semi-skilled worker in the firm. Manuel and his wife first lived in a small flat in an inner city area and later moved to a new flat in La Barceloneta. However, the rent for the new flat proved too expensive. Manuel used his growing work and community networks to find more suitable accommodation in the neighbourhood in 1933. They have lived there ever since. In those days his wages amounted to 43.20 ptas a week. His wife worked as a house cleaner and did some piece-work at home, she earned 18 ptas a week. Thus, in more stable circumstances, the family (they have had 7 children but only 4 have survived, all born in Barcelona) income was 244.80 ptas a month. Part of this sum was saved to cope with the difficult periods when workers did not receive full wages or when they were on strike. The rest of the money was used to cover a daily budget of about 5 ptas for food and the rent of the flat, which was 37 ptas a month during the 1930s. From informants' reports it was clear that the conditions under which Manuel and his family lived were widespread among semi-skilled and unskilled workers' families of the time.

For an example of differentiation(s) within the workers in La Barceloneta we take the case of Felix. Felix came from a family that was already well established in the neighbourhood and began work in La Maquinista as an apprentice in 1914. As a skilled worker in the firm in the 1930s, Felix earned 40 ptas a day, due not only to his skill but also due to the fact that he worked as many hours as the firm demanded of him (at least 11 hours a day). According to Felix, there were only some 20 workers in the whole firm in the same category. This would indicate that differences within the firm between categories of manual workers was quite pronounced. Felix's wife did not work outside the household. With regard to this last point, all informants reported that it was common for wives to work outside the household to supplement the family's income. In this sense, Manuel's family situation seems to be more indicative of conditions in the households of the area than Felix's. The economic situation of Felix's household improved in the 1950s, when their only daughter began work.

Under these conditions the contribution of the wife's earnings to the family income was often very important to the welfare and subsistence of the family. However, the wife's contribution to the family income was restricted by their function as mothers. While women could take their children with them when they did house cleaning, or leave their children with relatives, in practice they ceased to work full-time. The income opportunities available to mothers were very restricted and involved very low returns for considerable time and effort expended, e.g. casual cleaning, taken-in dressmaking. In the four families studied, all the women had worked, three of them in industry and the other as a house cleaner. Two of these women had worked until their first child was born, another had no

children but had stopped work when she married. The other one went back to work when her first child was only one year old, but stopped work six years later. In this last case, the couple had lived with the husband's parents in La Barceloneta for the first two years of their marriage. This, according to them, was a common pattern.

Informants reported that it was a common practice to share a house between more than one nuclear family within an extended family in this period. Thus, it seems that housing conditions were another important factor in the shared experience and social organization of the working class population of La Barceloneta. Co-residence of two and three generations for some years was not unusual. Fission within families due to marriage did not automatically involve the establishment of a new household and a change of residence. No doubt this was because of the difficulties involved in obtaining suitable cheap accommodation within reach of existing work opportunities. In the case of couples who remained with their parents, informants said that they obtained a flat through information provided by relatives. The search for convenient and suitable housing meant, in fact, as in the case of Wilmott and Young's Bethnal Green study (1957), kin and fellow workers sought out a vacant flat for new couples.

In the 19th Century many flats had been subdivided, in the majority of cases their size was reduced to 34m². The small size of this form of accommodation forced their residents to use the kitchen and dining room as an undifferentiated space, where families spent most of their leisure time in common. Household items were limited to the functional requirements of daily existence. The household's furniture was made up of random pieces and was usually second-hand. Informants reported that it was common

to circulate pieces of furniture among relatives. The technological level of appliances was so low that the radio was perhaps the only such item the families of the time possessed. In the case of two families living in Barceloneta during this period, the living space was divided into three rooms - the kitchen and dining room, and two bedrooms. This means that families with from 3 to 6 members had to share a very limited amount of space at all times. Thus, very limited living space, low income and low levels of consumption were the characteristics of household organization in the subsistence wage economy period. An overwhelming proportion of the family's income was spent on food and rent, clothing, furniture and other durable goods were scarce.

All informants emphasized that an important characteristic of social and family life in La Barceloneta in this period was the support and assistance provided by the neighbourhood community. For example, at times of industrial crisis (e.g. lock-outs etc.) shopkeepers distributed food and other basic items to their customers on credit. In the same way, the unions provided cash and supported local inhabitants in rent strikes against landlords, e.g., in the Civil War period, 1936-1939, no rents were paid by local inhabitants. Though kinship networks were very important, informants constantly stressed that it was the stable working class community of the neighbourhood that provided the main framework of daily existence. Thus, when women were forced to work, at those times when men were either unemployed or on strike, neighbours as well as relatives cared for the children. More often than not, however, women took-in work, which allowed them to earn money while staying at home. Here too the stable working class community of the neighbourhood provided an invaluable source of information and referrals with regard to income-earning opportunities.

The Subsistence Wage Economy in Transition Period: 1940 - 1959

The character of the post-Civil War period was dominated by the establishment of Franco's "exceptional" state. This resulted in high inflation while industrial growth was at a minimum. Consumer goods were scarce and the prices of household durable goods were beyond the reach of most workers. Industrial wages were so low that workers were only very limited participants in consumer markets. On the other hand, political repression brought stability to labour markets and wages, if kept low, were at least regular. Women continued to play an important role in the household's economy.

Information collected from the seven households relevant to this period shows that savings based on stable incomes and low consumption became a significant element in the household economies of the time. In La Barceloneta, the number of individual savings bank books was 234 in 1940, by 1945 it had risen to 901 and between 1949 and 1959 a regular number of more than 1,000 new savings bank deposits each year were registered (Caja de Pensiones, Barcelona). Among the seven households studied for this period, five had accumulated cash savings on a regular basis between 1940 and 1959. One couple explained how they managed to save in this period: Pedro and his wife were married in 1947 since then, they have started to put aside 10 ptas a week, gradually increasing their weekly savings. Although the other couples studied were less specific about the amount of money saved, they all said that saving was important, "as one has always to look to the future".

Among the families that had established themselves in the previous

period, the accumulation of money in the form of savings had also become an important part of their household economy. Three out of the four couples from the previous period reported that they had begun saving in the years 1940 to 1959. This was possible, not because saving was a new practice among them but, because the stability of the men's jobs and a regular income permitted saving on a more regular basis. In those families where the women worked, the stability of the men's income meant that any extra money earned by the women could also be saved. This contrasts with their situation in the period before 1940 when the instability of the men's employment forced families to spend any money saved in periods of economic crisis.

In the period 1940-1959, living conditions remained hard for workers and levels of exploitation were reinforced by the fact that workers could not organize in democratic unions and, therefore, could not negotiate wages. As we know from Chapter Two the only existing 'vertical' syndicate was controlled by the state, who fixed industrial wages. Among the male heads of families considered in this period 3 worked in industry, 2 in blue-collar services, one still worked in agriculture. In the remaining family the wife became a single parent after the Civil War, ^{and} she did not want to talk about her husband. However, they all worked long hours in those years or had a second job. This was the case for both skilled and unskilled workers. In fact, two of the three male heads that worked in industry became skilled workers. The other one died in 1979 and his wife did not specify her husband's career. Those who worked in the service sector remained unskilled.

An illustrative example of this period is Pedro. Pedro works in

La Maquinista and lives in La Barceloneta with his wife, his daughter and his wife's sister. He was born in La Barceloneta and entered La Maquinista in 1943, when he was 38 years old. Before this he had worked in four different workshops and on the docks. He entered La Maquinista as a semi-skilled worker, earning 300 ptas a week, working between nine and ten hours a day. His wife, Ana, migrated from Tortosa (Tarragona) and, therefore, is also Catalan, worked in a textile factory from when she was seven years old until she married. After she married, in 1947, she worked for a year in a chemical firm until their daughter was born. Since then she has worked doing house cleaning for a few hours a day and making trousers for a local tailor.

Another example is Juan who migrated from the province of Caceres in 1953 with his wife. He worked in the construction industry for two years and then became a deliveryman for a large-scale food industry. He worked there for sixteen years and until he was dismissed. According to him, this was due to his political involvement in the Communist Party and his commitment to political activities, which in many cases interfered with his job's timetable. Since then he has changed jobs another two times. In the 1950s, however, he worked hard to hold two jobs, working at night as a milkman. He said this was necessary because of the low wages workers earned in those years, but also due to the fact that his wife did not have any kind of paid work. In any case, Juan's experience of having to work overtime was a relative common pattern. Five out of the seven households studied reported having to work at a second job or overtime in those years.

Juan's wife, Pilar was totally confined to the household and earned no money, but this was not the common experience among the female heads of

households. Pedro's wife was an example of the kind of work women continued to do after having children. This was in fact a more shared experience, as five out of the seven wives interviewed worked between 1940 and 1959. One of them, Carmen, was a single parent, continued to work full-time because she had her mother to help her look after her only daughter. Thus, the women's contribution to the family income remained very important. However, in 4 out of the 5 cases work continued to be casual, unskilled and for low returns, without sickness benefits or any other kind of protection. The only exception was Carmen who worked full-time in the formal economy.

What happened to those households that were established in the period before 1940? Conditions of work did not change very much for Manuel. For example, he continued to work in La Maquinista as a semi-skilled worker and resisted overtime work, holding to his anarchist idea concerning exploitation and refusing to change to the new work relations established in the firm after the Civil War. A different attitude was displayed by one of his sons, Pepe who joined La Maquinista, at the age of fourteen, working nine and ten hours a day. He left the firm ten years later to become a bus driver in the city bus company, where he could earn more money and work more hours and where he has worked ever since. Pepe has different ideas to those of his father concerning work organization and when unions became legalized he joined the Workers Commissions (union linked to the Communist Party). Pepe's wife, Pura, who migrated from the province of Granada in 1948 with her aunt, worked as a nanny until they married in 1955. Pura continued working after having children, doing house cleaning. The pattern was repeated by Manuel's wife and the other women that married in the previous period, only one of the working women stopped working in 1946. Thus, in the period 1940 to 1959 women participated actively in the family income, not only those who married in this period but also those who married and

established their households in the previous period. The household economy remained dependent on at least two sources of income given the low level of wages. However, in this period, in contrast with the one before 1940, low income families could save some money and therefore develop (especially towards the end of the 1950s) further aspirations, such as better housing conditions.

Only two of the seven families who married in this period owned their house and both of these were self-constructed on small plots of land in Vallbona. Two lived in very small rented flats in La Barceloneta. One shared a flat with her sisters' family and one lived in a rented house in Vallbona. Sharing housing space for a number of years with relatives was a relative common practice (four out of the seven families did this at some point in time). For example, Juan, explained how he and his family came to live in Vallbona, two years after their arrival in Barcelona. In 1953 he and his wife occupied a room in a flat located in the inner-city area. They moved from this after a few months, when his sister and brother-in-law joined them: "because it was too small for four people". They all moved into a small flat in the same area and they lived for a year. But Juan preferred to live in a place with a bit of land, as they had been used to when they lived in their village of origin in the province of Caceres (north-west Andalusia). Using his kinship networks he obtained some information about Vallbona gleaned through his brother-in-law, who was working in a building company around the area. A friend of the brother-in-law informed Juan about the necessary steps to take in order to buy a piece of land in Vallbona. He finally bought one with a cousin, the plot was divided in two and each constructed a house for themselves. The construction of Juan's house was achieved with the help of his brother-in-law and a fellow worker

of the brother-in-law.

According to informants' reports, Juan's experience was not very different from other families who settled in Vallbona inbetween 1940 and 1959. The same was also said about sharing accomodation between kin members. According to Juan, 13 different nuclear families, related to both him and his wife, have stayed in their home as the first step when they arrived to Barcelona. Later they moved into other houses in Vallbona, where they stayed for a few years and then moved to other neighbourhoods, such as Ciudad Meridiana. A similar account was provided by Pura, who lives in La Barceloneta. Although their flat is very small it was always used by siblings or her parents ^{for} varying periods of time.

Co-residence with parents and siblings was not only a way to cope with the scarcity of cheap housing in Barcelona but also a saving strategy. For example, Carmen shared a flat on the outskirts of the city with her sister's family for nine years until they had saved enough money to establish themselves as an independent household. According to Carmen and other women living now in Ciudad Meridiana, this was a common experience among immigrants arriving to the city in the years between 1940 and 1959. This should come as no surprise, since as we know there was a severe shortage of housing for low-income groups in Barcelona.

In this period of low wages and relatively scarce commodity goods in the market, workers engaged in what can be considered "forced saving". The majority (five out of seven families) lived in rented houses or flats. If we now turn to the families established in the previous period, we see

that only one out of the three families had bought a flat, through a housing cooperative, and this is the couple that did not have any children. Thus, in general, home ownership was not a characteristic of the household economy in this period. In the same way, the consumption of household goods did not expand very much in the individual households of workers. The furniture with which they began married life was second-hand in four of the cases that provided information on this question. Two of them obtained some of the pieces through relatives and neighbours, the other two obtained it in the major second-hand market of the city. Among the durable goods, the ice-box was introduced into four out of the seven households in these years, bought on hire purchase. Only two out of the seven bought a television in these years. Thus, consumption in relation to saving played a minor role in the subsistence wage economy in transition period.

In this period, the salient economic characteristic in the organization of the household was an increase in regular saving. In terms of social relations, the most prominent feature was kinship solidarity. Community organization decreased in importance mainly because of the political repression enforced by the 'exceptional' state. The only institution which could provide a basis for community organization, the Catholic Church, did not attract many non-religious residents. However, social networks among fellow workers continued to exist in traditional neighbourhoods, such as La Barceloneta, but in a much more restricted way e.g. men met in the bars to play cards, women met in the market place. In Vallbona, community solidarity developed but residents were always fearful of any sort of repression, especially considering the informal manner by which the neighbourhood had expanded. In both neighbourhoods the main emphasis on peoples lives centred on work which had become stable in comparison with the pre-Civil War period.

The Financial Wage Economy period: 1960s - 1979

In this period the rapid expansion of the economy manifested in Barcelona resulted in an increase in employment opportunities and an influx of immigrants from other regions of the country. In the early 1960s wages remained relatively low, due to the illegal character of workers unions although as we know some negotiations had begun to take place between the illegal unions and industrialists. They were mainly in large-scale industries where workers' organizations proved to be stronger. As in the previous periods the household economy contained more than one wage either because the female heads also had paid work or because the husband held two jobs, or worked overtime. In the 1970s it became more common to organize the household economy around the male head's salary, primarily because increases in industrial wages permitted this.

What were the characteristics of the people who married and established themselves in this period as new families? In 1979 of the total household male heads (26), 12 were skilled industrial workers, 2 semi-skilled industrial workers, 1 was an unskilled worker also in the industrial sector, 2 worked in the construction industry, 6 in services (4 blue-collar, and 2 white-collar) and 2 were unemployed, but had worked, 1 in the construction industry and the other in the textile industry. This last one found a job seven months later, in the service sector as an unskilled blue-collar worker. The two men who were unemployed received unemployment benefits and therefore could provide money for the household economy.

From the above data we can see a relatively large number of skilled workers. But were they skilled when they first came to Barcelona? An

illustrative example of how immigrants moved in the labour market in these years can be given by the concrete case of Felipe. Felipe migrated from the province of Malaga to Barcelona in 1961. He was the first to come from his family, subsequently helping his brothers and sisters to do the same. He started work as an unskilled labourer in the construction industry and changed his job twice in small-size industries until he began work at SEAT (the largest car industry in the city) in 1963, where he has worked every since. Starting as an unskilled worker, he acquired skilled status over time. In 1979 he also worked in the afternoons in a small workshop in Ciudad Meridiana. Apart from gaining a small extra wage this helped him to learn about TV electronics. Thus, he earns two wages. His wife, Felisa, has worked since she was twelve years old. She migrated to Barcelona with her aunt and brothers and sisters in 1951. She worked in six different enterprises in diverse sectors of industry before they married in 1964. Since her marriage she has undertaken regular casual work as a house cleaner.

Another example is provided by Luis, who migrated from the province of Soria to Barcelona in 1946 with his family. He started work in 1954, first in several workshops and later in a large factory before he entered MOTOR IBERICA (in 1964), a large plant where he works as a skilled worker. A younger brother and two of his brothers-in-law have entered the same firm on Luis' recommendation. Thus, as in the case of La Maquinista and other large-scale industries, such as SEAT, kinship networks remained a source of information and contacts for finding employment. Luis' wife, Marta, who came with her family from the province of Murcia in 1954, worked from 1954 until 1966 as a semi-skilled worker in a textile firm. Since their marriage in 1966 she has undertaken intermittent work doing home sewing on a piece work basis. She did this kind of work more consistently from

1974 till 1978 (six hours a day), when she gave birth to their youngest and third child. Thus, her income, as in the case of Felisa, has been important to the household economy.

What happened in those families in which women did not work at all after marriage? Ana, for example, who came from the province of Badajoz in 1963 and worked until 1968 in a small-scale factory stopped work when she married Julian. Julian was also a migrant worker, from the same village as his wife, who migrated to Barcelona with one of his brothers in 1962. Julian worked in a large-scale factory from 1963 until 1968, over the next seven years he changed jobs several times. Since 1975, Julian has worked as a semi-skilled worker in MOTOR IBERICA. He is very much against his wife doing any kind of work, apart from taking care of the house and looking after the children. Consequently, he worked 12 hours overtime each week to provide a good income for his family. From informants reports, this seems to be a very common practice among male workers in industry. Eleven out of the 17 male heads of households that work in industry (including construction) reported that they systematically undertook overtime work to supplement their regular wages.

