

A CHANGING CITY. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION AND RENEWAL OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA

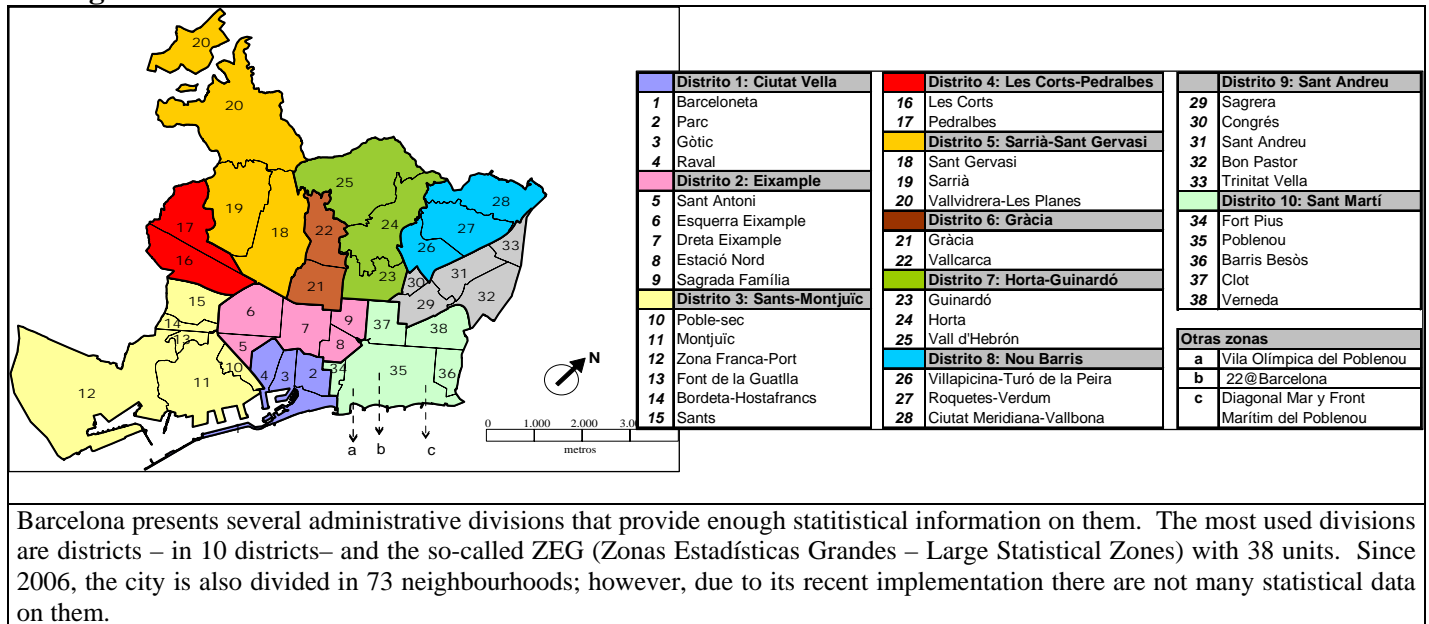
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I. THE CITY OF BARCELONA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A MEDITERRANEAN CITY, A CAPITAL CITY IN THE WORLD

Barcelona is a city immersed in a process of deep changes that are modifying its demographic, economic, social, cultural and urban essence; changes that can not be ignored in daily life. This changing process started in the '80s when the urban crisis was evident in the city de-industrialisation, the growth of unemployment, the loss of population and in the decay of some of its districts, and it drove its inhabitants and authorities to take measures to palliate the backward inertia the city was foundering in. It was thus that a determined double-goal renewal began. On one hand, it wanted to re-generate and revitalise the place in order to check its urban and social decay, as other European cities are doing. They want, in short, to put an end to the industrial city model and consolidate the pattern of the post-Fordist town, the global 21st-century city. On the other hand, a set of international-projection strategies was implemented. In this sense, the idea was to turn Barcelona into an European and Mediterranean leading city and to have it becoming a reference place in the world (Benach and Tello, 2004; García Ramón and Albet, 2000).

Measures taken to achieve those goals have turned Barcelona into the subject of the most intense discussions on the direction taken by present changes of European cities (Champion, 2001; Ocaña, 2005; Brandis, 2007): about gentrification and its different types, about different social segregation in neighbourhoods and city reinforcement versus metropolitan area municipalities, about increase of foreign population, renewal of outmoded industrial space, proposals to counter district decay, about converting the historical town into a “museum” or into a “thematic park” adapted to tourist requirements or to the economic interests of a capital that is becoming more and more international. These topics are dealt with in this article, although it is centered on the changes that have taken place in the city of Barcelona and their social-demographic consequences.

Figure 1: Barcelona's administrative divisions: districts and ZEGs



II. AN URBAN DEVELOPMENT RENEWAL: FROM PURSUING AN IDEA TO THE *MODELO BARCELONA*. A CHANGING SCENE

There is no doubt that any analysis of the changes experienced by the city of Barcelona must start by studying its urban development renewal. Urban development renewals are one of the factors that unchain social-demographic changes. Therefore, understanding where is it taking place, taking into account each action in every case, while weighting their consequences are keys to interpret those processes.

Barcelona's urban renewal is based on a complex set of plans that affects all its territory. Some of its main milestones are the actions carried out in the town centre (the *Ciutat Vella* district) and the recovery of outmoded industrial-use peripheral spaces (by building new districts on the waterfront such as *Vila Olímpica del Poblenou* or *Diagonal Mar* and *Front Marítim de Poblenou* or *22@Barcelona*)¹. Next to these large actions there are many other smaller ones focused on improving life quality in infrastructure- and service-deficient neighbourhoods.

Barcelona's improvement is defined as a concrete model of town renewal, the so-called *Modelo Barcelona* (Barcelona Model), which has been the subject of many analysis, of many critical and/or praising studies². One of its features is the careful aesthetics and quality of many projects, and not

¹ A detailed information on the different projects is available at the web page of Barcelona's Town Council (www.bcn.es).

² There are many articles that study in depth the *Modelo Barcelona* and its effects on the city. One of the most critical opinions is by Capel (2006 y 2007), who has revised Barcelona's recent urban changes in depth. He has based his arguments on formal aspects (demolition of historically-valuable buildings, ignoring historical patterns, bad quality of new buildings, the lack of coherence with place and even the lack of imagination of managers), on means (he questions the role played by public administration to assume costs and to collaborate with private enterprises, city land

just the most emblematic ones; in fact, several scholars talk about periphery's *monument building*. The beautification of city landscape is one of its constants, next to elements (buildings, plazas, sculptures, bridges, squares, etc. ...) by internationally known architects or artists. Each element, then, has an added value originating in its author(s) although it may also increase its economical cost and, some times, the execution time. It is, however, the best signal that the goal looked for is much more than just its functionality.

Other Barcelona Model features are the role played by public authorities as the true triggers of change and, especially, the existence of public- and private-funded companies as sponsors of relevant actions. Different administration levels have led changes in the city; it is the local public authorities who imagine the model of city they want and who actively work to achieve it. The private sector is on a secondary plane and follows public initiative when business expectations are positive. Often, both public and private sectors are allied and give cause to a never-ending discussion on the appropriateness, necessity and moral of their collaboration.

