

Urban geography of Catalonia

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1. What do we call a city in Catalonia?

There have been several attempts of defining what a city is, but there isn't yet any valid conclusion for anywhere or anytime (CAPEL 1975). Therefore, we must state that Catalonia is a territory with a surface of 32,000 Km² and about 6 million inhabitants, and what can be considered an important city in the Catalan urban system may not be necessarily so in the Spanish, European or World urban system¹.

It is not that the geographers of the Catalan school² haven't reflected on the theoretical aspects of the city. ALIÓ (1985), CARRERAS (1980), OLIVERAS (1985), VILAGRASA (1984) among others, achieve interesting reflections in the first parts of their doctoral thesis on what is considered city or urban by the geographical science; but when they publish it they prefer analysing a specific city or part of it rather than the theoretical questions. CARRERAS (1983) could be the only exception within this possible Catalan geographical school. We shouldn't forget to mention the contribution of CAPEL (1969, 1971, 1972 a, 1972 b, 1972 c, 1974, 1975) with his comments on exhaustive bibliographies about these matters.

The city is seen as an agglomeration of a certain size and density, industry, retail and services being the main economic activities, used as much by the inhabitants of the city as by the inhabitants of the region organised by it; and the inhabitants of the city have a certain urban culture. It's a matter of establishing the quantitative limits of the different aspects that have just been mentioned; to the Statistic National Institute (INE) a municipality having more than 10,000 inhabitants is a city; the municipality is the smallest administrative unity of Spain, and usually the more disintegrated level from which we can obtain statistical information, which is an important problem because there are vast municipalities with more than one nucleus (that was the case of Tortosa until 1981), and there are municipalities so small that its surface is completely occupied by buildings that invade also a part of the rural neighbour municipalities (that's the case of Igualada); what has been said so far implies that in many cases, statistics have to be very carefully handed

or manipulated. Another aspect that must be kept in mind is that often, there are villages having less than 3,000 inhabitants (Sort, in the Pyrenees, Gandesa, in the high part of the Ebro, Falset...) and situated in very poor rural areas, which fill central functions (doctors, pharmacies, high schools, firemen...) for such areas, but they can't be said to lead an urban way of life, because the latter is based on social variety, the possibility of anonymity, the wide cultural offers, etc.

In the following sections of this article we'll see what it is that different authors have considered city and urban in Catalonia.

Comment on map 1

The municipality of Tortosa before 1977 included the nowadays independent municipalities of l'Aldea, Camarles, Deltebre and Sant Jaume d'Enveja. In 1950 the surface of the municipality of Tortosa was 462 Km² and the population 46,000 people, of which only 15,000 lived in the city of Tortosa; 7,600 lived in what today is Deltebre, 2,800 in Sant Jaume d'Enveja, 2,200 in Camarles and about 1,200 in l'Aldea; the rest (about 18,000 people) lived in other nucleus of the municipality. In 1981, the municipality of Tortosa had a population of 31,000 people of which 21,000 live in the city of Tortosa and 10,000 in the rest of the municipality. The municipality of Deltebre has nearly 10,000 inhabitants, San Jaume d'Enveja nearly 3,200, there are 2,600 in Camarles and 1,500 in l'Aldea.

The municipality of Igualada is at present completely built and its population is 32,000 people; but most the inhabitants of Vilanova del Camí (8,400 people), Santa Maria de Montbui (8,800 people) and Odena (2,600 people) live in districts integrated in Igualada urban scheme, therefore, the real city has more than 40,000 inhabitants.

2. Revision of bibliography

The urban studies have been carried out from different fields: geographers, historians, architects, economists, engineers, sociologists... have taken charge to describe the city, to say what's its use, to show who takes advantage from its use, who takes advantage from its construction, to indicate the problems of the city and point out how it could function better...

In Catalonia, the same as everywhere else in the world, the cities have played an essential role in territorial organization, this being an aspect that hasn't been neglected by the specialists mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. The first question we may ask is: who has studied the city -the cities- in Catalonia, and what has been studied from them?.