If we consider the male heads of households from the period 1940 to 1959, we find that 3 out of the 6 male workers continued to undertake overtime work throughout the 1960s and 1970s. However, as we know from Chapters Two and Three, regular wages increased considerably during the 1970s. Why, then, did male workers find it necessary to continue to undertake overtime work?

Before examining the cases in the sample to answer this question

directly, it is necessary to consider the female heads of households, since their role in the household economy is an important element in answering this question. Of the total number of 26 women who were married in the post-1960 period, all had worked until their marriage or until the birth of their first child, and 10 of them had continued to work after their marriage and/or the birth of their first child. Of these 10 working women, 9 either worked part-time outside the household or took-in work. Only 1 of the 10 worked full-time. It is interesting to note that those female heads of households who were not working, when this study was in progress, had young children that were still very dependent on them, while the children of those women who worked were of school age.

If we examine the female heads of households who were married in the period 1940 to 1959, we find that 3 out of the 5 who were working then continued to work throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The other two had stopped work when their daughters began working, which meant that another wage was provided for the household economy. Thus, if these household economies continue to be based on income derived from more than one wage (through the addition of an extra wage or through overtime work) even after wages had increased, on what is the household income spent?

In the period 1940 to 1959 we saw that saving was the most salient characteristic of household economies among the low-income groups considered in the sample. In the period after 1960, however, the most salient characteristics appears to be increased consumption. Household consumption among these people expanded, I will argue, with the transformation of housing conditions and primarily through the development of home ownership among

workers.

If we take into consideration the 26 couples that had married in the period after 1960 we find that in 1979, 21 had become owner-occupiers, while 5 lived in a rented flat or self-constructed houses. This pattern of housing tenancy contrasts with the pattern of the two previous periods in which most of the workers in the sample lived in rented accommodation. How did this transformation in the housing tenancy take place?

Looking more closely at the couples already introduced to illustrate the period after 1960 we see that; Felipe and Felisa, after they married in 1964, lived in Felipe's parents' home for nine months. His parents lent them the required money to pay the entrance fee for the purchase of the flat to which they moved and in which they live at present. Thus, family economic support remained very important for them, especially in the early years of their marriage.

The case of Luis and Marta, however, provides a contrasting example. They both saved money when they were single and after they were married they went to live in a flat which they had bought in a small village near Barcelona. Six years later they sold that flat and bought the one they now live in Ciudad Meridiana. In the cases of both husband and wife, they lived with their parents for 12 and 11 years while they were earning the wages that helped them to accumulate enough individual savings to put into housing after they were married. Thus, family organization remained important in this case also, though here the household economies of the parents and that of the new heads of household seems to have been more independent.

Among those couples who had not migrated with their parents, as for

example Ana and Julian the circumstances were different to those of the previous couple. Ana and Julian lived in a small rented flat for five years until they had accumulated enough savings to pay the entrance fee of their current accommodation.

Did house ownership become more generalised among the couples established in the two other periods considered? None of the three families that lived in rented flats or houses in the previous period and married before 1940s became owner-occupiers. Among those who had married in the 1940s and 1950s (7 couples) two became owners of their new accommodation. However, one couple Pepe and Pura, although continuing to live in their rented flat in La Barceloneta in the late 1970s bought a flat by the seaside in La Costa Brava, where they go on weekends and during the summer holidays. Thus, ownership also seems to have expanded to a certain extent among the households which had been established in the previous periods. However, the majority of owner-occupiers in my sample were located in the newly constructed neighbourhood of Ciudad Meridiana. Only one of the 24 families established in this area lived in a rented flat, the rest all owned their accommodation. Thus, it can be suggested that house ownership tends to develop to a greater extent in the newly constructed working class residential areas.

This finding is supported by research carried out by Banesto (1974) which showed that there was a clear distinction between patterns of ownership in traditional workers' areas and in the newly developed neighbourhoods, where, as we saw in the previous chapters, most of the immigrant workers live in Barcelona. According to this study in 1973, only 30 per cent of the people living in traditional areas owned their flats, whereas in

district IX (where Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana are located) 72 per cent of the residents are owner-occupiers.

In the 1960s the state organized a campaign to promote house ownership called "access to property" and banking facilities were provided to enable people to buy flats. This policy of housing ownership expanded among the traditional inner city areas, where the landlords of rented houses were unsatisfied with the low rent returns they were getting from their tenants. They offered the flats for sale to the occupants at a price fixed according to the number of years of tenancy. For example, Antonio who had lived in La Barceloneta since 1964 and who was paying 500 pts until 1973, bought his flat in 1973 for 140,000 pts.

However, workers' responses were not always positive, especially among those of advanced age. Resistance to buying a flat in La Barceloneta was voiced in this way by a retired worker from La Maquinista "if they want to sell me something, ^{if} is because I am going to lose, therefore I do not intend to buy it". Pedro found the transaction of buying a flat too expensive and complicated, despite the fact that the family income was more than £200 a month. Pedro and his family saved money every month and the price of their flat would have been around £700 (140,000 pts). Thus, very few of the people interviewed in La Barceloneta owned their flat. Whereas in Vallbona, 22% of the people questioned (9) owned their house, although we know from the previous chapter that the proportion is higher for the area. And in Ciudad Meridiana, only 4% were tenants in the sample.

Resistance to purchasing a flat or a house was also present among some residents in Vallbona. This emerged when a planning scheme was presented

to them by the Neighbourhood Association. It was argued that they could not afford the price. However, leaving aside those who were unemployed, I suggest that in many cases this attitude involved a resistance to risk, either because of their age or because it implied a different economic rationality. In Vallbona houses were constructed in consecutive stages, usually starting with a room and the kitchen and bathroom where the family could perform the basic daily activities of the household. Further enlargement of the house took place by adding new room. The time period for this process varied from several months to several years, according to family income and savings. However, a second important element in the length of time required for a house to be completed was the family cycle. That is, the availability of the wife to work outside the household and the age of the children, and whether or not these brought some income into the household.

Ciudad Meridiana provides a contrasting example to the other two. Most of the residents (around 90 per cent) owned their flat. In fact, the area was conceived for owner occupancy. However, as the state subsidized part of the costs of the building, prices for individual owners were very cheap (£1,000). Further, facilities were provided by the construction company to allow people to purchase a flat by asking for £200 deposit and less than £4 a month for a period of 20 years. In this housing scheme developed in the 1960s in Ciudad Meridiana, workers could in general raised enough money for the deposit. They did so either from their savings or, as many commented, by borrowing money from parents, relatives and in some cases the firm in which they worked.

In the later stages of construction, in the 1970s, in Cuidad Meridiana, the quality of housing had improved and the prices had risen. The total price was £3,250, with £1,000 as deposit and £20 a month for a period of ten years. The house design involved more privacy (windows facing the four cardinal points and not just two as in the previous example), and comfort by having more space inside and a car park space outside. In this sense, it can be suggested, there was an implicit assumption that the residents would have higher levels of consumption than in previous housing designs. In comparison with the 1960s blocks, the neighbours in the 1970s blocks had less information about each other, in part because women do not gather as much outside the block (since there is no proper place for them to sit) and in part because they have less shared activities and have lived for a shorter period in the area. However, as in the first model, the men see each other as they hold periodical meetings of what is termed the "owners association" in which the administration of the housing block is discussed.

An important point to emerge from the data on low-income household economies across the three periods is ^{the} trend towards owner-occupation in the financial wage economy period, the most recent of the three periods discussed. The years since 1960 have witnessed the establishment of an increasingly large group of owner-occupiers within the wider working class population and this signals a sharp break with the housing conditions experienced by workers' families in the years before 1960. To what extent can the distinction between tenants and owner-occupiers, in the households studied in the period after 1960, provide insights into other types of differentiation in household consumption patterns?

Together with improved access to housing opportunities and home ownership, in the post-1960 period, an ideology of modernity was introduced into workers' homes, e.g., an emphasis on individualism and privatization as opposed to traditional working class solidarity, an emphasis on the consumption of new and fashionable household technological devices, and the like. Families in the post-1960 period began to replace their old furniture with the well-matched, standardized furniture displayed in fashion magazines and on television. This concern to be "modern" and to "modernize" the home and its contents, made considerable demands on workers' household economies. The money was in part provided by savings but most was provided by overtime work and the wages of several members of the family. The acquisition of property and goods then, involved the persistence of the family as an economic unit. In this way old social practices were adapted to meet new circumstances and new aspirations.

It must be questioned, however, to what extent the character of reciprocity and family solidarity changed in line with the structural changes in the economy, and to what extent the character of the new objects purchased and introduced into the household modified old social practices. Firth warns against leaping to conclusions with regard to the introduction of technological devices into family life.

"In its silent communion of the family around the T.V. screen is it the modern analogue of the family prayers? Or does it rather provide for the family members a still further occasion for dispute about the allocation of conjoint time and resources, for the exercise of their various pressures upon the family?"

(Firth, 1964: 77)

In relation to this question informants emphasised that the family

continues to be the basic group within which decisions are made. However, reciprocity among family members and kin continues but tends to be based more on exchange of presents, eating and drinking (mainly on Sundays) rather than on providing help for basic needs. The households have become, then, more independent from each other while within each household the family remains cell of social and economic organization.

Implications of Housing Ownership for Individual consumption

Was there any common pattern of preferences on the allocation of family resources among immigrant workers in the sample? How did they allocate resources within their households? To what extent was the urban environment itself an influential factor in the process of change in household economies?

By dividing the total sample of 37 households into owner-occupiers (a total of 26) and tenants (11), we can examine any differences in their level of household spending. For example, one of the priorities of spending among this low-income group of families has been house renovations and repairs. Among the 26 owner-occupiers, 17 had done some sort of renovation and repairs, such as painting, changing floor tiles, changing kitchen tiles, changing doors etc. Nine of the 26 had not done any renovation or repairs at all. Among the 11 tenants, 7 have done the same sort of renovation and repairs, 3 had not done any and one did not give any information on this topic. There is then, a tendency among owner-occupiers to spend more time, effort and money on their homes, especially if we take into account the fact that of the 9 owner-occupiers who did not undertake any house repairs, 8 had moved into their flats in 1973, which are newer and better constructed. With regard to the remaining family, though they

moved their flat in 1975 there was no data on when the house was constructed. However, with the exception of two families who undertook minor modifications only once, the rest (22) undertook house modifications over several years. According to all informants, this has been a general practice, in which the family, relatives and neighbours helped by providing information on how to obtain cheap materials and sometimes contributed free labour.

An illustrative example is provided by Carmen and Emilio who moved into an owner-occupier flat in Ciudad Meridian in 1974. This flat was constructed in 1965 using very cheap construction materials. In 1979 Carmen decided to make some changes in the kitchen, e.g. to change the tiles and the furniture. Emilio's two fellow workers helped them to find the materials at a lower price than it could have been obtained in the formal market. Carmen's brother provided his labour in exchange for food, and two of the neighbours who worked in the construction industry helped by giving advice. Thus, house renovations and repairs was a means by which the shared activities among kin, friends and neighbours were reinforced within the organization of the household economy.

An indication of whether or not house ownership encouraged other kinds of spending is the renewal of furniture. As we saw in the subsistence and subsistence in transition wage economy periods, furniture was commonly second hand. However, in the financial wage economy period, renovation became the general pattern. For example, taking the heads of household's bedroom furniture, out of the total number of tenants who gave information, 1 family bought it before 1960, five families in the 1960s and 1 family in 1974. Among the 25 owners, none had kept furniture bought before 1960, 10 bought it in the 1960s and 15 in the 1970s. Even more marked differences can be seen if we take into consideration the renewal of the dining room

furniture. Only four of the seven families who were tenants changed it after 1960, two of them during the 1970s. However, among the 26 owner-occupiers, 10 had changed their dining room furniture in the 1960s and 16 had done so in the 1970s. It does seem then that house ownership does encourage the purchase of other commodities.

Does this hold for other items, such as technological household goods? Or are both groups of families equally constrained by the high frequency of household tasks, such as shopping, food preparing, child-rearing, cleaning etc. which confine women to the household and which push men to work overtime?

If we take some of the main household technological items that can lessen the time spent on household tasks, such as freezers, electric mixers, pressure cookers, dish washers and automatic washing machines and, ask, whether these families have these items, we can see the extent to which they are constrained by household activities. To start with, none of the total 37 households had a freezer, which means that food cannot be stored for long periods of time and women had to shop for food with a certain regularity. In fact, all the women stated that they had to shop for food at least twice a week. If we look at the items which can help food processing - electric mixers and pressure cookers - we find that 8 out of 10 of the tenants (no data on one family here) had an electric mixer and all 10 had a pressure cooker. Among the group of owners 22 out of the 23 (no data on 3 families here) had an electric mixer and all 23 had a pressure cooker. Thus, there do not appear to be any differences between the two groups with regard to these kind of purchases.

If we consider another basic household technological good that helps to generate free time from household tasks, such as the automatic washing machines, we do find some differences. Among the tenants 6 out of the 10 that answered this question had an automatic washing machine. While among the owner-occupiers, 24 out of the 26 had automatic washing machines. In both groups this item was purchased in the 1970s. Thus, some differentiation appears in an item which has a high price, compared to the other two items (electric mixers and pressure cookers). In this sense, it can be suggested that within the sample those families who were not able or ready to invest money in housing property, (which involves a financial burden) are less likely to invest in durable goods that also require relatively high expenditure.

One way to test this suggestion is to look at differences in car ownership, which also requires a high investment of household income. In comparing the two groups, we find that only 2 out of the 11 tenants owned a car, while 17 of the 26 owner-occupiers owned a car (all bought in the 1970s). However, in this case urban location was an important factor as owner-occupiers living in La Barceloneta were less likely to have a car than those living in Ciudad Meridiana. This will come as no surprise considering the short distance from the city centre at which La Barceloneta is located. An interesting point came out of the case of Pura and Pepe, they owned a car although they live in a rented flat in La Barceloneta. According to them, the car was important for them because it gave them the freedom to go to their flat on the Costa Brava at any time. Thus, not only urban location but the extent to which workers spent their leisure time outside the city has become an important factor in car ownership.

Does the car help women to cope with the urban environment? In 1979, only 2 of the 37 women included in the study were learning to drive and none of them could drive at that time or by the time this study was completed. This means that the women were restricted to using public transport. For example, if they had to go to the hospital, which may not be located in the neighbourhood (as is the case in Vallbona and Cuidad Meridiana), or if they wanted to undertake part-time work while the children were young. This restriction was reinforced by the fact that the city's bus service was deficient, especially with regard to communicating with peripheral neighbourhoods, where industrial job opportunities may exist for these women. Thus, in this sense, women from low-income families are not only confined to their immediate environment by the high frequency of household tasks, but also by the very way the urban environment itself is organized.

An important issue to emerge from this analysis of household organization and consumption is then, the position of working class women in the urban economy. We have seen that among the female heads of households included in the study, the majority had not been able to engage in full-time industrial work after their marriage. After their marriage these women had undertaken casual work, which usually involved a high degree of exploitation, since these jobs were not covered by union regulations. Working class women have been forced into this position, first by the insecurity of the men's employment and low wages in the subsistence wage economy period, and then by the continuation of low wages for industrial workers in the subsistence wage economy in transition period. However, even after industrial wages had increased in Barcelona after 1960, the lives of these women followed the same pattern. They have done so, I suggest,

in order to fulfill their aspirations which centred on improving their family's living conditions. In practice, these aspirations have been translated into the acquisition of property and goods. Thus, in the financial wage economy period, women had adapted old practices to meet the new market conditions, namely the expansion of the consumer market. In a similar way, the working men included in the study had, in general, continued to work long hours to fulfill the same aspirations for the family, and with the same practical outcome.

To illustrate and support this point we can note the relatively recent trend among workers to purchase a second house, or a plot of land upon which to construct a second house, outside of Barcelona. Of the total 37 families in the study, 8 had bought a second house and 4 had bought a plot of land with the aim of constructing a second house. Thus, 32.4 per cent of the total number of households are following the pattern of increasing their spending on property and goods, as these second houses will encourage further expenditures. It is interesting to note that only 2 of these 12 families lived in rented accommodation, and both of these lived in La Barceloneta.

There is a danger, however, in deriving from these findings an image of affluence among these workers that does not correspond to their position in the social structure of Barcelona. Despite their economic achievements in housing property and other goods, these families have not become 'medium scale' according to Douglas' definition (1979) which would involve expenditure being stressed on technology in the household. As we have seen above the acquisition of technological appliances among the families considered in this study is not very salient. This still leaves a high frequency of

household tasks to be done by the women. These women have to stop to work full-time as soon as they become mothers which in turn forces men to work overtime. On the other hand, if 'low scale' is defined as laying the stress of expenditure on food, these families are not representative of this group either. The amount of money spent on food, for all the families, takes up a little more than half of the men's wages without taking into account the money earned through overtime work or through a second job. This means that at least half the income is spent on other items apart from food. Thus Douglas conceptualization of a 'low scale' group proves to be inadequate in the case of low income (working class) families in the financial wage economy period of my sample.

However, an important implication of Douglas conceptualization which proves to be relevant among these families is that low emphasis on technological devices often restricts the possibility for people to participate in events related to information gathering - e.g. political and cultural activities. In the same way relatively little money is spent on information and developing social networks outside the immediate environment (work place and residence). In the total sample, only one man was a formal politician (local councillor in the city), two women had also developed social networks in the Local Council as a result of being active in the Neighbourhood Association of the area in which they lived, one in Vallbona, the other in Ciudad Meridiana. Although other people were involved in community action or trade union organization their networks had not extended so far as to influence their patterns of living in comparison with the other families, which were not so active in the neighbourhood. Thus the family, neighbours and fellow workers were the most common social networks these household heads had.