II.1. Renewing the historical part of the city, making it anew

At the beginning of the '80s, Ciutat Vella was an instance of a fast-decaying historical city sector: narrow and close streets, a high occupation density, few and neglected public spaces were combined with an old and not-renewed housing, apart from a marked absence of services. The lowest life quality indicators were present there and it was associated to drug-traffic, prostitution, criminality and insecurity. They were also much aged neighbourhoods, with flagrant social problems such as lonely aged people living in deficient housing or a concentration of low-income foreigners, who in most cases were illegally in Spain. This situation happened in an area characterised by the high historical-cultural value of its buildings (the Cathedral, the Gothic District, the Picasso Museum or the Liceo Opera House, among many others), by its shops (Las Ramblas street, Portal de l'Àngel avenue or Via Laietana street) or the waterfront walk and the port. It is, then, an area with a large tourist value as a place for city leisure, with a large residential and new services and business potential.

re-qualification policies to make the participation of international capital easier or the absence of citizens from decision taking) and on its ethical undertone (absence of a policy promoting social diversification and mixture, the high cost of some interventions and, even, the fact that some former local technicians are working at present in private real estate companies). On the other side, Barnadas (2007) makes a very positive assessment of changes in the last decades; he stresses peripheral integration and revaluation, the successful proposals for urban renewal and, specifically, the steps taken towards social cohesion. Lastly, an article that tries to present “successes”, “challenges” and “opportunities” is by Borja (Borja and Muxí, 2004).

Therefore, a set of measures was implemented to help creating new leisure areas and to recover the image and attraction of these neighbourhoods. Actions included building demolition and clearance to clear free spaces and diminish the high population density, opening new axes (the most significant is the Rambla del Raval, a wide avenue crossing the Raval), refurbishing of public spaces and promoting pedestrian areas. Some actions sought to potentiate locating cultural equipments in the area, which were soon helped by the fast settlement of new trading activities and of a growing offer of hotels, restaurants and bars. Said offer was addressed, mainly, to a high-income tourism but it also meets the demands of some local inhabitants. In the Raval neighbourhood, different administrations promoted cultural premises such as the *Museo de Arte Contemporáneo* and different university centres. In the Barceloneta neighbourhood, the main actions focused on the waterfront where Port Vell becomes the leisure and commercial area. The traditional shopping area, the neighbourhood of Parc, modified its activities and in a few years has increased the number of its bars and restaurants (Passeig del Born or the surroundings of Santa Maria del Mar) and its fashion stores, all of them featuring a modern design. New art galleries and artist workshop are settled there and there are many tourist apartment rentals in the area. Present land uses and activities are very different from the former ones and they have started a chain of changes ranging from the profile of the new residents to the number and characteristics of their visitors. A new life is given to these districts, both in the physical scene and its actors. These actions, however, leave zones out of the renewal process where former social problems are still existing. Replacement of economic activities and of residents presents a clear spatial delimitation and it is possible to find highly contrasted situations within just a few meters of distance resulting in the subsequent duality of the area's social contents.

II.2. Building the city: the new Barcelona

Among the largest changes the most relevant are the three actions over the former industrial space, already outmoded. The first action took place in Poblenou and it was triggered by the 1992 Olympic Games held in Barcelona. The games preparation works recovered the coast area, creating new bathing (the Nova Icària beach) and port (Port Olímpic) areas; spaces that nowadays combine their sporting uses with a complete offer for day and night leisure. It also meant building a housing estate, that was to be at first the athletes' residence during the Games while, later on, was the origin for a new neighbourhood called Vila Olímpica del Poblenou (“a” in Figure 1).

The success of this first action gave cause to a second large renewal based on an event. In this second instance it was the Forum of Cultures, an event sponsored by Barcelona's Town Council and promoted by the Government of Catalonia and the State Government, and by UNESCO. It was a

series of exhibitions and conferences-discussions about the dialogue between peoples, cultures and civilizations. It took place from April 23rd to September 27th, 2004; it had a limited international attendance and a reduced local involvement. Its economical results were doubtful and three years afterwards were still news. The Forum works have generated some equipment located in the Front Maritim de Poblenou and a new step on coast recovery and in the sporting port of Sant Adrià. Likewise, the renewal triggered the creation of the Diagonal Mar district (“c” in Figure 1), where several hotels, a large shopping centre and a different apartment buildings have been built. It has also resulted in the extension of Avenida Diagonal, one of the main city axes.

The third city-creating actions is on the so-called 22@Barcelona (“b” in Figure 1). This project is to regenerate a part of the Poblenou district by settling there new technological companies that are to replace the early-industrial-period factories. A project that is common to other developed-world cities that want to attract strategic economic activities, such as new technologies, advances services and other outstanding sectors (Consejo de Europa, 2001). Apart from the economic activity and the redevelopment of streets, it is decided to build housing estates; once again, a deep change of uses and residents is to be promoted.

In short, Barcelona has transformed three obsolete peripheral spaces into three new districts, that are still in formation, specifically Diagonal Mar and 22@. The new inhabitants of these districts present a biased profile; they come from the highest income-earning professional-social categories and they are much different from the traditional population where they are integrating (Poblenou). The Vila Olímpica district, for instance, has been studied as a gentrification model in regenerated urban areas, with features different from other similar processes in historical town centres (Vila, 2004).

In short, the synthesis on urban changes of the city shows the kind of processes that are started, what city model they are trying to build. The economic results of every initiative are valued positively by experts. Barcelona has increased the number of its tourists, it appears in international rankings as one of the European cities that are preferred by executives as places to live in, by international companies as places to invest in or to hold a convention. The good economical results, however, are tarnished by the many criticisms about these changes. Although they come from very different people and are based on all kind of arguments, opinions usually agree and question the type of intervention. It is said that after a first stage that cared for the actual needs of the inhabitants, in the second stage, its goals were economical and have turned its back to the daily needs of its residents (Capel, 2007; Casellas, 2006). Likewise, they all agree that, either willing or

unwillingly, public actions have promoted city elitization and an excluding social model (Benach and Tello, 2004), and those spaces have gained more value. These two assumptions are to be tested in our analysis.

III. WHERE ARE YOU GOING, BARCELONA? SOME SOCIAL CHANGES OF THE LAST DECADE

After reaching its highest population in 1979, with more than 1.9 million inhabitants, the city entered into a phase of population decrease that lasted until 2000, when it had less than 1.5 million inhabitants. From that year, it started to recover demographically and it exceeded once again the 1.6 million of inhabitants at the beginning of 2006. Beyond the numerical variation of its inhabitants, it is relevant to analyse the social change process the city is living. There are three main aspects in this social-demographic change. First, a loss of indigenous population, specifically of young couples and middle-class families, is described as a diaspora of its inhabitants who have left the town and moved to some other municipalities on its metropolitan area. On the other side, Barcelona has become the preferred destination for people that, paradoxically, are found on both ends of the social scale. Secondly, Barcelona's population is increasingly international; a fact based on the increasing number of inhabitants who are foreign nationals and by their growing relevance within the population. Finally, the third characteristic of recent changes is the increase of well-off population, change that is promoted by the different composition of the migratory flows that enter or leave the city.