To answer this question we have to turn to two works: CASASSAS (1977) and CARRERAS and VILAGRASA (1983), where we can find a wide bibliography with interesting though unfortunately short comments. Carreras and Vilagrasa indicate the decade 1960-1970 as the beginning of the increase of urban studies. The economic growth of this period in Spain implied very large internal immigration flows from agricultural underdeveloped areas to the cities of industrial and touristic areas needing labour force. Such migratory currents meant:

a) The construction of a large number of worker's flats for this social groups with low economic level, with the natural speculation (ROCH and GUERRA 1981).

b) The new working quarters had a lack of services (schools, hospitals, public transports...) causing a great number of protest movements (C.E.U., 1976; ALABART, 1982).

c) The concern for these problems and its solution acted as a fuse for the explosion of urban studies.

This spirited starting point against Franco's speculator administration (1939-1975) took the studies to specific places making two big groups according to two subjects:

1) the production of urban space from studies of property and landowners, building permits, in relation to industrialization.

2) social movements to obtain an improvement of the standard of living, an analysis of the reasons for these movements.

But what haven't been done are thorough investigations about the cities-system in Catalonia, neither from quantitative position nor from regionalist functional classifications. There have been several short essays about the generalities of the Catalan urban system and its evolution, and some references can be found in the traditional books titled *Geography of Catalonia*; still, the most interesting works are the following:

1) IGLÉSIES (1958): from the date of the work we can foresee its point of view: it deals with the cities situation and location, with its historical evolution insisting on the essential moments (XIIIth and XIVth centuries, when Catalonia was a Mediterranean power; on the importance of industry in the XIXth century for the morphology of the city), with the urban house, with the role played by the cities as centre of small areas (the so called «comarcas»). It's a very interesting descriptive work, since it shows the Catalan cities as they were before the late immigrations impact (occurred mainly between 1960 and 1975) and because it follows the regionalist paradigm in all senses.

2) VILÀ VALENTÍ (1984): due to the author's education, this work is also within the regional geography current. It gives a vision of the urban evolution in Catalonia from halfway of the XIXth century until the present days, based especially on the population aspect, making a special point of the three periods of formation of the contemporary cities in Catalonia:

a) 1850-1870, with the establishment of the railway net system, the commercial and industrial push caused by the textile industry, the demolition of the walls and the construction of first extensions.

b) 1920-1925, period with numerous public works (among others, the underground of Barcelona), which means the first massive immigration flows in a short period of time.

c) 1960-1980, time of an important economic growth with a very strong avalanche of immigrants, which consequence is the present urbanistic chaos.

3) CASASSAS and BERTRAN (1983): the fact that this essay was written for a popular work gives it a simple and descriptive tone. These authors, using other works in which Casassas had taken part³ and an exhaustive knowledge of the Catalan territory, classify the cities hierarchically according to the telephone calls flowing in and they classify the cities functionally with the following categories: rural cities, influence centres limited to a small part of the space, portuary cities, touristic cities, cities that are the centre of active areas due to a strong industry, big industrial centres, big territorial centres, dormitory cities of Barcelona metropolitan area and Barcelona.

4) CARRERAS (1985): the marxist ideology of the author created in this work, despite its appearance of a regional geography manual, some vindicative aspects and questions: the social segregation in the cities, the serious problems of immigrants (bad housing quality among others), the services deficit in working-class suburbs and the benefits of certain parts of the Catalan territory (Barcelona and its metropolitan area) for being the main

centre of the transport system. There isn't any description of the urban system in itself, but only of the general aspects that can be found in most of the Catalan cities.

5) ROCA (1985): this work starts from the idea that «the cities are at the same time the cause and the effect of its influence field, and from there, they set up the politic, economic and cultural centres». It considers a city in Catalonia, the nucleus with more than 10,000 people and following the HARRIS and ULLMAN (1959) indications it deals with Catalan cities according to three aspects:

a) the cities as central points of the territory for the satisfaction of every-day needs (retail, banking, medicine, schools, cinemas); Roca points out four levels according to the specialization of services and the served area: cities of local, «comarcal», subregional and metropolitan level.

b) the cities as transport focus, and the role played by infrastructures (the port for industrial development of Barcelona, or the petrochemical industry in Tarragona) or ubication (Lleida).

c) the cities as concentration nucleus of specialised activities: mining, industry, tourism.