Also the amount of money spent on information is very small if we compare it with that spent on food and household goods. Thus, apart from the television set, which all of them have, 14 buy a newspaper regularly, 11 had bought an encyclopedia and 10 spent a small amount of money on books every month. Only in one case did a couple report that they bought the books in a bookshop, the rest had bought them because a book-seller had come to their homes. Thus, information remains a low priority in their household economies.

Another area of expenditure which indicates people's position in society is clothing. I have referred to this question earlier in this Chapter, noting that, in the past, workers did not spend much money on clothing. In Halbwachs' analysis (Chapter One we saw that high expenditure on clothing could be interpreted as detrimental to the cohesion of the domestic group. This was, according to Halbwachs, because the higher the amount of money spent on clothing the less can be spent on food and housing. We also saw in Cerda's remarks on clothing among workers in the last century in Barcelona, that clothing can give an image of wealth as well as being a sign of social involvement outside the family ('streets and market places in religious and profane places'). At the time this research was in progress, the working families studied were spending a relatively small amount of money on clothing. However, a new pattern seems to be emerging in those families in which children were of school age or were adolescents. In the case of parents with children under 14, they felt that their children should dress properly to go to school. Thus, in Ciudad Meridiana, where the couples had younger children, they usually bought from one to three articles every six months, while in La Barceloneta they usually did not buy more than one article over the same period of time. Does this emphasis on children's

clothing reflect the parents' aspirations for their children's prosperity? Is this prosperity to be achieved through education? Is the education of their children important for the parents?

As it was pointed out at the beginning of this Chapter, the children over 14 considered in the sample worked as their parents had done since the age of 14, in the majority of cases. Only 17.6 per cent of the total continued to study after the age of 14. This can be interpreted as a result of a realistic 'limited rationality' developed by these working class families. Until recently, their experience was that they continued to be workers as their parents were, although they were much better off. Their aspirations for their children centre on providing for a more comfortable life and, if possible, fewer hardships. They see this aim as one to be achieved through the acquisition of skills and savings more than through higher education, which would in any case involve a lot of 'sacrifice' for uncertain economic returns. However, those heads of households whose children were under 14, felt their children should continue studying as much as they could, but also that they would have to work. Thus, there was some ambivalence. For example, Felisa and Felipe wanted their eldest child (aged 13 in 1979) to continue studying, but at the same time they made out an application for him to enter work in SEAT, where Felipe worked.

A very interesting illustration of the experiences of immigrant workers and their children is provided by a letter sent to the Barcelona newspaper "La Vanguardia" (August 1979). The letter was written by an immigrant woman from Andalusia. Although the views and experiences contained in the letter may not be representative of those of all immigrant workers in Barcelona, it does provide us with an account which can be compared with the

views and experiences expressed by members of the households included in the study.

"An Andalusian Family in Catalonia", La Vanguardia, August, 1979.

Dear Sir,

Even though I may take up too much space, I would be grateful if you would publish this letter; it is very important to me to be able to express what I feel and think about Andalusia and Catalonia, and more so, if it can be read by Sr. Rojas Marcos and some other Andalusians who may be there and in Catalonia.

I was born in Arenas del Rey (Granada). My father was a shepherd and my mother had nine children (one girl died during the war). The sufferings occasioned by the oppression exercised by the "cacique" and "señorito" together with the "machismo" of Andalusia, made my mother - she had come to Barcelona for the wedding of my brother who had set up family there - struggle as hard as she could to get us out of that village.

It was in 1961 when she had the idea of coming to Barcelona with her eight children. She only had a flat to live in, no job and no schools for the children, and the whole village thought she was mad and tried to dissuade her, telling her that she would be returning to the condition of having to beg for her living.

But my mother had suffered immensely there, so much so that one would need pages and pages of La Vanguardia to explain it all. She therefore packed up her few clothes and her old beds, together with a pot of honey and her lamb (it reminds me of the film "La piel quemada"), and off she went to Barcelona.

She placed the four younger ones of us in the state school "Garcia Morato" where the director of the centre, Maria Asuncion Lacasta, helped her a great deal with everything relating to the school, and subsequently, to obtain scholarships.

My father started work in a building site as a bricklayer earning 400 pts a week, and each of the other brothers worked where he could since at that time there was plenty of work.

We lived fifteen years in San Ramon Street, District V. Today they are all in the "Poble Sec" quarter and I shall give Sr. Rojas some details of how we live now (and it is the same in the case of hundreds of families who have emigrated from Andalusia).

My mother has managed to obtain a small pension and is only concerned about the house and about having something to entertain her, and my father, retired for five years, also keeps himself busy with small things which interest him.

My elder brothers, one is a master mason and two others are skilled workers in Seat, as also my married sisters, all have their own houses and cars (perhaps this seems of no importance to Sr. Rojas Marcos but for any worker I believe it represents his greatest and most important aspiration) and what is more important, they have schools and colleges where their children can receive an education which they themselves missed out on.

I am 27 years old, unmarried and I work as a secretary, and, although with great difficulty, I am paying for a beautiful flat which I could never have dreamed of possessing in Andalusia (I know this is not everything in life) but I am also able to choose what I like in music, reading and in any other cultural activity.

My two younger brothers, one of 24 and one of 22, also married and with their own cars, work in the Post Office. One of them will finish studying Medicine next year and the other has completed a teaching course, all this with the help of scholarships, and they will continue, also with scholarships, to study surgery and English philology.

All this fills us with happiness and sadness at the same time when we realize how the people who stayed in the village and called my parents mad and people live so differently, constantly bewailing their lot.

My brothers and sisters, who have only had a couple of children (not nine like my mother) and my brothers- and sisters-in-law, here in Catalonia, are model parents, respecting each other mutually and always solicitous about their children's education, and they share the household chores (perhaps Sr. Rojas does not think much of this either), but in the village they would spend the day in the fields, only to go from the pub to bed (pardon the expression) but I get angry and it hurts me to read declarations such as these when I see female friends and cousins of my age who are forced to work in the fields (which seems very noble but hard for them) and are then slapped across the face by their husbands who are full of stupid jealousies and have had a few glasses too many, and who, however, are not responsible directly for their actions because it is the only way of life they know, and no one has helped them to change.

Eighteen years have passed since we arrived in Barcelona, and when people from the village come to visit us they tell my parents that they have not gained but lost those years, and how true this is!

I am moved equally by an Andalusian song, a guitar or a "sevillana" as also by "Els Segadors" or the Sardana. I love Andalusia as much (or perhaps more because of all its suffering) as Catalonia, because of all it has given me, not only material things but cultural ones which are much more important. I would like to return to my homeland to help them emerge from the deceit in which they are closed in through the politics of the oppressive "cacique", the

"senorito" and many others, but I know I would not be able to do absolutely anything because in the meantime men like Sr. Rojas, who are the ones who have the necessary means within their reach, commit indescribably acts of jealousy.

Except for my parents who are old and therefore find it difficult to learn, all my brothers and I speak Catalan, and at home I have books about Catalan history and culture whereas on Andalusia with all the culture and history which has to be written about, I have hardly found anything to read.

When I ask my mother sometimes what made her uproot herself in such conditions of insecurity, she replies that it was the suffering she was undergoing and her wish that this should not be the case with her children because as she says: "If I were able to read, I would relate my life in a book so that everyone should know what goes on there", and if she had written this letter it would be quite a lot more human and worthy of coming to the attention of Sr. Rojas.

Because, despite the passage of years, problems exist and will continue to exist whilst people in power, instead of following good example and showing social awareness, only see jealousies, and instead of dedicating themselves to building, dedicate themselves to destroying.

There we are. And we have never felt outsiders, but on the contrary, always well integrated.

(Translated by Dr. J. Jones)

Two important issues discussed by the woman in this letter relate directly to the fieldwork part of my research project. Firstly, she points to the opportunities available for migrants to achieve a relatively comfortable standard of living in Barcelona through individual efforts and individually acquired means. Secondly, she perceives that migrants could be "integrated" into Barcelona's social life by adopting similar patterns of consumption to those exhibited by the Catalan population, in contrast with the migrants' previous life-styles and experiences in rural Spain. Based on the woman's comments on these two issues we can return to the core group of households studied and ask two questions.

- [1] What are the implications of this emphasis on individual achievement in the urban economy for

social and political organization among immigrant workers?

- [2] To what extent have immigrant workers and their families been incorporated into the social life of the city, which is dominated by Catalan "culture"?

Among those workers who migrated to Barcelona in the financial wage period of the 1960s and 1970s, informants reported that it was relatively easier to find a job and to acquire skills in industry, than in earlier periods. They were also more likely to have found better accommodation than the migrants who came to the city in the two previous periods. Consequently, they achieved a higher standard of living. The improvements in employment and housing conditions were a result of changes that had taken place in the economy of Barcelona and of the country as a whole. Among those workers who were already established in the city by 1960, informants reported that, in the period after 1960 new patterns of consumption had been incorporated into their life-styles, e.g. property ownership and an emphasis on the purchase of durable goods. It is important to note that new experiences accompanied these changes. On the one hand, the weakening of Franco's regime and the development of underground union organizations enabled workers to increase their bargaining power, in comparison with the period 1940 to 1959. This increase in bargaining power helped to develop solidarity among the workers which brought about a rise in workers' wages. On the other hand, increased wages and the individuals means by which a family was able to organize its household economy encouraged the tendency towards privatization, facilitated by such goods as the car and the television.

In contrast with the first period, in which we saw how to some extent workers and their families relied on community solidarity operating in neighbourhoods, such as La Barceloneta, in the period after 1960 workers did not socialise very much with their fellow mates. Only 9 out of 37 heads of household engaged in shared activities with their work mates outside the work place. Two of these 9 worked in La Maquinista and lived in La Barceloneta for a long time. Does this mean that the majority of these workers live a totally individualized life style?

The idea of a 'community of workers' was proposed in Barcelona mainly by the early Anarcho-syndicalist union. This involved a transformation of organization of production and community life (e.g. during the Civil War La Maquinista was collectivised by the workers, in La Barceloneta no housing rents were paid to the landlords). Also the Socialist union encouraged community activities in the 'casas de pueblo', although there was not such a radical questioning of the existing social order as the one encouraged by the Anarchist union. In the financial wage economy period workers are also concerned about community issues but at the same time they feel very confident in their own capacity for individual achievement. For example, one of the informants in Ciudad Meridiana commented that, 'only the very poor have to demonstrate in the streets in order to get a school place for their children'. She did not include herself in this category, she and her husband had worked hard and were able to pay for their children's education.

However, such an individualistic attitude was not common among the total number of families considered in the study. In fact, 25 out of the total 37 couples heads of household have been involved, at some stage, in

community issues concerning housing, schools, nurseries or street repairs .. etc. All 25 had been (either husband or wife or both) involved with the local Neighbourhood Association and were very conscious of the importance of community solidarity. It is interesting to note that participation in community activities was higher among the owner-occupiers (73 per cent) than among the tenants (54 per cent). This finding leaves open the question: under what conditions do men and women organize to pursue demands to public institutions for welfare services?

The views expressed by the woman's letter to the newspaper emphasising the individual achievement of immigrant workers in Barcelona were widely shared and were clearly supported by the informants in interviews. However, as we have seen most of them have been involved in organized efforts to collectively improve community services. It seems then, that the implications of the increasing emphasis on individual achievement on social and political organization remains unclear. Heads of households included in the study expressed feelings of ambivalence about whether they should buy education and other services or whether they should engage in more community action to obtain these services collectively from the state.

The views expressed in the letter on the issues of social and cultural changes experienced by immigrants were widely echoed in interviews with the heads of households. All the people interviewed talked of having moved from living in a situation of social and economic backwardness, in which they felt exploited and degraded, to living in a new social and economic environment, which was more caring and offered them the employment opportunities to improve their family's prospects. This emphasis

on the prospects for social mobility, I suggest, is the first and most important element in the migrants' adaptation to the urban economy. It is important to note that the letter and the reports of informants place a heavy emphasis on the achievements of immigrants in Catalonia in the sphere of economic prosperity and education (e.g. access to schooling). Thus, in her letter, the woman says of her brothers and sisters "all have their own houses and cars". In stressing the value of this achievement, she comments, "I believe it represents his greatest and most important aspiration". The stress in her letter is put upon what can be achieved through increased consumer power and not on the fact that, unlike her father, her brothers and sisters had had industrial training. Thus, it seems that, for the first generation of immigrants (Parental group) security and subsistence were the primary goals, while for the second generation of immigrants (core households) home-ownership and increased consumer power were the primary goals. It is not until we turn to the third generation (children of core households) that we find the informants and the letter stressing the importance of education. While the woman's letter shows that she sees a clear link between education and improved economic prospects, my interviews revealed that a majority of informants valued education but were much less sure about whether or not extended education would improve their children's economic prospects.

It is interesting to note that the letter writer sees a connection between the parents' disposition towards their children's education and the respect husband and wife have for each other. In this context, she refers to the changes experienced in male attitudes towards their wives in Barcelona, contrasting these with the "macho" style of the rural south. The women interviewed in the core group of households, while they did not comment

specifically on the "macho" style, reported that their husbands were much more considerate and involved in family life (e.g. less drinking in bars with other men, etc.) than the men in their place of origin. In this sense, it is by adapting themselves to the material conditions prevailing in modern Catalan industrial society that changes in the men's value system have taken place. Further, as the letter and the interviews makes clear, it is through the acquisition of these values that the immigrants claim to be part of Catalan society.

One point made in the letter is less representative of the character of immigrant adaptation to life in Barcelona. This is the knowledge of Catalan language. In the sample of people considered in this Chapter, the greater majority of the people interviewed had a very small vocabulary in Catalan. This was less so for those who lived in La Barceloneta, where many of the residents spoke Catalan. In Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana it was reported, and supported by personal observations, that it is very unusual to hear Catalan spoken at all. It seems then, that the process of language adaptations is considerably inhibited by the geographical separation that exists between those neighbourhoods where Catalans reside and those in which immigrant workers reside. In the more recently constructed peripheral working class areas where immigrants are concentrated, there tends to be less inter-marriage between Catalans and immigrants and, partly as a consequence of this, school teachers find it particularly difficult to get the children to learn Catalan. Thus, as far as the immigrant workers' families included in this study were concerned, Catalan was of very little use in the home or more generally, in the neighbourhood.

The last remark in the woman's letter re-emphasizes the point that immigrants, "have never felt outsiders, but on the contrary, always well integrated". Such positive feelings were similar to those recorded from informants in La Barceloneta. Informants from Ciudad Meridiana, while they did not feel they were "outsiders", expressed less positive feelings than those found in La Barceloneta. Based on the interviews recorded in Vallbona, few of the residents of this neighbourhood would agree with the views expressed in the letter. On the other hand, very few anti-Catalan statements were mentioned in any of the interviews. Thus, it seems that feelings of isolation were interpreted more in terms of the bourgeois/worker division that they felt was clear manifested in the city than in terms of the Catalan/immigrant division.

Conclusion

This Chapter has described some of the changes that appeared to have taken place in the organization of the household economy among a sample of workers (mostly immigrants) in Barcelona. These changes are related to the changes that have taken place in the urban economy and have manifested themselves in the patterns of individual consumption characteristic of these workers and their families.

[a] From each period some salient characteristics have become apparent.

In the subsistence wage economy period, workers and their families relied on community solidarity as well as on the help of the kin group. Unstable employment and low wages forced women to work after marriage in part-time jobs with very small returns. Children entered the labour

force at a very young age. In the organization of the household economy, family income was basically spent on food and rent accommodation. In the subsistence wage economy in transition period, community organization was undermined by the political repression imposed by the dictatorial regime after the Civil War. The basic source of social solidarity was the family and relatives. Wages remained low and men worked overtime. Women continued to work within the informal economy and children started work at the age of fourteen. However, wages remained low while prices of goods in the market were too high for working class people to be able to consume. Thus, saving became a salient factor in the household economy. In the financial wage economy period, both men and women followed the pattern of work of previous periods. In this period, wages experienced a considerable increase (mainly in 1970s). Children in this period continued to enter the labour force at the age of fourteen, although there is some indication of social mobility through education rather than the acquisition of work skills. In the organization of the household the most salient characteristic had become home ownership and greatly increased consumption.

- [b] house ownership has encouraged the acquisition of further goods. Important differences seem to exist between owner-occupiers and tenants in their patterns of household consumption. Thus, house and property ownership brings with it rising aspirations for better and especially newer house decorations and more durable goods. The fact that house and property ownership has expanded on the outskirts of Barcelona meant that workers were also encouraged to buy cars. Resistance to home ownership and to spending money on goods such as cars was found

in La Barceloneta and Vallbona. In La Barceloneta the resistance was due to the fact that the neighbourhood was an inner city area but was also because the majority of people questioned there said that they were too old to change their life-style. In Vallbona, the residents claimed to be poor and therefore they could not afford any changes in their life-style, they also claimed that "it was too late for them to change". Here the younger generation held different views, but said they did not have the necessary money to purchase a house.