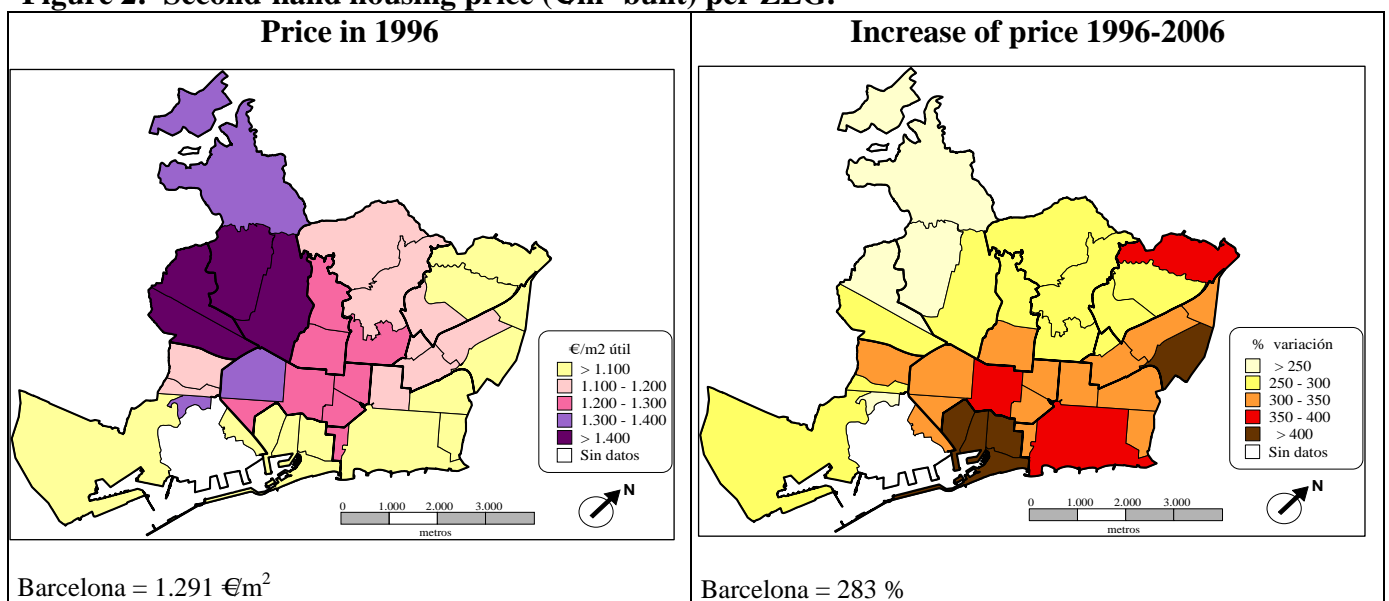
III.1. Residential mobility: the diaspora of Barcelona's born-population versus any other recent residents

The pattern of residential mobility in the city of Barcelona and the RMB of the last decades have been studied (Módenes, 1998; Pujadas, 2005; Miralles et al, 2007). These authors detailed the suburbanization process experienced by the city since the '80s up to nowadays. It is a strong leaving flow from the central place towards the municipalities withing its influence area, which is extending and integrating farther destinations but well-connected by private or public transportation. City leaving is motivated by housing high prices (see Figure 2), because city prices are in much higher levels that prices in the metropolitan area. Thus, the municipalities of the metropolitan area have more land available and at lower prices; they generate then a competitive real estate market in relation to utilities-prices as well as a diversified offer (larger detached or semi-detached houses with garden, swimming-pool, etc) that the city can not supply (Muñoz, 2007). It is, beside, a market that wants to meet the demand of a large segment of social classes, filtering new residents through housing and its price (Pujadas and García Coll, 2007). Therefore, metropolitan population increase follows land segregation patterns, where highest-earning

municipalities attract the population with the highest income and so on. Suburbanization does not only consolidate the existing social structure, but it also increases and extends that structure over space.

From 1996 to 2006, Barcelona's housing market suffered a strong price increase: in just 10 years the price of second-hand housing has had a fourfold increase and its average price in 2006 was around 5,000 €/m² built. There was also a general increase of prices; if in 1996 the highest prices were three times the lowest, in 2006 the difference was reduced just to the double. This was due to the high growth of low-priced ZEGs, which increased at a higher pace.

Figure 2: Second-hand housing price (€/m² built) per ZEG.



Source: Own making from data of Departament d'Estadística, Ajuntament de Barcelona (www.bcn.cat)

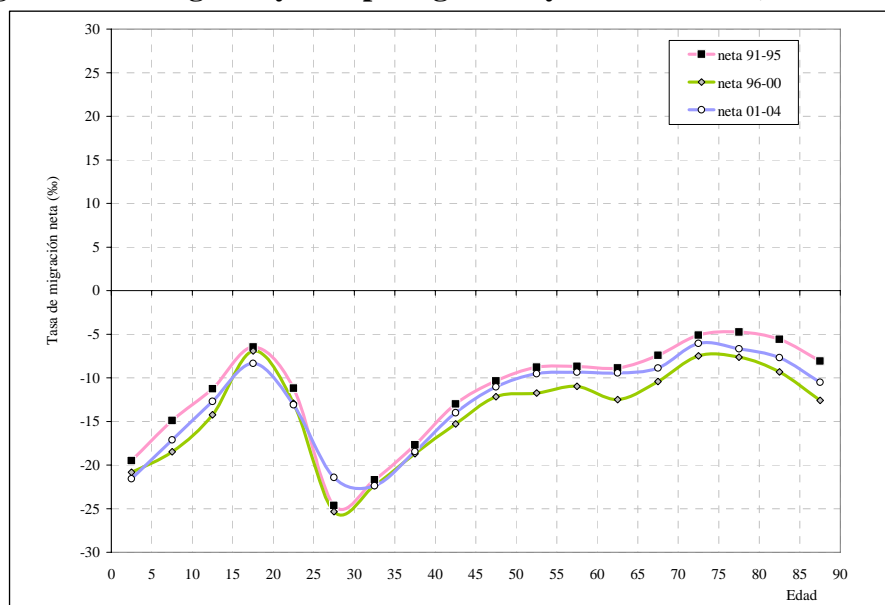
Therefore, the highest price increase does not take place in the most expensive ZEGs. The ZEGs of Ciutat Vella or Poblenou have undergone important urban development works that have potentiated much their qualities and their price has fivefolded or sixfolded in just 10 years. Improvements boost the arrival of new residents sensitive to environmental quality, although the increase of foreign population also plays a significant role on housing price. Foreigners prefer to settle in the lowest price neighbourhoods, and their demand encourages price rises. This is the situation in Ciutat Meridiana, Bon Pastor, Trinitat Vella or Besòs which, in spite of their peripheral location and their lowest starting prices, have had a high rise of their housing market. It is to be pointed that Ciutat Vella meets the two relevant factors for housing re-valuation (urban renewal and large foreign population), which explains its accelerated price increase. In short, the higher rise of housing price is setting much pressure on the areas where middle and low income-earning classes are taking cover, pressure that is generating the replacement of resident population.

High housing prices in Barcelona have three social-demographic effects apart from the classical ejection of low income population. First of all, they put restraints on middle and low classes, specially on young couples in search of their first home. Many low-income young people wishing to settle on their own have problems to get a house in their neighbourhood -where most of them have always lived- or in any other place where they would like to live. Therefore, for many young people wishing to live on their own, there are significant differences between the place where they would like to live and the place where they are able to live according to their income. These problems encourage a delay in the population average age for living on their own: in 2006, 54 % of people aged from 25 to 29 years were still living at their parents' household within the RMB. Another effect of high housing prices is that young people can not live on their own with just one salary; from 2000 to 2006, only 19 % of young people aged from 25 to 29 years created their own single household in the RMB (Miralles et al., 2007).