6) CARRERAS and MARGALEF (1977) describe the evolution of urbanization in Catalonia, a phenomenon closely tied to industrialization and to the population evolution; they conclude this analysis saying that if a policy of generalised endowment for the whole population is wanted, it's necessary to consider the role of the industry to keep and develop a sufficient network of «comarcal» development centres, in order to have a territory without excessive unbalances.

As a conclusion we would say that when we want to analyse the urban network of Catalonia, there are four aspects to be considered: the population evolution, the industrialization process, the role played by cities and the area they organize.

3. The cities of Catalonia

It's difficult to talk about the existence of the Catalan urban system for a simple reason: Catalonia is part of a state, Spain, and it causes that some urban areas (the ones of Tarragona-Reus, Girona, the coastal-touristic city) and the Barcelona metropolitan area, have a zone of influence and economic and social relations that outdo the administrative limits of Catalonia.

The Spanish statistics made by the INE provide information about the administrative units (municipalities, provinces, autonomic communities); in map 3 the problems of this information can be observed: it's not the same the municipality of Barcelona (97 Km² and 1,750,000 people) than the **real** city of Barcelona, a belt of 150 Km² including the municipalities of Badalona, Cornellà de Llobregat, Esplugues de Llobregat, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Sant Adrià del Besòs, Sant Joan Despí, Sant Just Desvern and Santa Coloma de Gramanet, adding up a total of 2,626,000 people (Barcelona included). Therefore, if we want to apply the rank-size model, we musn't mistake city for municipality as it's actually happened already (MIRALLES, ROSES y ARMET, 1982): the municipality having more inhabitants in Catalonia is Barcelona, the second is l'Hospitalet de Llobregat and the third is Badalona. All three of them are same city.

The urban belt of Barcelona is a metropolitan area, that means: organization and influence in economic and social aspects of a territory much more extensive than the metropolis itself but it can't be said that Catalonia urban system is unbalanced because it's ma-

crocephalous, as CABRÉ (in press) has very well explained, because this urban belt organizes, not only Catalonia, but also an important part of the Iberian Peninsula (EQUIPO URBANO, 1971) and possibly a part of the South of France.

In order to coordinate certain services and carry out a minimally coherent planification in the nearest urban area to Barcelona, there is the *Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation*, gathering 27 municipalities; the mobility within the BMC for work or study reasons is very high (BMC, 1982) hence the need of this administrative entity; but the BMC is not wide enough to regulate Barcelona metropolitan area: the 45 minutes isochrone (centred in Barcelona) that can be achieved with the public transports includes 4 of the most important cities of Catalonia: Granollers (45,000 people), Mataró (97,000 people), Sabadell (186,000 people) and Terrassa (155,000 people). This are alimited by the 45 minutes isochrone is the real motor of the economy in Catalonia, where the majority of the population (more than 4 million people) of industry, of private terciary sector (banks, insurances, real-estates...), of public terciary sector (municipal, BCM, Generalitat, Spanish Government or Court of Justice's civil servants...) is concentrated.

About Catalan territorial organization we speak in another article of this number (see Casassas work), therefore we don't explain in detail the influence areas of each city. Going back to the subject of the urban hierarchy, is obvious that Barcelona and its metropolitan area (about 3,300 Km² and 4 million inhabitants of the 32,000 Km² and 6 million inhabitants Catalonia has), surpasses, and how, the administrative limits of Catalonia where territory is concerned; the rest of Catalonia, that is, the 28,700 Km² and the 2 million people have quite a balanced urban network, since the four main cities (Tarragona-Reus, Lleida, Girona and Manresa) cover and organise the whole Catalonia, except maybe certain parts of the Pyrenees and some rural and almost deserted zones in the administrative limits between the provinces of Lleida and Tarragona.

Tarragona and Reus

Tarragona and Reus are two different cities, 13 Km away from each other and the urban centre of the South part of Catalonia. Reus is the commercialization centre of the agricultural production zone, whereas Tarragona is an administrative and industrial centre (the main petrochemical nucleus in Catalonia and one of the first in Spain).