[c] The purchasing capacity of workers in recent years has created an emphasis on the pursuit of individual strategies in order to acquire not only market goods, but also property and services, such as education. On the one hand, the people interviewed wanted the state to take more responsibility for the provision of collective services (e.g. education, health care, recreation, transport, etc.). On the other hand, they felt confident of their own individual means to buy such services. Thus, there is high degree of ambivalence in the heads of household's views regarding individual versus collective strategies for improving their family's welfare and prospects. It is important to note here that, education has not been the channel through which immigrant workers have improved their position in the urban economy. Their parents' experience and their own experience is that hard work provided them with the opportunities for improving their living conditions. Thus, heads of household, at present, express ambiguous feelings about the value of education in improving the economic prospects of their children.

[d] All the people included in the study were conscious of their position in relation to the wider native Catalan population. They felt they

had contributed to the development of Barcelona as workers, and, in a way, it was difficult for them to see themselves as members of any other social class. However, the fact that they have become well established in the city, as owner-occupiers in an increasingly large proportion, and have adopted 'similar' patterns of consumption to those which are visible among the native Catalans, gives them a sense of security. Moreover, in a majority of cases, their children have been born in Barcelona and these see the city as their home. However, two elements that act against 'integration' remain. These are the spatial segregation that has developed in the city between the 'Catalan society' and immigrant workers and the fact that immigrant workers do not speak, in the majority of cases, the Catalan language. These two elements would appear to be closely related.

CHAPTER SIX

COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION, URBANIZATION AND URBAN

PROTEST IN BARCELONA

"Change in material life determines the condition of that struggle, and some of its character; but the particular outcome is determined only by the struggle itself"

(Thompson, 1979: 22)

It has become widely argued that the growing significance of collective consumption is a central process in the study of urbanization (Castells, 1978; Saunders, 1979; Dunleavy, 1981). This chapter examines the phenomena that affect the social reproduction of labour¹ in Barcelona, and which have been defined in terms of the collective provision of the means of consumption. Through an examination of the conditions and means by which Barcelona's working class population has obtained housing, education, health care, and the like, I suggest that the Spanish state has encouraged the privatization of what in other European countries has been provided collectively, particularly since the Second World War.

The Spanish state's intervention in those spheres of consumption directly related to the social reproduction of the workforce parallels

1. "This is performed on a daily basis (through the reproduction of the labour-power of existing workers) and on a generational basis (through the production of new generations of workers to replace the existing one), and it entails both simple reproduction (recreation of expended labour-power) and extended reproduction (development of new capacities of labour-power). The means whereby such reproduction is realized are the means of consumption - housing and hospitals, social services and schools ..." (Saunders, 1981: 185).

its position with respect to industrial development - a lack of involvement until the economic boom of the 1960s, followed by a series of fragmentary and rather inefficient actions. In this sense, the achievement of a mature industrial society in Barcelona, without any extensive intervention by the state, may throw into question the view that state intervention in economic and social infrastructure is necessary to advanced capitalist development. Indeed, as has been noted earlier in this work the chaotic urbanization process in Barcelona, without state planning, has been convenient to capital accumulation based on cheap labour.

As noted in Chapter One the concept of 'collective consumption' is distinguished from 'individual consumption' by the fact that it is provided by the state. Its production is 'socialized' by the state because of the contradictions that develop in advanced capitalist societies, the main contradiction being that between needs for capital accumulation and needs for the social reproduction of the labour force (Castells, 1977a). This contradiction, according to Castells, takes form in the urban crisis and is manifested in such areas as housing and other services for the labour force, in which private capital does not generally invest due to the low rate of return on building for rent, in the case of housing, or state regulation which extends to other services, such as education and health care. The state, therefore, assumes responsibility for the provision of these services. As public authorities become the managers of collective provision of the means of consumption, the organization of the city becomes politicised. It is important to note, however, that this politicisation process is qualified and modified by the class structure and class relations found in particular countries.

"The politicisation thus established is not necessarily a source of conflict or change, for it may also be a mechanism of integration and participation: everything depends on the articulation of the contradictions and practices or, to put it another way, on the dialectic between the state apparatus and the urban social movement".

(Castells, 1977 cited by Saunders, 1979: 110)

The aim of this chapter is to characterise the politicisation of the provision of the means of collective consumption in Barcelona in the sense used by Castells, by examining the relations between the state and urban social movements in the city, with a focus on the three areas studied. Within this perspective, following Borja (1977), it will be argued that the essence of urban politics in Barcelona has been conditioned by the divorce of the authoritarian and centralised administration from social life. In this sense, the attitude of Spanish people towards the state is clearly defined. Whether these attitudes are translated into passivity or into active opposition, the Spanish state has not gained the trust of the majority of the population.

However, as we have seen in Chapter One this theoretical perspective has important limitations in explaining the nature of particular social movements. As pointed out above, the nature of a social movement is dependent on which aspects are salient according to individual experiences, that is in the ways in which people confront the necessities of their existence at different points in their life history.

"What changes, as the mode of production and productive relations change, is the 'experience' of living men and women. And this experience is sorted out in class ways, in social life and in consciousness, in the assent, the resistance, and the choices of men and women".

(Thompson, 1979: 21)

As we have seen in previous chapters, capitalist expansion in Barcelona involved the integration of immigrant workers, not only into the formal industrial production but also into the consumer market. This integration has facilitated the development of new and rising aspirations among workers, particularly with regard to living conditions. However, these aspirations have been frustrated. Firstly, by the speculative and aggressive character of the private capital involved in the construction of the urban environment. Secondly, by the links between this speculative and aggressive private capital and the local administration, under Franco's despotic regime, in an attempt to impose urban planning measures. The result, which will be explored in the following pages, has been the development of political conflict and struggle centering on issues of collective consumption in Barcelona.

Community action groups and urban protest groups have had very little political impact in Britain (Baker, 1978; Saunders, 1979). In Spain by contrast, urban associations and their organised protests have proved to be important channels for political organization and working class action (Borja, 1977), prior to the re-establishment of democracy. In Barcelona, the urbanization process gave rise to a social and political consciousness that began to manifest itself from the late-1960s. A series of urban protests, in 1970, led to the establishment of the first Neighbourhood Association (based on the 1964 'Law of Associations'). In the years that followed, the number of Neighbourhood Associations in the city expanded rapidly. These associations emerged first in the residential areas where immigrant workers were concentrated and subsequently spread throughout Barcelona. The main issues around which these organizations developed were housing, education, health care, urban planning and the management of

the city.

These Neighbourhood Associations, with a highly politicised organization and leadership, challenged the legitimation of the regime by questioning the nature and activities of the local administration, or 'Ayuntamientos'. In particular, they questioned the extent to which the 'Ayuntamientos' were involved in the speculative activities of the dominant economic groups when dictating their urban policies. These groups carried out research on the conditions within which the management of Barcelona was taking place. Although each association took responsibility for the urban problems of its own neighbourhood, some, for example the association set up as a response to the proposed renewal of La Barceloneta and nearby areas, had a wider impact on the whole city through press coverage. With the press and professional groups on their side, the Neighbourhood Associations were able to coordinate their activities and to become an urban social movement. As such, they were able to challenge and change urban planning projects, and ultimately forced a change in the politics of the 'Ayuntamiento', which eventually became controlled by left-wing parties.

However, the question of why this movement arose remains. The answer, I will argue, lies in the long history of political organization by workers which was referred to in Chapter Two. We have also seen that this tradition was particularly important in the way in which social and political organization developed in traditional working class neighbourhoods, such as La Barceloneta. In the case of newly-established neighbourhoods during the Franco period, immigrant workers brought with them the experience of extreme poverty and strong political repression.

This "fresh" proletariat of the post Civil War period did not find in Barcelona an arena for open struggle, as their fellow workers had in the first decades of the century. Instead they found the possibility of acquiring technical skills, housing ownership, household goods, an education for their children and also as many of them expressed it, human dignity. These conditions combined with the existence of an organized opposition to the regime gave rise to an urban social movement.

As has already been discussed, the worker's movements of the 1960s and 1970s, in Barcelona, have a different character to those that developed before the Civil War. It has been a constant theme in this thesis that, a process of stabilization of the labour force has taken place, both in the sphere of production and in the sphere of consumption. Consequently, it should not come as a surprise to find that the nature of the worker's political organizations have become less radical, even though they may be more effective.

The importance of the urban social movement in Barcelona resides in the strength it has shown from the early 1970s. It has been pointed out (Borja, 1977, Olives, 1974), that the crucial characteristic of the movement is its expression not just of urban contradictions but also of political contradictions. The political issues entailed the demand for democratic institutions, at central and local levels, and the decentralization of power. Demands for decentralization concerned both the management of urban services and a return to Catalan autonomy. Thus this urban social movement became an important political channel through which a large section of Barcelona's population was organized to oppose the authoritarian regime as well as against the class exploitation experienced

by workers, through their living conditions. The success of the movement has been due to its capacity to co-ordinate and mobilize manual and non-manual workers, Catalans and immigrants, political activists and non-party members.

In Barcelona, organized social protests enabled immigrant workers to participate in the city's politics and in the process to develop alternative patterns of social solidarity and urban adaptation. At the same time, however^f, the process of privatization of collective services encouraged by the state continued. As we have seen, housing was privately organized by immigrant workers and their families. In the same way, education and health care have had to be, in large proportion, obtained through individual effort and means. How is it possible for an immigrant worker's family to finance private education for their children? What are the consequences of this privatization for the strength of urban protests which call for state intervention to collectively provide housing, education, health care, etc.?

Franco's State and the Social Reproduction of Labour

We know from Chapter One the characteristics of the "exceptional" state established by Franco in 1939. I am concerned here with those aspects that affected the reproduction of immigrant labour power in Barcelona. Perhaps the two main features that have generated a wide gulf between the state and the population in Spain in general, and more so in Catalonia and other peripheral regions, were (a) bureaucratic centralism, and (b) political repression. However, it should be noted that the dictatorship was also class-bound² to a greater/larger extent

2. It protected the interest of the ruling class and it controlled and repressed attempts by other social classes to organize politically.

than fascist or even liberal states have proved to be. Consequently, the Spanish state made little effort to integrate the working class within the national programme for economic development. For example, it was not until the late-1950s, as a result of studies conducted by the O.E.E.C., that the government began a timid policy which sought to extend education and industrial training to the working class.

How did the "exceptional" state regulate the economy in general and the urbanization process in particular? To what extent have local institutions been responsible for the provision of collective services.

Up to 1957, with the exception of the creation of the Institute of National Industry, the Spanish government's commitment to industrial production was almost non-existent. The majority of industrial enterprises in Catalonia received no state support, either directly or to build their infrastructure. In return, they did not fully contribute to the state in terms of taxation. Until very recently, tax evasion has not been a criminal offence, and it has been a common practice on both a personal and a company basis (Wright, 1977: 124). An extreme example of this process can be found in the creation of modern industrial colonies. Terrades (1978: 258), in his study of the "industrial colonies" of Catalonia observes:

"The establishment of the colony system in Catalonia shows how true was the marxist or liberal view of the state as a tool of the bourgeoisie or as a utility that could be bought by the entrepreneurs. When the state shows itself unable to perform duties such as protection of trade, the provision of infrastructural equipment and maintenance of labour conditions, the entrepreneur is no longer obliged to contribute financially, through taxation, to the development of the material basis of such a state".

A less radical strategy was adopted by the industrialists located in Barcelona. In the case of La Maquinista, for example, the firm did not assume responsibility for the maintenance of labour conditions in a broad sense. However, our analysis of the La Maquinista workforce showed clearly that industrial training was learned by most workers through the work and not through any formal educational or training programme provided by the state. Thus, the state's moral position in demanding taxation from industrialists has been especially weak.

To a certain extent then, the Spanish case contradicts Castells' conceptualisation and emphasis on "collective consumption" - as a Castilian proverb says, 'no-one becomes a prophet in his own land'. Private capital has in many cases found it more profitable to provide services for the labour force than to contribute to the state's fiscal policies. This has been possible because of the loose nature of Francoist's state's regulations and the inability of the relatively few state inspectors to exercise adequate control over companies and standards in social services.

With the "Plan de estabilizacion", an important change in state policy was introduced in the years 1957-1960. The administration put forward two main aims: (1) intensive economic development, and (2) integration with Europe through the E.E.C. (Paniagua, 1977). These objectives involved the rationalization of the system through the transformation of productive structures, an attempt to increase productivity with more stable state participation through a modernization of the productive forces (technology and workers' training). Without entering

here into a detailed analysis of the plan, it is important to note that in practice these policies involved a continuation of tax relief to enterprises by the state on the grounds that the firms would become more responsible for training their own workforce (Wright, 1977). As a consequence, the ratio of taxation remained relatively low by comparison with other European countries. Table 6.1 shows that, even in the years in which the major economic expansion took place, the level of fiscal receipts were still low.³ What were the consequences for urbanization?

Although public expenditure increased from 19 per cent to 25 per cent of GNP between 1960 and 1972, public expenditure on housing declined in relation to overall spending (Wright, 1977: 121). Over the same period, public expenditure on education rose from 9 per cent to 18 per cent. However, this increase did little to solve the problem of the inadequate provision of schools in the larger cities, where demand for this and other services - such as health care, nurseries - had grown dramatically, mainly due to the influx of migrants. Thus the consequences of the uneven development of the country, coupled with the particular urban development of peripherally located industrial centres (such as Barcelona), was in conflict with the centralised and bureaucratic nature of the management of collective services. This was especially the case with the provision of education and health care, which has been controlled by the central administration.

There have, then, been two main components which have restricted the Spanish state's more satisfactory provision of collective consumption: (1) the state's fiscal policies and their inadequate implementation,

3. A. Wright, The Spanish Economy 1959-1976, (1977: 126, 127) points out that Finance Ministers have always encountered strong resistance to any attempt to introduce fundamental taxation reforms.

Table 6.1

Fiscal receipts as a percentage of GNP, 1971

	Including Social Security	Excluding Social Security	GNP per head
France	35.62%	20.71%	3170
Germany	34.46%	22.80%	3549
Spain	20.02%	12.01%	1070

Source: A. Wright in The Spanish Economy 1959-1976. 1977: 125.

(2) the centralised nature of the management of collective services.

This situation was compounded by the lack of flexibility and communication in relations between central and local administration. The whole process was further perpetuated by the rigidity of the dictatorship and the way in which it obstructed any form of democratic expression.

a.] Relation between central and local administrations

In 1833 a permanent system of local administration was established in Spain. The country was divided into legally uniform provinces, with the aim of procuring convenient units for the administration of state services. Ultimate responsibility for the administration of each province has rested on a Governor, while each city (within each province) has been represented by a Mayor who operates under the Governor's supervision. The Mayor's responsibilities include the enforcement of official policies and the maintenance of order. In modern Spain, the Mayor is also the President, and chief executive, of a locally elected council, or 'Ayuntamiento'. Although in 1924 legislation enacted by Primo de Rivera's regime extended the original and very limited power of the 'Ayuntamientos', in reality their freedom of action has been very circumscribed (Medhurst, 1973).

With the imposition of the "exceptional" state in 1939, a system of elected councils was established which prevailed until the re-establishment of democracy in 1977. Under Franco's regime, local councils were elected within a system which ensured that no challenges to the existing political order took place. The system prevailing in this period is outlined by Medhurst (1973: 192):

"Representation is based on the principles of 'Organic Democracy' derived from corporatist theories. Thus Ayuntamientos are composed of three tercios, in principle representing the interests of basic social groupings, namely the family, the official sindicatos and professional or commercial interests. The family tercio is popularly elected but candidates require the sponsorship of specified local office-holders. The co-option of allies of entrenched local elites is thus assured".

However, some local elites have found their interests constrained by the shortage of funds available to the 'Ayuntamientos'. The shortages were a consequence of the limited income provided by the central administration. Moreover, the central administration had been unable to contain inflationary pressures (see Chapter Two) and therefore the value of the limited funds available to the 'Ayuntamientos' has tended to diminish. At the same time, the passive attitude of local administrations with regard to tax evasion has restricted their ability to obtain local sources of revenue.

"Since 1924, and especially since the Civil War, the State (through the Finance Ministry's Delagados Provinciales) has increasingly tended to become the paymaster of local authorities and to be in a position to influence the speed and nature of local development. The planning and execution of projects of local interest by technocratic bodies controlled by state officials is the most extreme expression of the extent to which local authorities have become financially dependent upon the State".

(Medhurst, 1973: 205)

b.] The case of Barcelona

In Barcelona, a special administrative structure was established in 1960. 'La Carta Municipal' (The Municipal Charter) (of that year) gave the Mayor extensive decision-making powers. This widening of local political control was translated into the creation of

the posts of 'Delegados de Servicios' (Services Representatives), whereby a maximum of six representatives were chosen by the Mayor, with whom they shared the responsibility for the management of municipal services. In terms of finance, the change involved the raising of taxes by the Municipal Treasury and the permission of the Treasury Ministry to engage in public borrowing. At the same time, 'Juntas de Distrito' were created which, in theory, were to act as channels through which the 'Ayuntamiento' were to be kept in contact with the needs of the population.

In practice, the Charter initiated a special investment programme in which private capital, individual and banking corporations, joined together and became involved with the expectation of obtaining substantial returns. It has been argued (Marti and Moreno, 1974) that the Mayor succeeded in mobilizing the conservative Catalan bourgeoisie and in promoting new banks by efficient use of a system of networks within the central state.⁴ Evidence for this can be seen in the nature of the investments made by the 'Ayuntamiento', which has strongly favoured capital investment in the construction of highways and roads, with little consideration for the aspirations of the majority of the population.