However, it is true that central place's price rise enables people living in Barcelona to sell their house and get enough money to purchase a better house, even if it means leaving the city and moving to another municipality in the RMB. Because of the different cost of housing in the central city and in other metropolitan municipalities, this mechanism makes it possible for middle and low-middle classes, even, to adapt new residential mobility patterns. Thus, data in *Encuesta de las condiciones de vida y hábitos de la población de Catalunya 2006* remind us that 42 % of people changing their house in the last five years in the RMB moved to gain a better house or environment. On the other side, just 4% of people moving did it for working reasons (Miralles et al, 2007). In fact, Betterment of place of residence (housing and environment) is the factor that amounts to the highest percentage of residential mobility reasons in the last editions of the Enquiry (1995, 2000 and 2006), followed by Household creation, that amounts to a third of the total. Housing price is not the only explanation for town leaving and, at least, it combines with housing state and location; there is a complex set of *pull* and *push* forces interplaying between the places of origin and destination. On the other hand, housing price in Barcelona does work as a selection filter for new residents. López Gay does show in his dissertation that the highest classes present the highest immigration rates when in-flows are studied (López Gay, 2007). The image of a city combining modernity and tradition and a good offer of services has made of Barcelona the ideal residence for people with the purchasing capacity to support life differential cost in the city and who, also, prefer to live in the city. Therefore, it is not strange that the percentage of immigrants with higher studies in Barcelona had increased in almost ten points in the last ten years, going from 19% in 1996 to 28% in 2006. Under this class, it is included a group of foreigners that answer to the profile with a

high level of studies, and they amount to an important contribution to the migratory flows in the city. Setting aside international migration and its effects, an analysis of the residential mobility of Barcelona's inhabitants shows that the city has lost population aged 25 to 40 years, specifically middle-class couples (with or without children), in the last fifteen years.

Figure 3: Net migratory rate per age – City of Barcelona (1991-2004)(*)

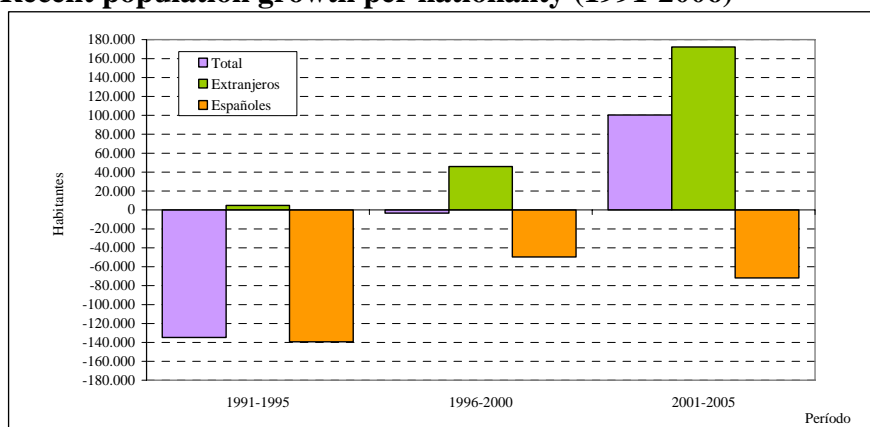


(*) Domestic migration; that is, flows originated and ending in a municipality of España.

Source: Own making from data of INE: *Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales*. Micro-data file, 1991-2004.

With a negative natural dynamics that started in 1985 and with a negative migratory balance in relation to the indigenous population, the city growth relays on the migratory conduct of foreigners. It is significant that, although the city presents a constant increase of its foreign population, it also shows a clear loss of indigenous inhabitants (Figure 4). These differences show, undoubtedly, the existence of a housing market segmentation, and they also prove significant differences in housing election motivations between both groups. They are also, however, the best evidence that, after three decades of urban renewal and changes, the city has not checked the pace of its inhabitants ejection.

Figure 4: Recent population growth per nationality (1991-2006)



(*) Foreigners refers to non-Spanish people registered in the Census.

Source: Own making from Censos y Padrón Municipal

III.2. The international origin of Barcelona's population

At mid-2006 foreigners living in the city amounted to 269,595 and they represented 16.5% of the population (Table 1), setting a strange rise in the city demographic story. Ten years before, their number only amounted to 2%, which reports on the speed of the change experienced.

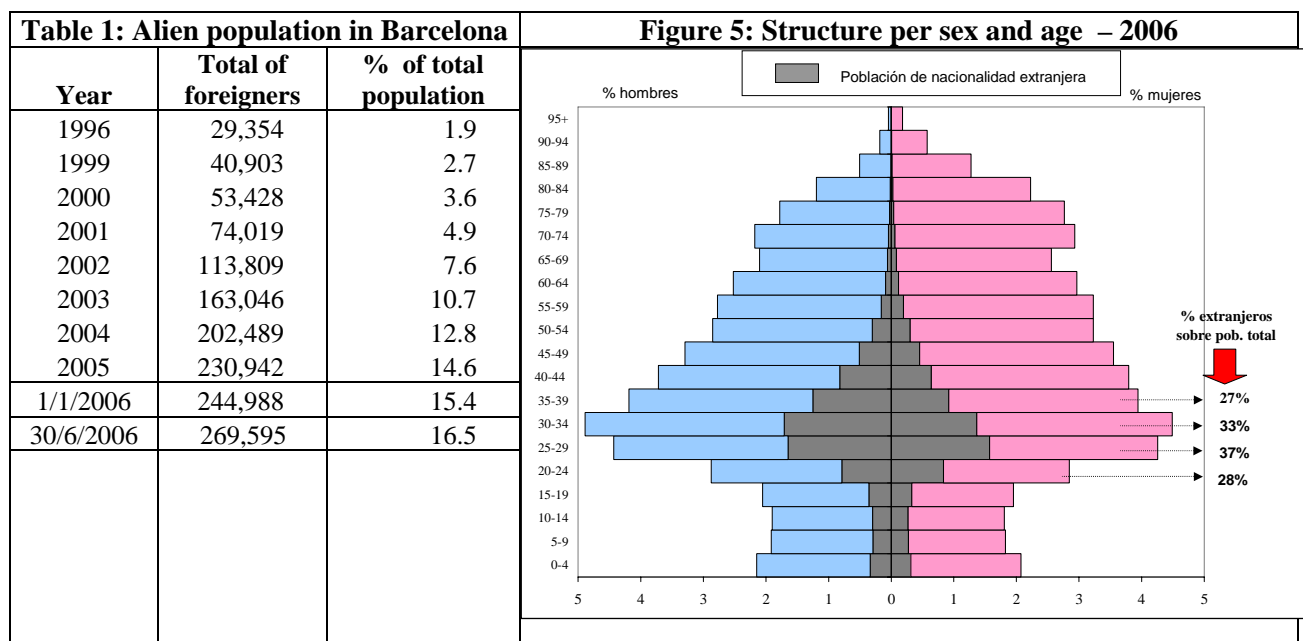
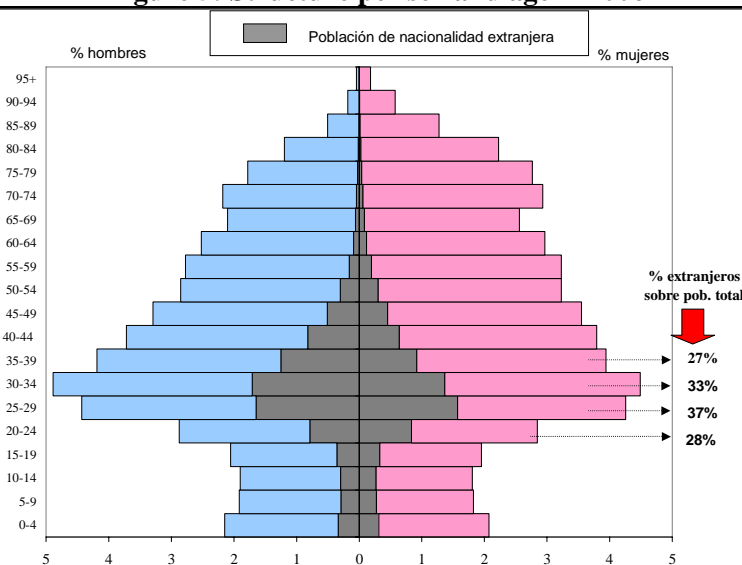


Figure 5: Structure per sex and age – 2006



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Censos y Padrones de Población (www.bcn.cat).