Tarragona was during the Roman Empire, one of the main cities in the Iberian Peninsula, the old nucleus of the city is, therefore, historical and monumental, attractive to tourists and with retail commerce and residential functions. The expansion area dates from halfway through the XIXth century, it started after the demolition of the walls; the Rambla is situated there, a symbol of the city's economic recoverance, as well as other streets connecting the old town with the port. The extension zones of the city take the direction of the main ways of communication (road N-340 and motorway Barcelona-Valencia and the road leading to Reus). During the '60s immigrant quarters were built on the outskirts, segregated and marginated from the old nucleus. Until 1930, Tarragona economy was based in viticulture and viniculture above all, and its commercialization through the port. The construction of the tobacco factory was especially important to the present industrial impulse and situation, as well as the establishment of CAMPSA (state monopole of oil) and the Sulfur Union, way back in the '30s; the industrial expansion was completed in the decade of the '60s with the creation of the industrial states of Entrevies, Francolí and Trèvol, where many petrochemical industries are located.

The municipality of Tarragona has a population of 110,000 inhabitants, of which around 40,000 are working population: 22,6% work in the industrial sector (we have to remind that the petrochemical industry generates few jobs) and almost 60% in the services sector.

Reus.- The first wall limited what today is the old town, and in its centre Mercadal square stands the Town Hall; this quarter is formed by some narrow streets in which the traffic is very difficult; it's in a constant and continuous degradation process since a long time ago and it's suffering the well known substitution process, in which the traditional residents leave the quarter and it is occupied by the most economically weak social sectors, if not marginated. During the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries the centre of the economic activities leaves the old town and establishes itself in the extension built at the end of the XIXth century. In the beginning of the XXth century the city's construction process stops due to the crisis suffered by the agriculture of the zone, although the «Quintana xalats» are from this period. After the Civil War the economic growth takes up again, accelerating with the inmigration flows of the '60s and, like in Tarragona (and other Catalan cities) with the construction of new quarters on the outskirts lacking infrastructures and services. The economic basis of the city is commerce, since not being an official administrative centre, 54.6% of the assets are in the tertiary sector; nowadays, the commerce experiments a certain decrease due to the constant depopulation of the agricultural area of which the city is the centre. Reus has at present 80,000 people .

Lleida

Lleida is the city where the mountain roads coming from the Pyrenees and the motorways linking Barcelona and Tarragona with Zaragoza, converge. The city has nowadays around 106,000 inhabitants. The centre of the retail in the city, the «carrer Major» (main street) was also the Roman town and the Arabic town centre. The old town, in the right shore of the river Segre is the historical and geographical centre of the city. This part has suffered a process of urbanistic degradation, stopped now thanks to the Town Hall handling. Now the tertiary sector is increasing its importance in the zone. Once the Middle Ages walls were demolished, the extensions were built, limited by the «Paseig de Ronda». Nowadays the city keeps on growing following the axis defined by the radial lining up of the roads. The expansion of the city on the left shore of the river Segre has occurred during the XXth century. Lleida has received a strong inmigration in the last decades due to the depopulation of the dry barren lands and the Pyrenees as well as due to the strong economic growth. Lleida is the main market of the continental Catalonia, acting as an agricultural products collector and consumer goods distributor. The intense commercial activity generated the expansion of the financial and administrative services, supported by the strength of industry; 8.5% of the 38,500 assets at the Lleida municipality disposal are for agriculture, 19.2% for industry and 61.5% for the services.



View of the city of Lleida from the hill of «la Seu vella» (the old cathedral). River Segre separates the old city from the new quarters.

Girona

Girona is an obligatory passage for the communications with the North of Catalonia, historically and nowadays too. The Iberian and Roman Girona coincide with the space called «Força Vella», a fortified with walls triangle. In the Xth century the city expanded out of the walls with the quarters of Sant Pere de Galligans, Sant Feliu and el Mercadal, on the left side of the river Onyar. The old town of Girona is situated on the right side of the river, whereas on the left side has grown the modern town, becoming the economic centre of the city in the last decades. The urbanization of the left side of the river Onyar wasn't possible until the disentailing process (1835-1855), when the convents were substituted by factories. Another factor obstructing the urban development were the walls, demolished until 1895.