Looking at the proportions of expenditure allocated to different services in the Municipal Budget endorsed in 1972 (Table 6.2) we can see that the major concern of the local council was with those aspects of the urban environment that were of prime significance for the circulation of capital. The 'less profitable' areas, such as education, health care

4. See, R. Ferras (1977: 382-390).

Table 6.2

Barcelona's Municipal Budget 1972

	%
General services (administration, police, firemen)	2.48
Cultural services (education and museums)	7.45
Health care and social work	5.03
*Urbanism and housing	14.02
**Roads (pavements, sewer system, lighting)	27.36
Green areas and sports facilities	6.31
Provisions	6.52
Transport and circulation	27.74
Other services (cleaning, rubbish removal)	<u>4.09</u>
	<u>100.00</u>

Total expenditure: 4,384 million pts.

* 43% of this proportion was spent on road works.

** 73% of this proportion was also spent on work
on roads and pavements.

Source: Alibes et.al: La Barcelona de Porcioles, 1974: 231.

and environmental services, received less than 20 per cent of the overall budget. According to local observers, mainly journalists, this was a relatively constant policy from the end of the 1950s until the early-1970s, and reflected the Mayor's personality and his involvement in private businesses (Marti and Moreno, 1974). However, the main criticisms of this policy came from those sections of the population most affected by it.

Despite its limitations, it could be recognized that the Municipal Charter of 1960 was the first attempt to decentralise the management of a large city on the basis of its demographic and economic characteristics. However, because the "Plan Comarcal" (1953) was taken as the basis for decision-making, most emphasis was placed on the supervision of the use of urban space and on the management of infrastructural services, such as roads.

I wish to consider next some of the implications of the character of Franco's state intervention for the urbanization of cities like Barcelona, by examining those aspects which have affected the social reproduction of labour power, such as urban planning, housing, education and health care. I suggest that these illustrations serve to support the contention that Franco's state divorced itself from the aspirations of the majority of the Spanish people.

'En Plan Comarcal'

The urbanization of Barcelona in the twentieth century was more a result of private initiative and speculation than of rational planning

(see Chapter Four. Consequently, immigrant workers were forced to find accommodation within the existing residential structures, or to build their own houses on the outskirts of the city. This was especially the case after the Civil War, when large numbers of landless workers arrived in Barcelona after 1940 to get away from the poverty and political repression of the rural areas. By 1945 their presence in the city had begun to be considered problematic within the local administration and the press. The municipal authorities had to face the issue and did so by setting up the "Comision de Ordenacion Provincial de Barcelona", which was given the task of "integrating" the immigrant population into the city. It was the establishment of this commission on the one hand and the recognition of the chaotic nature of industrial growth and housing expansion on the other that formed the substratum of the "Plan Comarcal" when it appeared in 1953.

The main preoccupation of the Plan Comarcal was its attempt to give some coherence to the somewhat conflicting objectives that it contained. It aimed to control and direct the growth of Barcelona as an economic centre, which meant developing the road system to such an extent that in practice communities were disrupted, recreational areas destroyed and buildings demolished. However, the Plan also sought to provide sufficient green areas, health and educational services and public transport to cater for the expanding population (Banco Urquijo, 1972: 65). The distinctive aspect of this plan was the proposal for decentralisation and territorial organization to prevent a huge expansion of the city of Barcelona. In order to do this, the plan clearly differentiated the existence of 26 municipalities. Each municipality having an urban nucleus, with its own social and economic functions. Each was to have a productive area

relatively close to residential settlements, to reduce the need to travel long distances to work. Barcelona-city, as the core municipality of the 26, was to develop an arterial network of highways to link the production centres. The plan was to be implemented in five stages, the first to be completed by 1960 and the last by 2000.

By the 1970s, the limitations of the plan were well known by professionals both inside and outside the administration. Many of the ideas of the plan have not yet been put into practice and those which had been done did not prove to be very successful. The failure appeared to be in the control and supervision of the actualisation of specific projects. The result was a widespread deficit in urban infrastructure (e.g. proper streets' pavement) and public services. The relevance of this kind of planning was questioned on the grounds that it paid little attention to the characteristics of the institutional structures:

- [a] the lack of a democratic base,
- [b] the limited finance available,
- [c] the lack of co-ordination between the different institutions involved,
- and [d] insufficient technical skill to resolve the problems encountered.

However, the main difficulties arose from the attempt to combine a very centralised system of public funding with the development of a decentralised system of urban planning (Banco Urquijo, 1972: 559).

Most of the criticisms of the plan have been directed at specific subdivisions, the 'Planes Parciales' (Partial Plans). 'Planes Parciales' sought to establish a concrete programme of needs for each area and to put these into practice. In this sense, they involved a detailed study of the areas from a legal, economic and planning point of view, and could be elaborated or modified by either the Local Council or by individuals.

Initial approval was to be given by the Ayuntamiento, after a period of public information, and the final, definitive approval was to come from the 'Comision Provincial de Urbanismo' and the Ministry of Housing.

In practice, however, the 'Planes Parciales' gave scope for private interests and speculative actions to operate in contradiction with the aims of the general plan. In many cases, large areas of urban land that were set aside for public use (as green areas or as sites for the construction of public services) have been taken over by private interests. This process of privatization has, in many instances, taken the form of the construction of high-rise buildings which provide substantial returns to their owners (Borja, et. al. 1972). By 1971, a total of 41 'Planes Parciales' had been approved in Barcelona. Of these, 25 per cent involved official sanctioning of constructions that were contrary to the intentions of the general 'Plan Comarcal'. The majority of these constructions increased the density of buildings, while a smaller proportion involved the extension of roads. Of the total, half have been promoted by private capital (Alibes, et. al. 1974).

Two examples of 'Planes Parciales' which involved urban renewal schemes, ^{those} of La Barceloneta and Vallbona, will be considered later in this chapter.

The widespread feeling in the city, expressed by residents, professionals involved in urban planning and even members of the administration, was one of discontent with the chaotic expansion of Barcelona. As a result, in 1972 the 'Comision de Urbanismo de Barcelona' (Urban Commision of Barcelona) revised the original 'Plan Comarcal' and produced

a second plan, 'Plan Director del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona'.

"El Plan Director del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona"

The point of departure for this plan was the criticism levelled at the previous one's imbalance between the economic situation and the organization of urban structure, which resulted in a large deficit of urban services. The new plan sought to achieve a maximum of economic and cultural welfare through a more adequate planning production and consumption activities in Barcelona and its metropolitan area. There was an emphasis on the social character of the objectives, stressed in: [a] the subordination of private interests to those of the collectivity, but with total backing of private initiatives in so far as they could adapt to the aims of the plan: [b] respect given to the free creativity of the communities affected by the plan in such a way that the plan could be adapted to accommodate the present and future needs of those communities: and, [c] the need to integrate the immigrant population into the system of values and forms of urban life, adopting the required territorial measures for such integration (Banco Urquijo, 1972).

The nature and scope of this new plan showed the extent to which the administration had not assumed responsibility for the social services demanded by the rapid increase in the city's population, as a result of industrial expansion and the immigration of labour. It was in just those residential areas where immigrant workers were concentrated that social services were most inadequate.

Housing

The housing needs of immigrant workers were met by either the sharing

of flats by large numbers of kin groups, or by the construction of houses by workers and their families in an informal manner (Chapters Four and Five). While this situation began to change in the 1960s, with the construction of residential settlements such as Cuidad Meridiana, there remained a shortage of accommodation. According to several sources in Barcelona (Comision de Urbanismo, Organizacion Sindical, Caritas Diocesana) the housing shortages of the 1960s was still considerable (Table 6.3).

Alibes, et. al. (1975) show that the section of the population most effected by the housing shortage were unskilled immigrant workers, who had recently arrived in Barcelona. This supports the findings of the three case studies of La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Cuidad Meridiana. The analysis showed that immigrant workers were forced to meet their housing needs through their own efforts, or with the assistance of kin and friends, with no assistance from the administration. Was this the case for the whole population residing in these areas? To what extent did the local administration participate in the field of housing?

Only in La Barceloneta and Cuidad Meridiana do we find a small number of public housing constructions (Table 6.4). In relation to the total population of the areas, we find less than 1 per cent, in the case of La Barceloneta, and less than 2 per cent, in the case of Cuidad Meridiana. These figures demonstrate the local authority's general lack of concern with the housing shortage in areas widely populated by immigrant workers. Moreover, if we consider the number of housing units constructed by the Municipality in Barcelona between 1945 and 1971, we find that the number constructed in that period totalled 18,000 whereas the number of immigrants to Barcelona in that period exceeded 300,000.

Table 6.3

Housing deficit in Barcelona city: 1963-1971

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of houses needed</u>
1963	170,161 ¹
1965	31,000
1966	62,030
1971	85,490

1. This figure incorporates both the absolute deficit (79,590) and the relative deficit or that which expresses the needs of those living in very poor conditions.

Source: Alibes et. al. 1975:

Table 6.4

Public housing in La Barceloneta,
Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana

<u>Areas</u>	<u>Housing Units</u>	<u>Years of Construction</u>
La Barceloneta	202	1955/1960 -64/1969
Vallbona	-	
Ciudad Meridiana	157	1965
Total	359	

Source: Banco Urquijo, 1972: 189.

Education

For more than a hundred years, the Spanish education system has exhibited two main characteristics - it has been excessively elitist in nature and it has been largely controlled by the Catholic Church. An attempt was made to reform the education system during the Second Republic, by attacking the control of the Church. However, Franco's dictatorship reversed all reformist trends, in such a way that by 1964 there were fewer state secondary schools than there had been in 1935 (Medhurst, 1973: 169).

The elitist nature of the education system and its control by the Catholic Church are intrinsically related. The state is responsible for primary education, whereas secondary education is in the hands of private institutions, mainly the Catholic Church. In 1972, the state was responsible for some 70 per cent of primary schools (primary schooling is compulsory from the age of six to fourteen), while it was responsible for not more than 30 per cent of secondary schools. Traditionally, secondary education has been the domain of the upper and middle classes, which in Spain were, until recently, a very small minority.

While Franco's regime was interested in the reproduction of elite groups, it had a disregard for the needs of the labour force. Thus, universities and schools for higher technical training expanded rapidly in the 1960s, while little was done to expand the training institutes and facilities for less qualified workers. The Ministry of Labour did establish Labour Institutes but most of the programmes were intensive and designed to produce short-term results. Moreover, the programmes were not set up to co-ordinate with industry, with the result that workers, many

of whom had to work overtime, found it difficult to attend the courses in their spare time (Wright, 1977: 100).

Another important characteristic of the Spanish education system is, in consonance with the nature of the Spanish state, its centralized organization. Because of its highly centralized organization, the education system has encountered difficulties in meeting the needs of the general population, especially at critical moments in economic development. For example, by the end of the 1950s there were still no primary school places for some half a million children. This lack of primary school provision was due to both a population increase and internal migration to industrial centres.

In the same way that the arrival of large numbers of immigrant workers intensified the housing shortage in Barcelona, schooling became a critical problem. The analysis of the three areas studied showed that a large proportion of immigrant workers were relatively young and that they had children who required an education. This was not an isolated phenomenon, it was shared by most of the new neighbourhoods forming on the outskirts of the city and within the metropolitan area. According to figures published by the Ayuntamiento of Barcelona, in 1968 some 27.5 per cent of the children of school age either had no school to go to, or were being taught in inadequate conditions. The same source argued that a further 170,967 school places were required between 1968 and 1974 to overcome the deficit (Alibes, et. al. 1975: 100).

Between 1960 and 1971 an attempt was made, by the Local Council, to reduce the deficit by creating 25,640 primary and secondary school

places, and 595 nursery school places (Alibes, et. al. 1975: 113). Thus, even after the problem was recognized and widely discussed, the public provision of schooling remained small. The constant complaints expressed by Neighbourhood Associations and other institutions culminated in 1972, in the passing of the "Plan Especial de Emplazamientos Escolares dentro del Termino Municipal" (Special Plan for School Provision within the Municipality). In this plan, the Ayuntamiento, purchases the land and pays 25 per cent of the school's construction costs, with the remaining 75 per cent financed by the Ministry of Education.

Despite these school building programmes by the administration in Barcelona, the proportion of private education, in 1973, was estimated as making up 70 per cent of the total number of schools. In 1977-1978 the proportion of schools in the public sector actually declined from 30 per cent to 16 per cent. Table 6.5, taken from a document published by the 'Inspeccion Technica de Educacion', depicts the relation between public and private schools.

The public sector then, provides only some 16 per cent of the total number of educational centres (for primary instruction), whereas the private sector provides 66 per cent and the Catholic Church 18 per cent. The figures demonstrate the extent to which primary education, which covers most of the primary school population, has become privatised in Barcelona. However, this degree of privatisation tends to obscure the state's real expenditure on education. In fact the administration contributes a higher proportion to that reflected in the figures because it subsidizes private educational centres. Thus, in the academic year 1977-1978, 296 private educational centres in Barcelona received state subsidies in the

Table 6.5

Educational centres in Barcelona in 1977-78

<u>Sectors</u>	<u>No. Centres</u>	<u>No. Students</u>
Public sector	(231)	80,947
Private sector	(935)	134,065
Church sector	(278)	96,048

Source: Estadística Escolar Provincial.

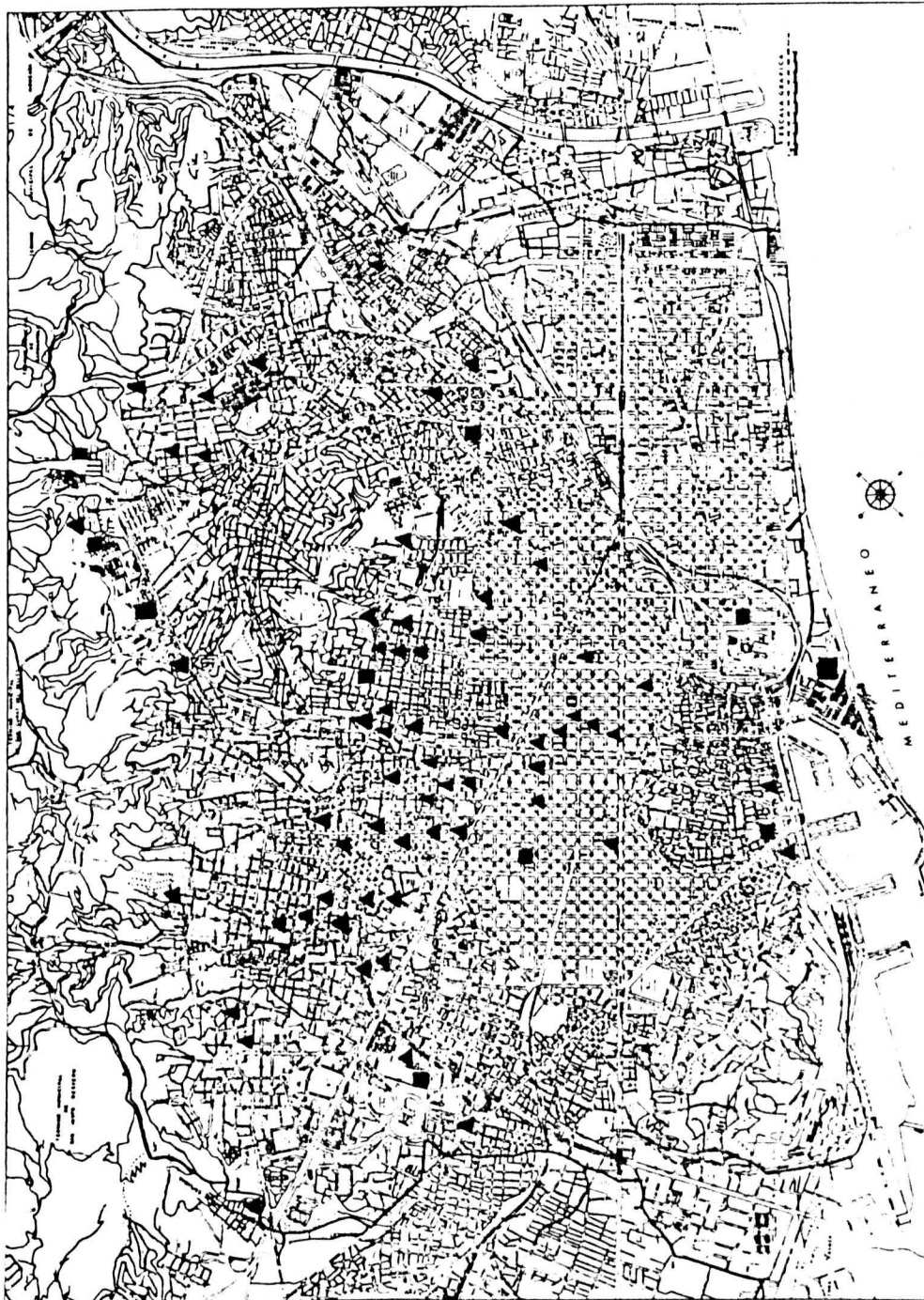
following proportions: 139 schools were 100 per cent subsidized, 59 were 75 per cent subsidized and 98 had 50 per cent of their maintenance costs paid.

Health Care

In the sphere of health care the proportion of services provided by the private sector is also higher than that provided by the public sector. In Barcelona in 1978 there were 78 private health care institutions, with a total of 6,356 beds, whereas there were only 11 public health care institutions, with a total of 4,204 beds (Bonal and Costa, 1978). It is, however, important to go beyond these figures and consider the location of these centres within the city. It appears that a very large proportion of health care centres are located in high income residential areas, while they are virtually non-existent in working class neighbourhoods. It is only in the last two decades that public health clinics have been established in working class areas (see map).