The growth of Barcelona's foreign population implies the city is leaving its regressive demographic dynamics and encourages as well as the population outstanding rejuvenation (Figure 5). However, the city still presents a mature pyramid, where more than 20 % is over 65 years old and where the children and young people (0-14 years) are below 12%.

Foreign citizens amount to more than a third of adults aged from 25 to 34 years and to 30% of adults in the next age ranges (20-24 and 35-39 years). There are only 5 ZEGs (Sant Andreu, Verneda, Horta, Montjuïc and Les Corts) where the percentage of foreigners is below 10 %, although its impact is higher in the 7 neighbourhoods with more than 20 % of foreigners (Figure 6), such as Gòtic (57%), Raval (46%), Parc (34%) and Barceloneta (24,1%), in the district of Ciutat Vella, in peripheral Trinitat Vella (27%) and Ciutat Meridiana (23%) and in Poble Sec (26%).

Figure 6: % of foreigners over total pop. - 2006

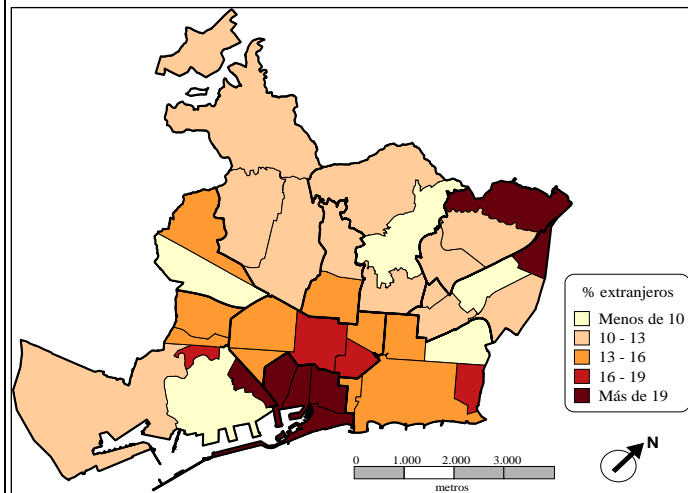
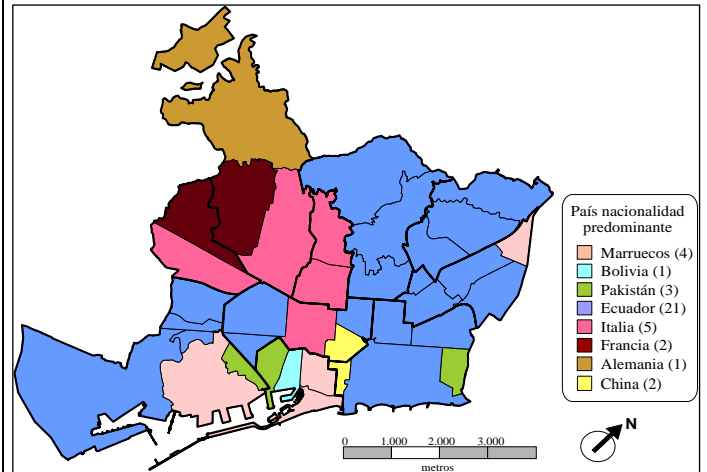


Figure 7: Dominant nationality -2006



Source: Own making from data of Ajuntament de Barcelona, Servei d'Estadística (www.bcn.cat).

It is not easy to make the social profile of foreigners residing in Barcelona from the official statistics available. For instance, 73% of the registered people in 2006 belong to the group of developing countries; almost three of every ten have higher studies, a percentage that exceeds the city average, of 20%. However, almost half of the foreigners over 16 years have only completed primary school, when for the total of people living in Barcelona, people with only primary school are just a fourth of the total amount. The truth is that Barcelona became in this period of time a culture melting pot and in an inventory of foreign immigration situations.

From the point of view of social diversity, in the last years there has been a change of race features among foreigners living in Barcelona (Bayona, 2007; Centelles and Sánchez, 2005). Equatorians are the largest group, taking over from Moroccans, and they amount to 13 % of the total of foreigners. It is, beside, the largest nationality in 21 of the 38 ZEGs (Figure 7). In fact, 6 of the 12 largest nationalities are from Latin-America: Equatorian plus Colombian, Bolivian, Argentinian and Dominican. Italy and France are the only developed countries appearing among the 12 largest nationalities in the city; nationalities that ten years ago included Germany, United Kingdom and Japon as well. However, French, German and Italian nationals are still the largest groups in the

highest-income ZEGs. Chinese people are the majority group in Estació Nord and Fort Pius, while Pakistanis are the majority group in El Raval and Poble-sec and in Barri Besòs.

Table 2: Foreign population per nationalities. Barcelona 1996 – 2006.

No.	Census (Marzo 1996)				Updating Census (1/1/2006)			
	Country	Total	%	% accumulated	Country	Total	%	% accumulated
1	Morocco	3196	10.9	10.9	Ecuador	31423	12.8	12.8
2	Peru	2094	7.1	18.0	Peru	16115	6.6	19.4
3	France	1961	6.7	24.7	Morocco	15522	6.3	25.7
4	Italy	1901	6.5	31.2	Colombia	14616	6.0	31.7
5	Argentina	1871	6.4	37.6	Italy	14447	5.9	37.6
6	The Philippines	1854	6.3	43.9	Pakistan	14251	5.8	43.4
7	Germany	1824	6.2	50.1	Argentina	13265	5.4	48.8
8	United Kingdom	1094	3.7	53.9	China	11632	4.7	53.6
9	Dominican Rep.	1066	3.6	57.5	Bolivia	11495	4.7	58.3
10	Chile	819	2.8	60.3	France	9061	3.7	62.0
11	China	804	2.7	63.1	Dominican Rep.	7697	3.1	65.1
12	Japan	803	2.7	65.8	The Philippines	6660	2.7	67.8
	Other	10029	34.2	100.0	Other	78804	32.2	100.0
	Total	29316	100.0		Total	244988	100.0	

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Censos y Padrones de Población (www.bcn.cat).

The study of the foreign population determines the only low-income population segment that is growing within the city, the opposite situation of the above general tendencies. Foreigners prefer to enter badly-kept and lower-priced buildings, as they prefer to locate in the city than in any other locations. Finally, students, artists, small traders or entrepreneurs, professionals settle in the city depending on their economic capacity, but they always look for the neighbourhood that best adjust to their needs. In this sense, the preferred neighbourhoods for people arriving to the city are the neighbourhoods that best keep their identity, the renewed ones or those closer to the seaside.