Girona's importance is due to its important commercial and administrative sector. That's the reason Girona is the capital city of the province and its influence is projected doubtlessly over the neighbouring nucleus: a urban belt has been created from Celrà to Fornells and from Quart d'Onyar to Sant Gregori. The city of Girona (including the municipalities of Girona, Salt and Sarrià de Ter) has around 87,000 inhabitants; the working population is 32,000, 29% dedicated to the industry and 60.2% to the services.

Manresa

Manresa is the only town in Catalonia, not capital city of any province but playing the same role as the one described for Tarragona-Reus, Lleida, Girona or Barcelona in a wide sector of the Catalan territory. It's been an industrial city for a very long time (during the Middle Ages it was already the main silk production centre in Catalonia) and it still is in our days: its central position in Catalonia was reinforced by the coming of the railway, connecting it with Barcelona, and even if the motorway net doesn't reach Manresa, there are two roads, through Martorell and Terrassa, that communicate it with Barcelona and now the axis of the Llobregat, connecting with the touristic zone of la Cerdanya is being improved/constructed. The commerce and the industry are the basis of the city growth, and the improvement of the accessibility will increase its importance in the Catalan urban system. The city old nucleus is high above the river Cardener level; during the XIIth century the city spreads towards the plain and keeps on growing concentrically, slightly unbalanced to the west, towards the river level, in which shore the railway station was built. Despite the urban nature of the industry, industrial estates were built in the outskirts and next to them, the quarters for inmigrant workers, of bad quality and lacked of services; «el Xup» is one of these quarters. Manresa has presently 67,000 inhabitants, with a working population of 25,000, of which 44.6% belongs to the industrial sector and 44.4% to the services.

To sum up, these five cities (Tarragona, Reus, Lleida, Girona and Manresa) are the organisers of the Catalan territory, if we accept the hypothesis that the Barcelona metropolitan area role exceeds the administrative limits of Catalonia. In Tarragona, Lleida and Girona, because they're capital cities of the provinces, the services sector has a big importance and that means a big number of civil servants and of tertiary activities having to do with them; the percentage of the population dedicated to the services in Reus is as well important due to the commercial function of the city. In these four cities, the services give work to more than 60% of the working population. Manresa, not being capital city of any province, has only 46% of the working population in this sector.

The second level of the Catalan urban system is formed by those cities having between 10,000 and 30,000 inhabitants: in the metropolitan area of Barcelona but a time distance over the 45 minutes we find Vic (30,000 people) and Igualada (40,000 people); in the Tarragona-Reus depending area are the cities of Valls (19,000) Tortosa (26,000) and Amposta (15,000); in Lleida area the cities of Balaguer, la Seu d'Urgell and Tàrraga, all of them having between 10 and 12 thousand people; in the region of Girona stand out the cities of Figueres (30,000 people), Olot (25,000) and Ripoll (13,000); dependent from Manresa are Berga (13,000 people) and Solsona (6,000).

All these second level cities organise little regions and are secondary industrial centres dedicated either to the textile or to metallurgy (Valls, Vic, Igualada, Olot, Ripoll, Berga), or dedicated to the agriculture production of their zone (Balaguer, La Seu d'Urgell -milk-, Vilafranca del Penedès -wine-, Amposta -rice-, Solsona -wood-), and of course specialised in the services needed by the population if the number is enough to make them possible (dentists, politechnic schools...).

The third level of Catalan urban system are those territorial unities where the daily base relations (residence - work, residence - school, residence - daily shopping) are given. They're very well described in CASASSAS and CLUSA work (1980).