For example, in 1973, La Barceloneta's Neighbourhood Association distributed a report, 'Informe sobre Sanidad' (Health Report), in which it documented the long queues regularly encountered at public health clinics. Patients had to wait for hours, usually to be told in the end that they had to go to another clinic because only general practitioners were available in these centres.

Of the three areas studied and described in this thesis, La Barceloneta is, in health care, the best equipped - a municipal hospital, two private clinics and two public health clinics. It must be noted that the



- State Hospitals
- ▲ Private Hospitals

municipal hospital is part of Barcelona's general ambit, and is located in La Barceloneta due to the central position of the neighbourhood in the city as a whole. The picture of health care provision in Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana is very different - there are no hospitals and only one national health clinic, staffed by general practitioners, has been provided in Ciudad Meridiana.

Complaints about the public provision of health care services come not only from patients and residents, also social workers have recognized the inadequacies and inefficiencies of the services. The main concerns about the public clinics centres is the small number of doctors available, each of whom must see many patients in a short period of time, which means they are unable to do their job adequately. The 'Federacion de Asociaciones de Vecinos' as also expressed its concern in a publication which documented the general condition of public health services in Barcelona. Indeed, the way in which State Health Services have been administered in Spain has been an issue of debate over the last decade. It has brought out the abuse of power of some administrators which has made the institution a public financial burden, considering that people have to pay income taxes for services which prove to be inadequate.

At the national level, the Ministry of Labour operates both hospitals and dispensaries as part of its social security programme. There are also a small number of hospitals operated by local authorities. On the other hand, there is a significant private sector which provides above-average health care services, but only upper and middle class groups can afford these services. There is then, in general, a lack of overall planning in the provision of health care services. Consequently, health

care services vary in terms of quantity and quality according to economic status and region of the country (Medhurst, 1973).

Urban Protest: The Genesis of the Movement

In the previous pages, we have seen that the Spanish state displayed little interest in integrating the working class in the development of the country through the public provision of housing, education and health care. This lack of state involvement in social planning was not brought into question by industrial capital, since industrial capital had access to abundant cheap labour that could be trained through work experience in the factory. However, with economic expansion of the 1960s the situation began to change. Workers began to organise in underground unions, and industrialists came to view negotiation with them as preferable to the possibility of open conflict. Wages increased in comparison with previous decades and workers participated more in the wider consumer market, developing higher expectations in the process. Thus, the possibilities for industrial negotiation and aspirations for a better quality of life clashed with an undemocratic and inattentive state.

The background to the formation of urban social movements in Madrid and Barcelona is to be found in protests centreing on concrete issues, such as schools, health clinics, traffic lights, etc. While these protests appeared in a spontaneous manner, in most instances they had a highly politicised organization and leadership, which found through protests over urban issues a channel for political action directed against the despotic regime. Olives (1974) has argued that, in Barcelona, where small-size industry is predominant, workers found it difficult to organize unions and

in many cases they transferred their class consciousness to those aspects of daily life that reinforced their exploitation, such as the inadequate provision of services for themselves and their families.

In his analysis of urban social movements in Madrid,⁵ Castells (1977b) points out that the strongest element (and therefore sometimes the weakest) in the movement has been the articulation of both the demands of social services and the political struggle. Hence, the relations between the political line taken by the parties involved in the struggle and the social consciousness of the working class have been particularly important within the movement. Whilst the Communist Party took a political line of an 'open association' in an attempt to operate on a legal basis and to promote a widening of the margins of 'legality', other political groups, mainly located to the left of the Communist Party, used underground and illegal forms of organisation as a means to promote political cohesion and purity within the movement. Although ideological confrontations were unavoidable, in the majority of instances the common objectives were stronger than the differences in political strategy. At the beginning of the movement, many of the Neighbourhood Associations created made use of a combination of legal and illegal, open and underground, activities.

According to Castells, the elements of analysis needed for an under-

5. In Madrid the first manifestations of the movement appear mainly in working class neighbourhoods built by workers themselves in the late 1960s and particularly the beginning of the 1970s. The issues around which people organized were those of basic urban infrastructure and housing. The movement also spread throughout the city from the periphery to the inner-city areas, incorporating other social sectors and cross-cutting social classes (Castells, 1977b:72-97).

standing of the development of the movement in Madrid were: [a] the crisis of the housing sector and urban services in general, [b] the inefficiency of the administration, [c] cracks in the repressive capacity of the regime, and [d] the upsurge of the workers' movement and of democratic forces in general. In Barcelona, however, it is important to note that another dimension played an important role in the movement. This was the "regional question", which manifested itself both in the identification of the Local Authorities with the interests of large-scale capital (not Catalan in the majority of cases) and in the aspirations for decentralisation of management of collective services.

One of the more difficult stages in the development of the movement involved the transformation of grass-roots associations into a legitimate organization, able to negotiate with local power structures. In this transformation, professionals involved in planning such as architects, lawyers and the mass media played a crucial role. On the whole then, the movement has been multi-class, although the majority of its social base remained in the working class neighbourhoods where it originated.

Historically, the Neighbourhood Associations, the basic organizational structures out of which the movement emerged, became visible in Barcelona in 1969. Initial organisation centred on the parishes of different working class neighbourhoods, or within existing Associations of the Heads of Families (with a Catholic and pro-regime character), and also within the informal organization of communists, independent sections of the population and students interested in discussions in Marxist seminars in 'popular neighbourhoods'.⁶ However, in many of the neighbourhoods,

6. Here I take the distinction established by Olives (1974) between working class neighbourhoods and popular neighbourhoods. These last groups characterised by being mainly integrated by working class residents with the addition of workers in services and small shopkeepers. An example of a popular neighbourhood is La Barceloneta in modern periods.

underground political groups outside the Communist Party formed what have been called 'Comisiones de barrio' (Neighbouring Commissions), which had an illegal character given their left-wing standing. It was their participation in protests in some areas and the participation of the Communist Party and 'Bandera Roja' (Communist with pro-Chinese line) in other areas that led to the radicalization of the original associations. In others, the originally Catholic organizations lost influence among local residents when confronted with particular problems.

In 1970, after a few urban protests had taken place in some of the working class neighbourhoods on the periphery of Barcelona, the individual associations located in the northern part of the city, decided to form a unitary association. The aim was to reinforce the strength of the associations⁷ in negotiations with the Local Council on issues concerning housing and the lack of social service provision. In April 1970 the 'Association of 9 Neighbourhoods' was established, which included both Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana. Following this example, many other associations developed in Barcelona. Between 1972 and 1974 moves were made to co-ordinate the different associations in the city, with the aim of changing the character of the Ayuntamiento into a more democratic institution. In 1973, just before the Municipal elections, the associations debated whether or not to put forward candidates or to boycott the elections, choosing the latter option in the end.

7. The percentage of residents involved varied over time and according to specific protests and methods of protest. Usually a stable group of around twenty people met regularly to prepare meetings and information on the development of issues in each neighbourhoods. However the proportion of residents that are members of the associations, ranging from 1 to 5 per cent of the population in working class neighbourhoods.

It is important to note here that although the provision of such services as education and health care is the responsibility of the central state in Spain, the struggles of the urban social movement have been directed against the Local Council. In the same way, many urban protests over the role of speculative capital in housing have been directed against local authorities. Thus, there has been what Olives (1974: 321) refers to as "a municipalization of general political problems". This has occurred because the 'Fundamental Laws'⁸ of the "exceptional" state had reduced political representation to the institution of the 'family', 'municipality' and 'syndicate'. It was, therefore, through these institutions that political participation was channelled and limited by the regime itself.

Since 1972, the Neighbourhood Associations, following the political line of the Communist Party, have openly denounced the undemocratic character of the Local Council, organising the different urban protests appearing in the city and using systematically the daily press. In 1972, an assembly of members from Neighbourhood Associations drew up a programme which called for: [a] the right to housing [b] basic urban infrastructure to be provided either by the Administration or by building enterprises [c] free and adequate schooling, and [d] health clinics in each neighbourhood and hospitals in each district.

Two years later, in 1974, the City Federation of Neighbourhood Associations was established as a mediating body, to negotiate between

8. Franco created a new category of "Fundamental Laws" concerning economic and political organization, e.g. the "Labour Charter", in order to rule the country without a Constitution.

individual associations, citizens and the Ayuntamiento. By this time, the original restrictions of the Civil Government on Neighbourhood Associations had diminished and it was possible to legitimate the Federation as a body for dialogue. Also by this time, it had become apparent that the strength of the movement had produced successful outcomes in many of its struggles. Many schools, health clinics and traffic lights had been established in those areas which had been in conflict with the Local Council. Further, and perhaps a more important achievement of the movement was that of delaying or stopping 'Planes Parciales'. This is what happened in the case of the 'Plan La Ribera', affecting La Barceloneta, and the 'Plan 9 Barrios', affecting Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana. In all cases, the plans were halted by questioning the management of the city and the involvement of the Local Council with the interests of large-scale capital, against the interests of the resident populations.

In the years since the Neighbourhood Associations formed the Federation, some criticisms of it have been raised, however from the more left-wing members of the movement. In their views the Federation has become an instrument of integration and could therefore be manipulated by the Local Council (Equipos de Estudio, 1976). Against this view, it must be pointed out that the Federation organised strong political pressure, with massive public demonstrations, to secure the resignation of the Local Council in 1976, which took place the same year.

Urban Protests in La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana

This section examines the concrete urban struggles that developed in the three areas studied. It will assess Olives' claim that an urban protest's probabilities of success tend to be stronger in those neighbourhoods characterised as 'popular' (e.g. La Barceloneta) than in those characterized as 'working class' (e.g. Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana), on the grounds that 'popular areas' are better connected with centres of information and power through the membership that belong to the middle class (Olives, 1974: 275-324).

La Barceloneta - 'En Plan de la Ribera'

In 1966 La Ribera Limited Company was constituted with the financial support of the main industries in the area, in order to transform it from an industrial site to a high-income residential neighbourhood. The aim of the company was to improve an urban space occupied by obsolete industries and deteriorated housing in the coastal areas of Barcelona, and contain^{ing} the traditional working class neighbourhoods of La Barceloneta, Pueblo Nuevo and Besos by constructing new and well equipped residential suburbs. The promoters of the project were Duran Farrell (President of the board of two large industrial firms, La Maquinista and La Catalana de Gas y Electricidad) and Antoni Bonet (the originator of the project). The industries involved were La Maquinista, La Catalana de Gas and other large-scale industries located in the area, e.g. Credit i Docks de Barcelona, Motor Iberica S.A., Foret S.A., Hijo de F Escofet S.A., Material de Construcciones S.A. and Hidroelectica de Cataluña S.A.

In 1968 the Ayuntamiento gave initial approval to the 'Plan Parcial

La Ribera'. (In order to promote a 'Plan Parcial' it was necessary to own 60 per cent of the land involved in the project). As a result, more industrial and financial societies, joined the project foreseeing high returns on investment. This time most of the capital came from banking institutions (Banco Industrial de Cataluña, Union Industrial Bancaria, Banco Urquito, Caja de Ahorros Provincial de la Diputacion de Barcelona, Caja de Pensiones para la vejez y de ahorro, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad), two other private societies (Martini Rosi S.A. and Jorge Whal Hirschman), and a state enterprise (RENFE)⁹. By 1969, large-scale industrial and financial capital, the Local Council and the central administration were all involved in the project.

By 1970, after the Ayuntamiento had accepted the plan, opposition to the project started to organize around the Association of Small-Scale Industrial and Commercial Owners of La Barceloneta and Pueblo Nuevo. This association's actions had the backing of professional colleges and cultural societies, such as The Friends of the City. In 1971, the Neighbourhood Association of La Barceloneta was formed and joined in the opposition movement.

The La Barceloneta Neighbourhood Association was a result of Christian groups, students from higher education and militants from the Catalan Communist Party and Bandera Roja, joining forces. From 1971, the Association has actively denounced the position of the Local Council in relation to the renewal of the area. They organized several meetings, distributed information and statistics, and held a public exhibition of

9. The national railway company.

projects in order to construct an alternative plan. In collaboration, the Neighbourhood Associations of La Barceloneta and Pueblo Nuevo collected 8,000 signatures. This petition, criticizing the 'Plan de la Ribera', was presented by the College of Architecture to the Local Council. A year later an alternative project was presented to the Ayuntamiento. However, the local authorities approved the original Plan Parcial, and sent it to the Commission of Urbanism before going through the Ministry of Housing's board. The project was rejected by the Commission of Urbanism and collapsed at that point.

Who stopped the project? It has been argued that the project had become a financial failure because it did not obtain immediate approval. Those enterprises who hoped to obtain considerable profits from the increase in urban rent generated by the renewal of La Barceloneta and Pueblo Nuevo, at a particular moment in their capital investment programme, could not wait.¹⁰

However, as has been discussed earlier, in 1972 the Commission of Urbanism created "El Plan Director del Area Metropolitana de Barcelona", which was a revision of the original "Plan Comarcal". When this revised plan appeared in public in 1973, some of the aspects of the 'Plan de la Ribera' were included. Once more this involved the renewal of La Barceloneta. This time criticisms came from all the affected groups, from landowners to residents. However, only the allegations of the landowners and industrialists were considered by the Local Council, while

10. It was also speculated that the resignation of Duran Farrell as delegated president of La Maquinista in the same year was more than coincidental and it represented the failure of the project.

those of the residents were put aside. The attitude adopted by the local authorities was taken towards most neighbourhoods in Barcelona, provoking anger and protest among the Neighbourhood Associations. The confrontation between residents and the Local Council, operating in the interests of urban capital, had the effect of radicalizing urban conflicts. This confrontation was openly discussed in the daily press from 1973 until 1976, when the Mayor resigned and a change of direction, this time with more popular intervention, took place. In the case of La Barceloneta, a happy ending was also achieved. After a long struggle, the Ayuntamiento purchased the derelict land occupied by the old La Maquinista factory, in order to construct houses and provide collective services. Thus, some of the recommendations of the Neighbourhood Association's projects were realized.

Vallbona

Urban protest in Vallbona started in 1967 over the lack of street lighting, public washing facilities and public fountains. As we know, Vallbona was mainly constructed by the residents, therefore the basic services of urban infrastructure were lacking in the area. In the same year the Association of Heads of the Family was formed led by members of the right wing Falange party. A year later a second association, Catholic Youth for Action was created in which militants of left wing parties (Communist Party and Internantional Communist Organization) participated, some of who^m were also members of what it has been referred to as "Neighbourhood Commissions". This Catholic Association was the one that became established as the representative of the interests of the majority of residents in the area.

According to this association, the first open conflict took place in 1967-1969 around the issue of schooling, when the construction of a highway involved the demolition of the only existing school in the neighbourhood. As a means of action some of the residents shut themselves up in the old school and waited for the excavators to arrive. The protest was effective and an agreement was made by which the Jesuit group which owned the old school gave a percentage of the money collected through the sale of the property to the neighbourhood to construct a new school. This is an example of direct action taken by residents in order to negotiate with private institutions and to obtain a social service. Some of the leaders commented about this and the following protests that they felt they were struggling for the recognition of their citizenship. They did not have any support from the press or professionals at this stage, and much of their energy was invested in telling the authorities that they were there. However, they soon realised that they were already to some extent visible since the "Plan Parcial 9 Barrios" had decided that the areas was to be remodelled.

The purpose of the "Plan Comarcal" was to rationalize Barcelona through a transformation of some areas either due to the need to change their use (from industrial to residential), as we have seen in the case of La Barceloneta, or due to a need for a proper urbanization as in the case of Vallbona. Here, a "Plan Parcial" was drawn up with the aim of replacing the self-constructed houses by a designed housing settlement. In 1969 a plan was presented to the Ayuntamiento and was approved in 1972. Meanwhile, some of the residents of the areas affected (Torre Baró, Vallbona, Trinidad) presented the Mayor with a document expressing their aspirations as neighbourhood. After the Plan was approved, during the

period of public information, a more sophisticated organization developed in order to stop the Plan. As in La Barceloneta, professionals became interested in the area and joined the protest while residents demonstrated publicly in front of the Local Council. Nevertheless, the Plan was finally approved in 1973, but was never put into practice. This was primarily due to the failure to find the capital required for the operation. In 1977 a new Plan (this time of a more democratic character), "Social Urgency", was approved by the Ayuntamiento.

In face of this new plan, the residents met and decided to direct the management of it as much as possible. The first step was to ask the Local Council to buy the area that belonged to the large landowners, this comprised 60 per cent of the total land of the area and could therefore influence the implementation of the plan in their favour and against the interests of the majority (who are either housing owners or tenants). In this way the Local Council would become the manager of the renewal of the area with the participation of its residents and the professionals chosen by them. At the time when this research had to be finished, the residents of Vallbona did not know the outcome of the project but the leaders of the association had high expectations.

By 1979, Vallbona had become well known in Barcelona as a neighbourhood with a strong political organization and their presence in the press was highly visible. For a period of ten years many struggles over the provision of collective services have taken place, most have been successful. Thus they obtained most of the needed urban infrastructure (e.g. light and sewer systems). However, Vallbona is a working-class neighbourhood where ideological confrontations among leaders of the

association have been counter-productive to the cohesion of the political organization. A concrete example is the divergence between the Communist Party line and the International Communist Organization line on how to manage the geriatric home acquired in 1976 from the Local Council. The former party wanted to use the home as a job creation scheme and therefore give work to unemployed residents under the supervision of qualified social workers. The latter party wanted to create a self-management group of similar skills, which could not be other than some of the leaders of the Neighbourhood Association. This last option prevailed and as a result the association lost some of its legitimacy among residents who accused it of abuse of power.