III.2.1. A sharp income-level increase

Every five years the Town Council of Barcelona estimates to the so-called Standardized Synthetic Rate of Social Unequality³ (ISDS, in Spanish), an indicator that, its name notwithstanding, is seen as an estimation of inhabitants' life quality level. According to this indicator, life quality in Barcelona decreased in the first half of the '90s (the ISDS went from 734 in 1991 to 729 in 1996), as a result of the unemployment rate increase, one of the elements used to estimate it. On the other side, in later times, a comparison of ZEGs indicators, either the ISDS from 1996 to 2001 or the

³ This rate is founded on the methodology for the U.N. Human Development Rate. It takes into account the unemployment rate, life expectancy at birth and the rate of higher-studies inhabitants and the rate of illiteracy. It is standardised to allow comparing it over time and over different territories.

family Income⁴ from 2000 to 2005, points out to an increase of life quality and of Income for the whole city. The ISDS really grew from 1996 to 2001, going from 729 to 780; family income increased 22 % from 2000 to 2005, that is, it grows at a yearly rate over 4 % (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2007). The economic indicators for the whole city present a clear improvement. However, the rise of economic indicators does not alter much a well-structured social hierarchy, in which the ZEGs of district 5 (Sarrià-Pedralbes), with incomes that exceed 40 % the city average, or of district 2, l'Eixample, are still well over the average (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Available family income – 2005. Barcelona = 100.

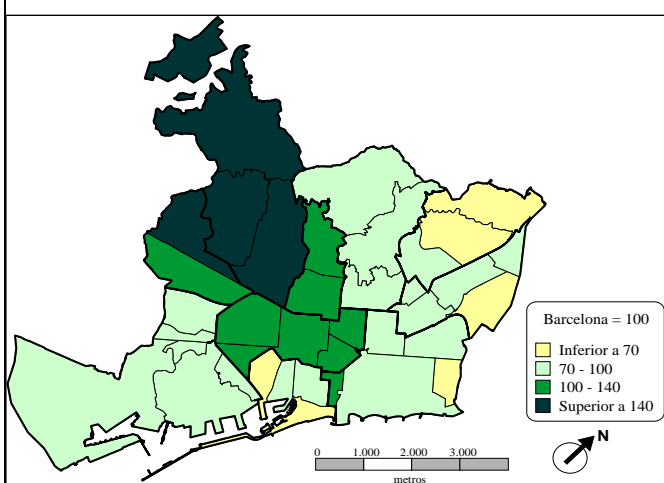
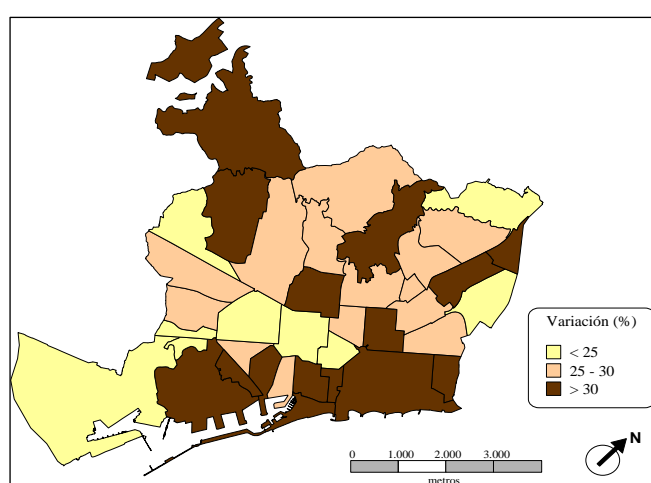


Figure 9: % Available family income variation – 2000-2005



Source: Own making from data of Ajuntament de Barcelona, Servei d'Estadística (www.bcn.cat).

On the other side of the balance there appear the ZEGs of the city districts that suffered a strong increase caused by the inner migration of the 1960's, such as the peripheral districts of Nou Barris and Sant Andreu. They include ZEGs with incomes that are 40 % below the average and three times lower than those of any higher income areas.

However, in Figure 9 there is an analysis of the elements of change. First of all, the main income growth axe is located on the ZEGs closer to the water front. From Poblenou to Montjuic, Gòtic is the only district that does not increase its income over 30 %. It is to be pointed out the changes of Barceloneta and Raval that, in just 5 years, have increased their income 50 and 44 %, respectively. Thus, although they are still among the lowest-income districts, their betterment have made them to leave the final positions to Ciutat Meridiana and Bon Pastor. The district of Besòs is the third lowest-income district, although it presents an income increase of 34 %. On the second place, some

⁴ In the case of the ISDS, information is available for 1991, 1996 and 2001. In relation to the Family Income available, data per ZEG refer to years 2000 and 2005. This is the reason to combine both variable in the city trend analysis.

ZEGs close to highest-income districts present a higher increase of their incomes, which implies an expansion of the existing axes, as for instance in the districts of Gràcia and Horta or Fort Pius and Clot. In short, it is seen that, in spite of the strong social structures, the magnitude of the processes taking place in the city is so significant as to point to social-demographic changes in relatively short periods of time, as we have seen.

IV. A NEW CITY, FOR WHOM?

The features of the social-demographic trends experienced in Barcelona in the last decade have been identified above. As we have only seen the acting dynamics in a secondary manner, we need to complete our analysis studying change mechanisms. In this sense, social and population renewal has two solid indicators that may help us to approach change dynamics acting in the city. First, the net migration rate per school level gives information on population replacement processes affected by migratory flows, a factor already mentioned as basic for social changes in the city. Secondly, the percentage of higher-studies population variation from 1996 to 2006 combines changes on population school level and new inhabitants arriving to each district in the last decade.

In 1996, 15.7 % of Barcelona inhabitants held higher-studies degrees; 10 years later, the percentage rose to 20,3 %. Once again, the interest falls on time variations. Thus, ZEGs such as Parc have changed the percentage in 12 % and Poblenou, Barceloneta, Raval, Gràcia or Fort Pius in more than 7 %. They result in very different situations that talk about the existence of highly differentiated dynamics (Figure 10). Likewise, in every district⁵, net migration rates per higher studies (graduates and degree holders) exceed in much those for lower school levels. This is an usual pattern in migratory exchanges, and the most interesting conduct is in those cases where a replacement process is identified, for instance, when there are net gains of higher studies population in comparison to the negative balance for people with a lower school level. This situation takes place in half of the city districts (Figure 11).

⁵ This information is not available in relation to ZEGs and it is published since 1999. Therefore, analysis is made for districts and for the most recent term.

Figure 10: % Increase of higher-studies population from 1996 to 2006

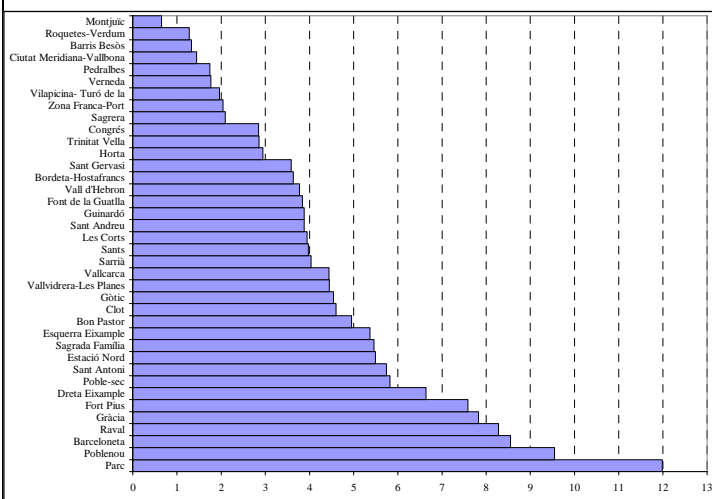
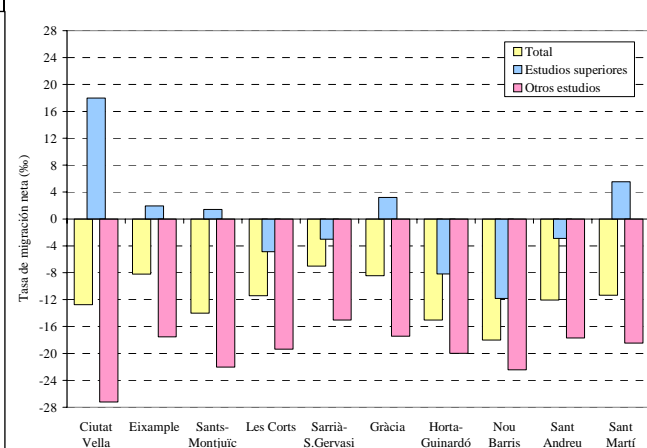


Figure 11: Net migration rates per school level and district (2000-2005)



Source: Own making from data of Ajuntament de Barcelona, Servei d'Estadística (www.bcn.cat).

Among the different dynamics taking place within a city, we have to study gentrification both of the older city and of new areas, other population replacement processes, and, finally, some specific mechanisms related to foreign population settlement.

IV.1. Different gentrification models: Ciutat Vella, Vila Olímpica and Gayxample

The most significant changes taking place in the city are located in the neighbourhoods of the district of Ciutat Vella. Thus, it is the district with heavier net migration rates, both in relation to net gains of higher studies-degree holding migrants and in relation to the ejection of lower school level-degree holding population. Likewise, this district encloses the ZEGs with a strong increase of higher school level degree holding population. Both indicators are the best witness for the gentrification process undergone by the historical area of Barcelona that has widely improved its life quality thanks to its urban renewal. Alabart and López Villanueva (1996) and Martínez Rigol (2001) already pointed out to some slight gentrification traces in the decade of '90s, a process that recent indicators clearly confirm. In the case of the Raval neighbourhood, for instance, Subirats and Rius point out the recent arrival to the area of “modern” individuals, artists, professionals, Erasmus-grant students and other “alternates” (Subirats and Rius, 2004). According to them, new residents answer to a robot portrait of higher-studies-degree holding individuals, who are not businessmen or company executives, and who settle there looking for a “different life style”.

The change in resident profile is evident in aspects such as the real estate market, where there is an increasing demand for lofts or rental of furnished apartments or of small-size housing adjusting to the demand and needs of the new residents. On the other side, the low-income families who are

already living there and, above all, those low-income families that try to settle there are ejected or find that the area where they can settle is restricted to badly-maintained buildings that have the cheaper prices. Low income families can not afford a neighbourhood that is gentrifying little by little and where the expectations of profit from rehabilitation are outstanding. In this way, it happens that when the neighbourhood betterment and dignification, so much demanded by members of the older generation, are achieved, they imply such a land price rise that the area becomes forbidden ground for whoever wants to settle there, their own children for instance, or it may result even in their own ejection. It is meaningful that Ciutat Vella is one of the city areas where real estate *mobbing* is most often denounced; it has turned into a specially delicate problem because it involves very-low-income families that had been used for many years to pay rents that are far from present-day market prices and who, very often, are aged people.

The close relationship between urban renewal and social change in Ciutat Vella explains the large inner district differences and its neighbourhoods. It is, then, the district with the widest inner heterogeneity in family income available in the city (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2007). It is the best sample of social component mixture, ranging from new gentrifying-profile residents to aged minimum-income-earning women who are living on their own and to foreigners of almost every social class. A time comparison, however, shows that higher incomes prevail on the area after every rehabilitation works. The situation implies a strong social segregation of its streets.

District tertiarization and, specially, the metamorphosis of business are two of the most evident aspects, because a large part of the new business offer is addressed to the new resident or to visitors of the historical area cultural centres, people whose demand and purchasing capacity are much higher than those of traditional residents. In fact, this district shopping offer is set as an example of the creative and innovating trade that is, little by little, replacing the traditional store (Cosialls and Méndez, 2007). Likewise, the offer of night leisure places and restaurants help to change the neighbourhoods that present different faces depending if it day or night. Neighbours complaints caused by the night noise and altercations or by the tourist traffic are constantly making news in the newspapers. This kind of conflicts are the best evidence that these areas are daily-life spaces and of the problems raised by the different usages of the neighbourhood.

Barcelona has had other gentrification experiences different from the classical model of the decayed historical city. The clearest social content shift is present in Vila Olímpica, in Poblenou, in the district of Sant Martí. Poblenou is, in fact, the second ZEG with the highest increase of higher-studies population from 1996 to 2006 (see Figure 11); it gained 8700 habitantes in 2006, its income

is 35 % higher than the average income in Barcelona and it also has one of the highest rates of schooling and occupation in the city. Far from promoting the access of middle classes, urban redevelopment carried out in this neighbourhood has turned it into another elite-generating focus. Once again, the neighbourhood has lost its traditional popular composition. In this case, there is no a direct ejection effect of residents, but resident renewal starts with the appearance of the highest professional categories (Vila, 2004). It also generates a revaluation process of nearby areas, which get contagiaded of the nearby rising tendencies.

The Vila Olímpica is a reflection on the social building of new neighbourhoods. Thus, according to Valera et al. (1998), the Vila Olímpica's own local identity was wrought very early, and it has such a force as to put aside the official name of Nova Icària and replace it by the name given to it by its residents (Vila Olímpica). This neighbourhood has an active social, commercial and communitarian life, with equipments and utilities that activate it. The local residents association and their strong relationship was born from their coming together to channel their complaints in relation to the defects in the buildings and lack of community equipments of the new neighbourhood, one of the districts with the higher natality rates in the city. The social fabric was consolidated by the fact that all its residents were newly arrived and by their homogeneity, which according to Valera's study is due to their large social-economic similitude among them and not to their belonging to the same social group. As a conclusion, the study refers to the level of satisfaction of residents, derived from the image of social prestige associated to the neighbourhood and to the strong space appropriation and usage even on week ends, far from the non-working day emptiness of other city areas. It is significant that residents keep complaining about the "invasion" they suffer in week ends when a large number of visitors come to enjoy the neighbourhood and about the troubles generated by night leisure activities in the area. It is a good evidence that citizens and the city do not renounce to their new spaces, that may have very different usages. The neighbourhood of Vila Olímpica is the place of residence of a small number of inhabitants of Barcelona and even fewer people have a boat moored in its sport harbour; however, this neighbourhood has integrated as a leisure area not only due to its large offer of restaurants and bars, but also because it has become a usual beach or walk area where non-registered pedlars of fake trademark goods usually sell their merchandise. A good example of the multiple functions of urban spaces.

A third type of gentrification is evident in l'Eixample, where part of the district has received the specific migration of gays. It is known by the name of *Gayxample*. Although there is not yet a quantified analysis of the phenomunm, it is recorded the arrival to the area of a well defined profile: young people who live on their own or in couple, with higher studies and earnings over the average.