Ciudad Meridiana

This neighbourhood was constructed as a "Plan Parcial" approved in 1963 by the Local Council. In the original project it was described as a "New Town" designed to be capable of creating a well-equipped community. Reality proved to be different with the area having many deficiencies which led to the subsequent rise of urban protest. The first issue was that of the poor conditions of housing construction that became especially obvious given the widespread incidence of dampness in the area. In 1966 an Association of Heads of the Family was established and residents were encouraged by the construction company to channel their protests through this association. As in Vallbona, the leaders of this group were right-wing falangists with the aim of organizing the community on the basis of order. In 1969 a second association appeared which was organized by the Communist Party and by the International Communist Organization, and which soon became part of the larger organization "Association of 9 Neighbourhoods" (referred to above). This latter

association had the difficult task of proving its legitimacy amongst residents who felt obliged to the Heads of the Family association for having considered their problems. Nevertheless, they found that this new association involved different kinds of practices. Not only did they express their problems here, but could themselves make decisions on these problems. Through this, a new practice of democratic procedures was established in the area.

When in 1973, after the last housing blocks were built, Ciudad Meridiana's population expanded, the need for schools in the area became apparent. Residents began a campaign, through the existing Neighbourhood Association, to obtain a state school for the area. Their demands were not taken into consideration by either central or local authorities. As a result, they took more direct action by demonstrating in the middle of the motorway, obstructing the evening rush-hour traffic each day for a week. This form of action (which developed in several neighbourhoods with similar demands at this time) provoked violent confrontations with the police in the streets of Ciudad Meridiana. Due to the fact that the protests were given considerable prominence in the city's press and that the problems facing the residents of Ciudad Meridiana also existed in other neighbourhoods, the Local Council took action in order to prevent the spread of this form of protest to other areas. Thus, within a short space of time a public school was established in Ciudad Meridiana, under the conditions proposed by the residents - self-management by parents and teachers, and the teachers to be residents of the neighbourhood. Without going into the school's internal problems of management, it must be pointed out that the school was generally unpopular when I visited the area. Several parents said that it had become anarchic and, although

they were active participants in the original conflicts that took place, they intended to make sure that their children would go to a religious school.

In 1978-1979 the residents of Ciudad Meridiana were involved in a second conflict over the provision of schooling. Once more the public-private confrontation was obvious. In this instance, the conflict can be traced back to 1966 when the 'Housing Development Enterprise' gave 7,000 m² to the 'Congregacion Salesiana', a religious group, to build schools. These schools were never built and the owners of the land gave it to the 'Cooperative Mixta Escolar Ciudad', (Ciudad Meridian's joint schooling cooperative) to build three schools of different educational levels. In the meantime, social pressure exercised by the residents through the Neighbourhood Association obtained an agreement from the Local Council and the Ministry of Education for the construction of a school, to be located on part of the same plot of land. Hence, residents were confronted with two alternatives - either to fight hard for the second project, by publicly disclosing the possibly corrupt arrangement, or to negotiate with the private company for a combined building project involving two schools, one public and one private. In an open meeting the issues were discussed by 600 residents and the Neighbourhood Association. The Neighbourhood Association defended the first option, while a large proportion of the participants were in favour of a combined solution as being more practical. After a long discussion, the first option was passed on a vote, despite the resistance of a considerable number of people. When I left Ciudad Meridiana, nine months later, the conflict was still unresolved and there was little unity among residents on the whole process.

From these experiences, and conversations with the residents and with leaders of the Neighbourhood Association, it became apparent that the residents of Ciudad Meridiana were, in many instances, in favour of private rather than public initiatives to resolve their collective problems. They also pointed out that the protest movement itself was weaker than it had been in previous years. In part, these feelings reflect the fact that parents were able to pay for their children's education, and that they found political action not at all convincing. However, the ambivalence expressed by many of the residents about the legitimacy of their leaders can be explained on similar grounds to that encountered in Vallbona. Ideological confrontations between militant representatives of the two political parties in public meetings tended to separate their common interests by the way in which the organization of the management of services was conceived by different political groups. Many people felt that the solidarity of the protest movement had been undermined by political manipulation.

The fact that residents felt disillusioned with the protest leadership implied a relatively low degree of involvement in relation to previous struggles. But many others felt that there were still many things to be done, and that the whole effort was worthwhile. Thus, it is important to note that the Neighbourhood Associations have become more than channels for left-wing militant political action, but a field for democratic practice, in the solidarity of working class and popular residential areas. Consequently, I concur with Borja's (1977: 152) definition of urban social movements in Barcelona:

"These are popular movements in the widest sense and they have created or revitalized an associative network of active

and representative groups which have developed broadly based and realistic programmes and objectives. Such movements have thus provided the foundations for an organized democracy and have made it possible to develop urban alternatives which differ in their content as well as their concept of municipal development".

The urban protest organizations that emerged in Barcelona were the result, in part, of attempts to privatize and commercialize such collective services as housing, education and health care, encouraged by the attitude of the Spanish state to the provision of these services. As Godard (1975) points out, such a process serves to reinforce social segregation, since it is based on inequalities of income. Thus, if the 'Plan de la Ribera' had become a reality, a large proportion of La Barceloneta's resident population would have been forced to move to other areas, as their incomes could not meet the new and increased costs of housing. Something similar would have happened in Vallbona.

However, these observations do not necessarily hold when we consider the field of education. The fact that some private schools are heavily subsidized from public funds means that private education is, in theory, accessible to the majority of the population (since the actual sum parents must pay for private education can be relatively low). In Ciudad Meridiana, as in La Barceloneta,¹¹ the sums paid for each child per month in private school fees varied from between £5 to £10. The overall costs for a child's education a year in a state school was around £10. This means that, in a family of two children of school age, around £20 a month was spent on education. In many workers' households expenditure on education involved

11. There are no private schools in Vallbona.

about 4 per cent of the family's income.

Access to private education for the children of working class families does not always mean equality of opportunity. The quality of education in private centres¹² located in workers' neighbourhoods is often inadequate, with a higher density of students per classroom and a lack of sophisticated equipment. For example, one of the private schools in Ciudad Meridiana was located inside a housing block and had no sports facilities.

The Neighbourhood Associations extended their original protests from demands for services (mainly in Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana) to demands for better quality and more efficient services. This evolution is in line with Castells' (1978: 17) contention that, in the organization of the means of collective consumption, "the growing power of workers and popular movements imposes a certain level of consumption and changes the historical definition of need". We can see this process in the sphere of private consumption (see previous Chapter), and thus it is not altogether surprising to find the same general process in the sphere of collective consumption.

The privatization of housing by workers was discussed in the previous Chapter. Here, I shall consider the privatization of education and health care by workers and the parallel development, among some immigrant workers, of demands for increased state involvement in the provision of urban social

12. With the exception of religious schools, which though not common in newly constructed working class, they are usually well equipped.

services. It may appear that two contradictory ideologies are assumed in these two attitudes, but it can be argued that this is a result of people's experiences in confronting different economic and social pressures.

In La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana, for a large proportion of the resident population, education had become a commodity - to be purchased, the economic responsibility of families and a sign of parental moral responsibility for their children. Moral responsibility for their children was especially strong among workers' families in the period of 'subsistence wage economy', when parents made considerable economic sacrifices to obtain private schooling for their children. In the period of the 'financial wage economy' parents felt very proud to be in employment and to work more than eight hours a day in order to provide their children with a 'proper education'. For the majority of immigrant workers, the education of their children is one of their most important aspirations (see Chapter Four for an expression of this, in the immigrant woman's letter to a newspaper).

Within this general attitude, however, there were important differences among the people interviewed. Taking La Barceloneta first, all the families contacted had paid for their children's schooling, there was only one instance of a girl having attended both private and state schools. In Vallbona, the situation was reversed, since there were no private schools in the neighbourhood. In Ciudad Meridiana, the distribution of children in private and state schools was more balanced, 56 per cent of the families interviewed had paid to put their children through private schools, whereas 44 per cent of the families interviewed

put their children through state schools. In general, younger parents felt more positive about state schools than other age groups. If this were the case in other areas of the city, it can be anticipated that there will be an increased demand for state involvement in education and in the provision of schools.

The relatively low standard of education in state schools in the post-Civil War period has encouraged the inclination, in all sections of the population, to invest in private education. Many of the workers interviewed argued that, in private (mainly religious) schools, the children were more controlled, that they learned more about moral principles and social skills and were, consequently, better prepared to cope with future life. With regard to state schools, they felt that there was less control over the children's behaviour and less care taken with the child's moral development. However, Vallbona proved to be an exception. Here they expressed strong views in opposition to private religious education. These views seem to be, in part, a consequence of a Jesuit group's control of the area in earlier years, and because the residents considered state provision of education in the neighbourhood "a community conquest", a result of their past political actions.

A similar process of privatization is found in the sphere of health care. As we have seen, there have been many complaints about the way the health care services functioned, from professionals in related services and from Neighbourhood Associations. What were the feelings of immigrant workers, who had experienced a positive change in health care provision in comparison with underdeveloped rural areas? Among those interviewed in La Barceloneta, all felt the need for private health care services,

especially when the children were small and therefore vulnerable. Consequently, all of those interviewed paid for private medical treatment to complement the health care provided by the National Health Service. Alternatively, some of the families subscribed to private insurance policies, which covered the costs of doctors and medical treatment. In both cases, the amount of money that went into private health care was small, between £1 and £3.50 per month. The same feelings were expressed by the residents interviewed in Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana; around 90 per cent of the families interviewed paid for private medical treatment (doctors and medical treatment). Here, the amount of money that went into private health care varied between £1 and £10 a month, which is approximately 5 per cent of the total monthly family income. In all three areas, residents were unhappy with the way they were treated in the public sector and all emphasised the importance of having access to a private doctor for the care of their children's health.

We have seen that there are two contradictory elements present in Barcelona's urban movements. On the one hand, the conditions of social reproduction that involve the collective provision of social services are unsatisfactory and urban protests have arisen out of the frustrations felt by a large proportion of the population. On the other hand, there existed the opportunity to pursue individualistic methods, through the social organization of the family and social networks. How was it possible for workers to finance their own social services (e.g. education and health care)? The answer is to be found in the nature of Franco's state. The loose control exercised by the Spanish state over education and health care created the conditions whereby such services could develop privately and costs could be kept relatively low. Schools owned by private individuals

or institutions located in working class neighbourhoods often lacked adequate infrastructure but state inspectors did not appear to do anything about it. In this way, the privatization of the means of collective consumption has continued to expand throughout the city, but at the same time Neighbourhood Associations are demanding more state intervention in this sphere as well as a qualitatively different organization of the services, involving more honesty and more democratic methods.

What are the consequences of privatization for the strengths of urban social movements? I suggest that the process of privatization operates to undermine it. For example, many parents expressed pride in being able to pay for the education of their children, and therefore will not join a protest for state schools (e.g. the Ciudad Meridiana struggle over schools). There is, however, another important element to be considered - widespread mistrust of any service provided by the state, due to the corruption of the past. In this context, it can be expected that a change in people's view of the public sector will take place in the face of a more responsible and coherent urban policy controlled by more democratic institutions. If such a situation was to arise it could be expected that people may be more ready to accept public, rather than private, social services. Further, it could also happen that an already politicized population will maintain interest in the way publicly provided services are managed. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that increasing state intervention will make more difficult the active participation of the population through these Neighbourhood Associations in their policies over collective consumption. This has, unfortunately, proved to be the case in many European countries; for example, England, where these groups have had little political impact up to the present though

their influence may increase in the future.

Having examined some of the Neighbourhood Associations in Barcelona and the type of political involvement they have developed concerning urban issues, there still remains one question. To what extent do they constitute an urban social movement? What changes did they bring about in the politics of the city and of the country?

We have seen that the Neighbourhood Associations exercised pressure through the daily press and in open demonstrations on the streets of Barcelona directed against the undemocratic nature of the local administration. The ruling group was forced to resign and was replaced by a 'transitional administration' until the first democratic elections. The 'transitional administration' opened channels of communication and participation to the Neighbourhood Associations in urban issues such as planning and the allocation of collective services. Thus, the Neighbourhood Associations have played a significant role in the pursuit of democratic reforms aimed at increasing political participation.

The Neighbourhood Associations also played an important role in the nationalist movement for the return of Catalan autonomy. As noted in Chapter Two, 'Freedom, Amnesty, Autonomous Status', was the slogan of major public demonstrations from the early-1970s to 1977. In September 1977, a million people demonstrated in the central streets of the Ensanche in Barcelona, demanding the return of Catalan autonomy. A large number of these demonstrators were immigrants who had become sensitive to the issues through the propaganda of the Neighbourhood Associations. It was widely acknowledged in the city that almost every demonstration call that came

from the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations turned out to be a success.

I wish to stress, then, that they became a social movement in the broad sense by clarifying the relation between the particular economic needs of the working population (mainly immigrant) and the political organization that was required to attend these needs and aspirations. The fact that in the process of the struggle they involved other sectors of the population, the press and professionals gives further reason to consider them an urban social movement. Finally, the control of the Local Council by Communists and Socialists in Madrid and Barcelona, where the movement developed in 1979 can in part be acknowledged as an outcome of the struggle.

However, after the Left occupied the local councils in both cities the Neighbourhood Associations, initially being instruments of popular and autonomous organization appeared by 1980 susceptible to becoming decentralized satellites of the local power. This is probably the main danger in the present situation, with the Socialist Party governing the local and central administration.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that two basic elements of analysis are necessary to understand the politics of consumption in Barcelona: a] the characteristics of the state organisation, and the role it played in the urbanization process; b] the particular reasons why people organised in each area to demand the provision of collective services or to stop urban "planning" interventions.

The character of Spanish state interventions in the urbanization of

Barcelona has been fragmentary. Attempts to rationalise urban chaos resulted in many cases (e.g. La Ribera Plan among others) in further speculative manoeuvres by private interests in combination with public institutions. This was possible due to the peculiarities of the "exceptional" state, which represented the interests of a minority sector of the population. In the concrete case of urban "planning" it meant that general plan schemes could easily be changed according to private interests through 'Partial Plans'. Moreover, the lack of state involvement in the provision of collective services and the residents' aspirations for a better equipped environment have led to the development of organised protests in working class and popular neighbourhoods. The reasons why people organised varied in each area. While in La Barceloneta and Vallbona the housing problem has been more acute, in Ciudad Meridiana, which, (as shown in Chapter Five) is predominantly an owner-occupied area the issue of education has become prevalent.

Olives (1974) contention that struggles taking place in areas where there is a multi-class organization are more likely to succeed in their demands for services is far too general. The level of participation in the struggle as well as the coherence of the political lines taken in particular organised protests are also crucial. Thus in predominantly working class areas, such as Ciudad Meridiana some of the struggles have been a success while other have not. This is, in part, because workers have the alternative of acquiring services privately (often involving low standards due to lack of inspection).

Finally for the Neighbourhood Association movement to succeed appears to be important that it is linked to other movements. Common political aims, such as the transformation of the local institutions have proved

to be basic for the level of participation and ultimate success of the movement as a whole. Thus militancy on the one hand and wide popular participation on the other have transformed what at the beginning were isolated protests into an urban movement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of a "semi-peripheral economy" (Wallerstein, 1974) can be relevantly applied to Spain, since it focuses attention on the way the Spanish economy was incorporated into the world economic system and the way Spanish industrial development continued to be influenced by economic and industrial developments in other countries, such as England. However, given the level of generalization involved in the concept, and the issues on which it focuses, the main relevance of the concept of a "semi-peripheral economy" would seem to centre on comparative analyses (see, for example, Roberts, 1981). Viewing Spain as a "semi-peripheral economy" proved to be a useful general context within which to locate the research work, but this approach proved to be of limited value when grappling with the more detailed aspects and issues of the project. In order to understand the patterns of urbanization in Barcelona, Trotsky's (1979) model of uneven and combined development proved more directly applicable. In particular, this model was valuable for the insights it brought to the project's focus on working class social and political organization in a developed region within a backward country.

Up until the late-1950s, Barcelona developed as an industrial centre in the context of a national economy that was predominantly centred on agricultural production. An archaic political system controlled from the nation's capital city and unable to adapt to the new economic forces developing in the peripherally located Catalan region, encouraged the rise of nationalistic feelings and aspirations for regional autonomy. From the 1960s onwards, Barcelona, along with the rest of Spain, has witnessed considerable economic and industrial expansion, with the assistance of international capital.

The nature of Spain's uneven development has meant that Barcelona's urbanization has involved the combination of an industrially orientated native population, a regional identity and a large immigrant population, which although socially and culturally heterogeneous had largely rural origins. In contrast to the pattern of short-distance migration to English towns during industrial expansion in the nineteenth century (Anderson, 1971; Roberts, 1981), the pattern of migration to Barcelona has been one of a steady increase in migrants from regions located at considerable distances. The incorporation of these long-distance migrants into the urban economy of Barcelona involved their location in different positions in the occupational structure. However, a large proportion of the migrants became members of the industrial workforce. Unlike the expansion of cities like Chicago where immigrant workers became socially and geographically organized in terms of ethnic communities (Nelli, 1970), in Barcelona immigrant workers became socially and geographically organized on the basis of class, rather than on place of origin. In their first years in Barcelona, despite relatively high occupational and residential mobility, these immigrant workers experienced a degree of homogeneity in the conditions within which they lived and worked. We have seen that most immigrant workers had similar experiences of adaptation in the industrial workplace and in the urban milieu, which in turn led to a certain homogeneity of life-styles and life-strategies. This homogeneity, in the subsistence wage economy period, led to political organization, while in the financial wage economy period it led to aspirations for higher standards of living (while creating new sources of social differentiation, e.g. Ciudad Meridiana) and for the democratization of the institutional structure, i.e. for participation in industrial wage bargaining and management decisions in the urban system.