These new residents prefer the town center and to be close to a rich cultural and commercial offer. In the last years, the area offer gay-friendly leisure and trading, a fact that increases its attraction for this group of people, who are comfortable in an environment that openly meets its needs and likes. It is a similar process to that started in other cities where the so-called *pink-zones* are successful, for instance the Chueca neighbourhood in Madrid (Rodríguez, 2005).

Apart from gentrification processes, other population arrival/changing processes are detected in the city. In the cases of Gràcia and Sants, the arrival of new residents overlaps a much aged structure in two neighbourhoods with a long tradition and personality. López Villanueva points out the duality of the family structure in the district of Gràcia, where households of couples or of aged singles compete with a new type of families (López Villanueva, 2006).

Finally, similar processes take place in the punctual actions supplying a newly-built housing with a certain quality. For instance, the Maquinista estate in Sant Andreu, a promotion built on the limit with one of the worst economical indicator rates of the city, the neighbourhood of Bon Pastor, or it may happen in the neighbourhood of La Marina in Zona Franca, where they are building 11,000 new houses.

As another feature to take into account, some of the new residential estates of the city present some very specific characteristics. They are three or four apartment towers that share a common resident-exclusive area (with garden, playground and, in some cases, swimming pool). This type of estate was not frequent until now in Barcelona and it is a clear example of the growing tendency towards space privatization. At this moment, this system is to replace another environment with a lower social or aesthetical categoria, or it is adopted just to make the offer more attractive.

IV.2. The Thousand and One faces of foreign immigration

Foreign immigrating dynamics introduce new features in the working mechanisms of this population segment. Thus, it is usual to detect residential race-stratification as well as concentration and segretation processes by nationality, which are essential to understand immigration location patterns. In the concrete case of Barcelona, geographer Jordi Bayona in his doctoral dissertation (2007) arrives to the conclusion that there are three different foreign spatial implementation strategies. First, some nationalities are characterised by patterns of high concentration and segregation; for instance, Pakistanies and Phillippines concentrate in Ciutat Vella. Secondly, an intermediate level of concentration and segregation characterizes Moroccans, Chineses, or Dominicans, and nationals of European Union countries. Lastly, the above author

points out to the existence of a dispersed model, with low concentration and segregation rates, attributed to Latin-Americans and Eastern Europe citizens. In any case, Bayona stresses that housing is the main factor for residential segregation of foreigners and he re-affirms the relevance of social-economic conditions to understand foreigners location. Housing access difficulties and searching for a lower-cost housing, with the terrible living conditions associated, are pointed as the true risk components of social exclusion. In short, present trends point towards a social-economic segregation more than to race segregation.

Present diversity (according to Centelles and Sánchez, in 2004 there were 155 nationalities living together) and the increasing dispersion of foreigners are clear elements that modify the daily life of the city. The authors of the book *Retrat en colors de la Barcelona de les cultures* (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003) try to summarise the cultural diversity and heterogeneity of migrant stories through a large selection of pictures of foreigners living in Barcelona. The work shows a large range of visible examples of foreigners in the city, as well as an adjustment of the population to the new situation. Examples can be sorted in three large types: first of all, answers are supplied by immigrants on two large fronts: associations and shopping. The large number of associations incorporated – usually by nationalities- act as power amalgamators and open collaboration paths among its members. On the other side, a new shopping fabric is wrought on the basis of the stores opened by foreigners and expressly addressed to their countrymen. Thus, money-and-call centers, specific groceries, hairdressers, and other shops (Serra, 2007; Parella, 2004) appear in answer to the demand expressed by foreigners. Immigrants make a different use of public spaces, which are transformed easily into meeting or leisure places, and usages depend largely on nationality and/or gender. For instance, it is easy to find groups of Pakistan people playing cricket on the street in Ciutat Vella or Dominicans meeting after Sunday Mass in the Church of Sant Agustí.

The second type of examples is generated by the receptor population, among whom public institutions play a relevant role. The work *Retrat en colors de la Barcelona de les cultures* presents some examples: Barcelona's Consell Islàmic (Muslim Council) created to mediate between Muslims and the receptor population or the local television news programme (Barcelona Televisió, BTV) in different languages (specifically, 18 languages and 2 dialects), to give information and news about the city, Spain or the country of origin. There are also some replies that show that the adjustment process is still in process: the complaints of Shop Owners Associations about the long working hours of the stores managed by foreigners or about the lack of permits of the wholesale clothing stores in Trafalgar street (the limit between Ciutat Vella and Eixample) which in a few years are owned by Chinese, are just some examples of a race-marked conflict.

A third type refers to the interaction between the arriving and the receiving society. From an individual point of view, mixed marriages or the birth of mixed parents' children have increased. From a commercial point of view, the success of ethnical restaurants for indigenous clients complements with the expansion of foreigner-managed specialized stores addressed to the general public: tourist souvenir stores, small household gadget stores, small groceries, cheap gifts stores, etc. are some of the most frequent shops that are spreading all over the city. It is increasingly easier to find a large range of exotic food (fruits, vegetables, species, etc.) in every supermarket or local market, in answer to the growing demand for this type of products. Inter-culturality is also found in immigrants access to most traditional practices of Catalan society. For instance, the work *Retrat en colors de la Barcelona de les cultures* points out that foreign immigrants have joined *colles de castellers* (traditional associations that build human towers in Catalonia), as in the neighbourhood of Sants. Another instance is played by foreigners who acquire a working business (a bar, restaurant, hairdresser, etc...) and who, instead of redirecting it towards the population of his/her own nationality or turning it into an ethnical business, wants to keep the same character and clients that the business had until that moment. Another example is the appearance of stores that enable clients to buy and pay in Barcelona for a product or good that is distributed in the country of origin. This is the working of one of the largest household appliances store chains in Equator, that has opened several premises in Barcelona. All these activities are innovating in Barcelona and give a variety of replies to a diversity of situations.

V. IN CONCLUSION

The above headings have given proof of the changes suffered by Barcelona in the last decades, both at an urban and at social or economic levels. Thus, in the last decades, the city has turned from mirroring itself on large European capital cities into creating its own model, studied and imitated by other towns. Its transformation is praised and admired by people who understand that its changes are the result of its modernization, as well as questioned by others, who think that Barcelona has lost its essence in its transformation.

Beyond any possible evaluation of its metamorphosis, Barcelona is an excellent subject to study the interaction between urban renewal and social changes in a city, between public policies on urban planning and the social-demographic changes in the different districts. Barcelona's urban scenarios show its various answers to social-demographic changes, answers that range from replacement and co-existence, to adjustment and interaction of old and new structures.

A final summary of the above trends points out the existence of three well-differentiated social-economic situations in the city. First of all, the highest-income well-off families live comfortably through this urban elite-generating process. In a second place, the group of high-middle income professionals, technicians and specialized workers is adjusting easily to every urban changes which, in fact, they are actively helping to carry out. However, at the lowest end of the social scale, the middle-low and low income families (made up by pension-earning retired people, non-specialized workers, reduced-salary young people and low-purchasing level alien immigrants) are ejected from their town and find that the areas where they can reside are increasingly more restricted, or who simply watch with much concern and from outside the daily consequences of Barcelona's economical success.

Within this context, it is not surprising that concerned people question Barcelona's social sustainability and talk about the need to open participative processes that may give their voice and vote back to citizens, and about restating any social costs of economical progress. The future of the city's social model is at stake.

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