The common life-experiences and class consciousness of these workers have been translated into their active participation in the politics of the city. The "young" proletariat, of rural origin, established in Barcelona in the pre-Civil War period was organized mainly within the radical Anarcho-syndicalist union with opposing class interests of those of the Catalan National Movement dominated by the industrial bourgeoisie. In recent years workers' union organizations (with the Socialist and Communist parties) have come further into line with aspirations for Catalan regional autonomy. The main reasons why the political aspirations of different sections of the city's population have been channeled into a common multi-class movement are to be found in the excessive centralism of the Spanish state, especially since it took the form of an "exceptional state" (Poulantzas, 1976). Poulantzas' conceptualization of the Spanish state as "exceptional" which, in his view, resulted from a crisis in the balance of economic and political forces between the different social classes in the nation, has proved important to our agreement. This helped to explain the relation between the central political power and the economic forces developing in the Catalan region.

Terrades (1981) has pointed out that the development of a national identity in Catalonia has to be understood in relation to an "absentee"

state which was unresponsive to the needs of a modern industrial economy. Instead of exercising planning, the Spanish state has implemented "fragmentary" interventions both in the provision of industrial infrastructure and in the provision of collective services. The findings of this thesis complement Terrades' (1978) conclusions, regarding the character of the Spanish state and the results of its actions for the organization of the industrial colony system in Catalonia. In Barcelona, as the material drawn from La Maquinista shows, industrialists trained their own workforce and in some cases provided, or helped in the provision of, housing. Moreover, as the material from the three areas (La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana) shows, attempts by the state's institutions to ameliorate the chronic housing shortage have proven inadequate. In the same way, interventions in the form of urban renewal schemes were more a response to private interests than answers to the collective needs of the working class population. It is not surprising then, that such urban renewal schemes were met with opposition from residents. This pattern of fragmentary state intervention in the urban environment which served private interests, seems to hold true for the few public attempts that have been made to rationalize the urban chaos which has characterized Barcelona's expansion.

Thus, the Spanish state's relations with the urban population of Barcelona in general, and with the working class in particular, have been, as Roberts' (1981) argues, neither "paternalistic" nor "negotiated". As we have seen, in contrast with Nazi Germany (Rimlinger, 1971), Franco's state did not protect the worker nor did it want to integrate the working class into the nation's development by providing training facilities or any other kind of welfare services. La Maquinista's workforce was trained

primarily in the workplace through work experience, and this was not an isolated case. In contrast with England (Gough, 1979), no channels of negotiation were open to workers or any other section of the population through which to exercise pressure on the state to obtain social welfare provisions. As a consequence, Barcelona's rapid urban growth since the 1950s has been characterized by a certain "logic of disorder". As Roberts (1981) indicates, the kind of urbanization found in Barcelona resembles that of the cities of developing countries. In line with the growth of cities in these countries, Barcelona has been deeply affected by the absence of a strong and stable state committed to industrialization. Thus, as in Sao Paulo, immigrant workers have been forced to provide their own accommodation (e.g. through the development of shanty towns etc.) and privatised services, which in developed countries are collectively provided by the state.

Roberts' analysis of the relation between the Spanish state and the urban economy and the development of urban political movements in Barcelona has been supported here. Emphasis, however, has been placed on the reasons why workers organized politically in the city by looking at their specific patterns of household organization and the emergence of further aspirations at different periods.

It is a basic contention of this thesis that the analysis of changing characteristics of household organization, when coupled with the changing patterns of social organization within Barcelona's working class populations, provides a deeper understanding of the reasons why immigrant workers and their families organized politically in order to pursue their collective goals. Thus, class consciousness among these immigrant workers cannot be

divorced from their changing patterns of household consumption, nor from their demands for increased state provision of the means of collective consumption. These patterns of consumption, defined at each period on the basis of household organization as well as the type of residential settlement, characterise the conditions within which immigrant workers reproduced themselves (socially, economically and politically) as members of the working class.

We have seen that the outcome of the lack of involvement by the central state in urbanization, (while acting as the paymaster of local administrations) has resulted in privatization. Enterprises provided their own infrastructure and trained their own workforce, in return they did not fully contribute to state's fiscal policies through taxation. Thus, low levels of taxation involved low levels of fiscal receipts, which in turn had important implications for urbanization. In Barcelona, family and locally based working class organization became, in this context, the basic institutions around which immigrant workers organized their daily existence. Class organization was important to the household economy of workers in the subsistence wage economy period up to 1939. In the subsistence in transition economy period political repression reinforced the role of the family solidarity, not only in household, but also in the information on jobs and accommodation opportunities. In the financial wage economy period, the family has continued to be the basic unit of economic organization, not only of the household but also in the acquisition of services that affect the organization of the urban environment - schools, health care services, transport etc. Thus, privatization has meant that immigrant workers had to rely on their own individual resources in order to adapt to the urban milieu.

Adaptation took different forms, not only in the levels of skill and income opportunities workers achieved but also in their levels of subsistence and the development of their prospects for the future. In the subsistence wage economy period (up to 1939), industrial workers based their household organization on food and accommodation expenditure. In the following period (1940s and 1950s) accumulation of saving was added to their individual economies with the development of future better housing conditions. In the third period (1960s and 1970s) the expansion of ownership and more individual investment on consumer goods were linked to increasing aspirations for the provision of better social services, mainly schools for children. We have seen that housing was a key issue at stake in the urban conflicts that developed in La Barceloneta, Vallbona and Ciudad Meridiana. However, mobilization around issues relating to schools and education became increasingly important to Ciudad Meridiana, where housing conditions were relatively better than in the other two neighbourhoods and where there was a high incidence of private home-ownership. Thus, we have seen that the workers and their families had, in part, defined for themselves the adequacy of living conditions in accordance with the opportunities offered by the urban economy. The manner by which they have come to define their life-styles and conditions of living are not simply functional to the requirements of capital accumulation and expansion, but are in accordance with a more complex combination of elements developed out of their individual experiences and values.

I have argued that definitions of class on the basis of consumption patterns such as those provided by Douglas (1979) are inadequate in the long run because of their static nature. While her conceptualization of low-scale class consumption did apply when considering the way workers

organized their household economies up to the 1960s in Barcelona, it proved inadequate for the later period. Similarly, Douglas' conceptualization makes no allowance for workers' demands for more intervention by public institutions to provide, and improve the standards of, collective services. Thus, the research reported here would indicate that an analysis of class social and cultural organization should include analyses of changing patterns of both individual and collective consumption, as well as changing levels of skill and class consciousness.

The research work reported here also highlights some of the problems that have arisen with regard to the over general and abstract manner with which such concepts as "collective consumption" have been advocated and used in the recent literature on urban studies (Castells, 1977a and 1978; Dunleavy, 1980). The lack of flexibility in the application of the concept "collective consumption" creates difficulties when considering specific social and state formations. For example, the Spanish state, in contrast to the structure and role of the state in the developed nations of Europe, did not provide any extended services to promote social welfare. Thus, in Barcelona the high level of privately organized and provided services among the working class seriously limits the applicability of the emphasis on state provided means of collective consumption so prevalent in urban studies in France and England. In the case of Barcelona, it is the specific relationship between the state and the urban population, and the state's response to the needs and aspirations of that population, that becomes the main issue in defining both the nature of the means of collective consumption and urban conflicts. For example, Saunders (1979) emphasises negotiation as an important element in the definition of an urban social movement; this has little relevance when applied to Barcelona's

urban development in the context of the "exceptional state". The Spanish state was not only divorced from the population (Borja, 1977) and its collective aspirations, it did not allow local organizations and institutions to develop alternative programmes of social welfare. The lack of channels for negotiation forced urban movements in Barcelona to organise on an underground basis. Firstly, to apply strong pressures for the democratization of local powers and second, to link its political practices to other movements (e.g. union and regional) in order to create new avenues for negotiation. Thus, "the politics of consumption" in the Spanish context (similar analysis has been done on the Madrid movement by Castells, 1977 a), can only be explained through the particular characteristics of the Spanish state, its influence on urbanization and the concrete experiences of workers and their developing aspirations.

An interesting point to come out of this research work was that while consumption processes can create social solidarity and encourage urban conflict, they can also create social differentiation. This was clearly exemplified by the different tendencies that developed between tenants - usually living in inner-city areas or self constructed housing - and owner-occupiers. Although workers that owned their houses still participated in Neighbourhood Associations in some cases, in many instances they pursued more individualistic procedures to acquire social services as well as commodities. The research showed that this was possible because of: [a] the relatively low costs of privatization due to the lack of state control over the quality of services and to the subsidies it provides to private institutions - e.g. religious schools; [b] the concentration of several wages and incomes in individual households gives families resources needed to buy those services.

Two important implications for the development of urban movements emerged from the analysis of this kind of household organization. Within the working class, men continue to spend most of their time at work or in travelling long distances from work to home. The women, however, become confined to the household after marriage, due to the high frequency of tasks needed for the daily existence and the demands of biological and social reproduction. These conditions restrict the time and energy that can be invested in participation in political activities. This is especially the case for women, who undertake casual work which is not linked to workers' unions. However, the accumulated experience of generations of work and exploitation have limited the prospect of future opportunities for social mobility. On the other hand, Barcelona has given them the confidence to achieve relatively comfortable living conditions with little state support, that could imply more collective organization - such as education. Thus, little social mobility is expected beyond the margins of the workforce in the factory and ownership in the household. Only in very recent years, and in a restricted way, has an emphasis on education developed among working class families, who remain ambivalent about what will be the best strategies for their children's future. In this sense, it can be suggested that the process of privatization does inhibit the growth, strength and activities of urban social movements.

Why did the movements become so important in Barcelona? Their strength was based not only on the workers' demands for an enlargement of the social wage but also on the need for a transformation of the archaic political institutions which the workers' saw as exhibiting aggressive urban interventions. The success of urban political organizations in moving from an underground basis to openly participatory grounds, was due to the fact that they were not isolated movements. Each acted in conjunction with

other movements, mainly the regional movement and to some extent the trade union movement. Moreover, although each neighbourhood confronted specific economic problems, they all shared a common political aim: to change the existing power relations which dominated the politics of the city.

In La Barceloneta, residents organized to face the threat of enforced removal and the redevelopment of the neighbourhood. In Vallbona a similar struggle developed, however, here the residents had been engaged in a long dispute over their legal right to occupy the area in the first place. In Ciudad Meridiana, in contrast with the other two areas, the residents organized their struggle around the issue of schooling, indicating, perhaps, the kind of concrete problems around which such movements may develop in other areas in the future.

The democratization of local institutions from the late 1970s onwards transformed the role of Neighbourhood Associations allowing them to become channels of communication and negotiations between the Local Council and the population in general. However, these Associations, in their collaborations with local institutions, are faced with the limited possibilities and resources that exist for the expansion of the social welfare services in Spain. In contrast with England, where the expansion of the welfare state largely took place in the years in which the economy was expanding, in Spain the development of social welfare provisions is taking place within the context of the economic recession. Once more, political solutions are seen as solutions to economic problems, and it is through a process of decentralizing power, from the central to the regional and local governments, that many people expect to see a rationalization

of Barcelona's urban system carried out. This is clearly a key area for future research in Barcelona.

I have argued that the participation of women from low-income families in the urban economy and in political activities is restricted by the household tasks they are called upon to perform to maintain the well-being of their families. There is a clear need for further systematic research into household organization, which is generally lacking in contemporary urban studies. Such studies are especially relevant for extending our understanding of the position of women in society. Also household economic organization offers considerable scope for clarifying the existing body of knowledge on the formation of expectations and future aspirations of members of the younger generations. In this sense, ethnographic research into family cycles, life-styles and strategies can be conducted in relation to general trends identified in political economy analyses of specific countries, regions, cities and neighbourhoods. This area of research could make considerable progress by including the study of culture and cultural processes and placing more emphasis on concrete analyses of the experiences of people, incorporating not only levels of skill and subsistence but also ideology and political practices. Perhaps a de-mystification of "culture" would help to provide a better understanding of the nature of social differentiation based, as Thompson (1961) pointed out, not on "ways of life" but on "ways of conflict", particularly class conflict.

From this study of working class social and political organization in Barcelona it became clear that a full understanding of urban political movements required a careful examination of both the particular state and

social formations of the country on the one hand, and of the peoples' experiences on the other. This point seems generally applicable to all such studies, whether or not they are based in Spain. The analysis of urban political consciousness then, as a basis for political organization has to be understood in relation to the changing living and working conditions within which people organize their strategies for survival and for improving their lives. This kind of research required a combination of research strategies, which included the use of historical, statistical, interview and ethnographic materials. The complexity of this kind of research work coupled with the complexity of people's lives means that the theoretical, methodological and empirical issues discussed in this thesis can only be clarified through future research experiences.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED WITH HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

1. Household Composition and Demographic Data

- [1] For each member of the household - Age
- Sex
- Marital status
- Place of birth
- Years in Barcelona
- Age left school
- Occupation (incl. "housewife")
- Income
- Residential period at current address.
- [2] For heads of household - Occupational history
- Residential history

2. Household Organization and Household Economy

- [1] Do you own or rent your current accommodation?
If rent - what are the conditions and amount of monthly rent?
If owned - What was [a] total price?
[b] entrance fee?
[c] mortgage repayments per month?
[d] number of years left on mortgage?
[e] the institution that provided the mortgage?
- [2] How did you find your current accommodation?
Did you have any difficulties in finding your current accommodation?
Which institutions, contacts and/or networks did you use?
- [3] What is the size (e.g. number of rooms etc.) of your home?
- [4] Why did you decide to rent/purchase this flat/house?
- [5] Have you undertaken any renovations or repairs in your flat/house?
If yes, what kind and how?
If no, why not?
- [6] How long does it take you to get from your home to your place of work?
- [7] Do any members of the household maintain social relationships with their fellow workers outside of the work-place?
- [8] Do you know many of your neighbours?

[9] Have you visited any of your neighbour's flats/houses? Have they visited your flat/house?

If yes, how often and for what purposes?

If not, why not?

[10] Have you shared any of your household's resources with your neighbours? (e.g. food, transport, etc.)

Have you and your neighbours been involved in shared activities? (e.g. recreation, child-minding, shopping etc.).

[11] Are there any members of your family (kin group) residing in this neighbourhood?

[12] How often, and under what circumstances, do you see your relatives?

[13] To whom would you turn if you needed help and assistance?

[14] Do you know of any community centre in your neighbourhood?

[15] What do you know about the Neighbourhood Association?

Have you been to the Neighbourhood Association?

Have you, or any members of your household, been involved with the activities of the Neighbourhood Association? If yes, why and what kind?

If not, why not?

[16] What do you expect from a Neighbourhood Association?

[17] Where do you spend your time on Sundays?

Do you stay in the neighbourhood?

Do you go somewhere else in the city? Where?

Do you go somewhere else outside the city? Where?

[18] With whom do you spend your Sundays?

[19] When did you purchase the furniture that is now in your home?

[20] What did you do with the old furniture?

[21] If you have the following items, can you tell me when you purchased them?

- cooker
- ice-box
- refrigerator
- washing machine
- automatic washing machine
- pressure cooker
- electric-mixer
- radio
- television
- others

- [22] How many items of clothing have you purchased in the last six months?
- [23] How many books have you purchased in the last year?
- [24] Do you own a car? If yes, why and when did you buy it?
If no, why not?
- [25] How do you pay for your larger household purchases?
Cash payments?
Hire purchase?
Other ...
- [26] How much does your household spend on food each week?
- [27] Where do you buy the food for the household? How often do you shop for food?
- [28] How many members of your household drive a car?
- [29] Do any members of your household regularly buy and read any particular newspaper or magazine?
- [30] Where do you spend your holidays?
- [31] When did you first begin to save? (e.g. savings bank account)
- [32] Have you saved on a regular basis? (details if possible)
- [33] Do you own a second house, or a plot of land, outside Barcelona?
If yes, where and why?
If no, do you plan to do so in the future? (Why/Why not?)
- [34] Do you (have you) pay (paid) for the schooling of your children?
If yes, why and how much?
If no, why not?

Do you plan to pay for their schooling in the future?
If yes, why?
If no, why not?
- [35] Are you satisfied with the education they get at the moment?
If yes, why?
If no, why not?
- [36] At what age did/will your children start work?
- [37] How much does your household spend on health and medical care each month?
- [38] Is there a health clinic in your neighbourhood?

How many doctors are available locally if needed?
Where is the nearest hospital?

[39] Is there a children's nursery in your neighbourhood?

Do you think it is necessary to have at least one?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

[40] Which social services and amenities do you think are missing from your neighbourhood?

[41] Have you ever considered moving from this neighbourhood?

If yes, why and where to?

If no, why not?

3. Interview Check

- (1) Are there any details of the household or neighbourhood, which you feel are important and, which you feel I may have overlooked?
- (2) Are there any further views or comments you would like to express?
- (3) Informal discussion of points related to, and arising from, respondents' answers and comments.

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