But besides this stable urban structure of three levels plus the Barcelona metropolitan region, there is the touristic city. Catalonia is one of the main touristic centres of the Mediterranean: the foreign tourism first and since the '60s the Spanish tourists, made the existence of a lineal coastal city possible during the summer season. It has six important centres: North Coasta Brava, South Costa Brava, Maresme Coast, BMC Beach, Costa Dorada and Salou-Cambrils⁴. If we accept the hypothesis that each family residing in the municipalities that form these six touristic centres, use only one house and the rest of them are for the tourists, it will be enough to observe the table I to be aware of the importance of the touristic phenomenon: 178,693 houses out of the 257,221 existing in 1981 were for touristic use. That means that more than 750,000 people adds up to the 265,000 residents and use the services that had been planned for only these 265,000 residents: the drinking water needs agravate the already serious problem (during the summer months the water is rationed in Reus, from four to six hours a day), the garbage collections, the question of security in the city, ...

The constructions made in Catalonia have turned the construction sector into a very important economic activity, but at present it suffers from the economic crisis. Tourism is one of the main «industries» in Catalonia, but at the cost of the landscape destrucion and of the investment in an income-producing sector at short term, but not anymore when the fashion is over.

4. Urban evolution in Catalonia

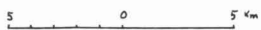
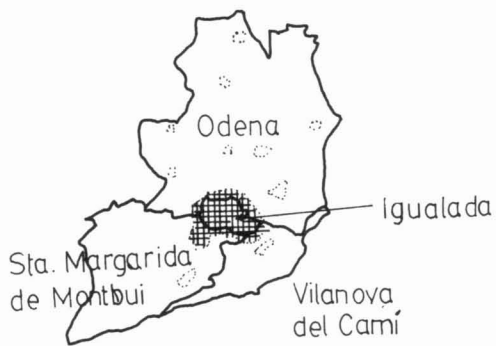
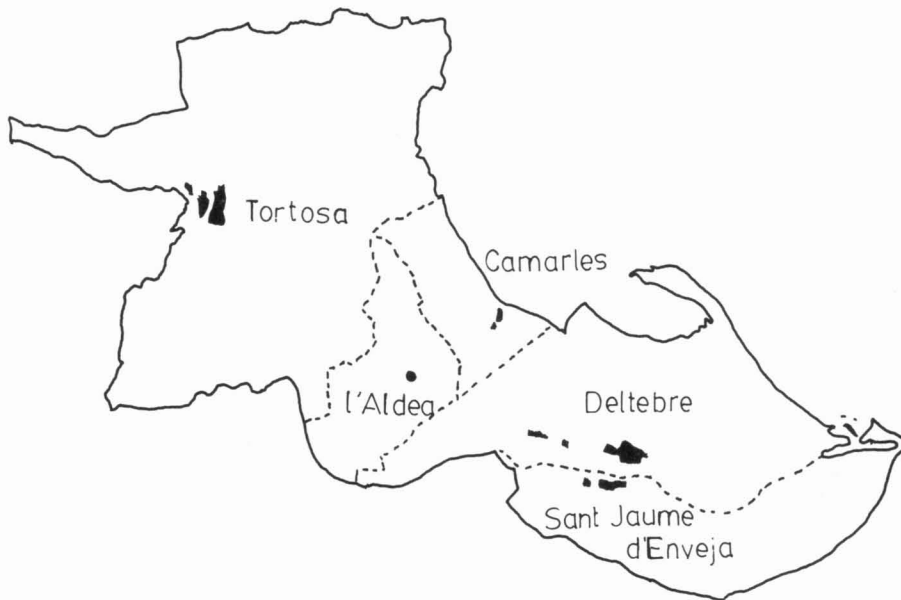
Before the Roman period (300 b.C. aproximately), it's impossible to talk about cities in Catalonia; the first (Greek, Punic, Roman) are a colonial phenomenon. The Catalan Roman cities⁵ follow the usual planimetric structure: the *forum*, the *cardum*, and *decumanus*, a good water-supply, walls. The Roman cities will be very important for the future urban development of Catalonia: most of them still exist in our days and are important elements of the present urban system.

During the XIth and XIIth centuries there doesn't exist the way of life and the functions considered characteristic of the cities: commercial activity, industry and administration are not the main activities of the feudal society. But there are cities, although languid and practically turned into villages, that possess walls.

TABLE 1

	1960			1970			1981		
	Population	Families	Houses	Population	Families	Houses	Population	Families	Houses
North Costa Brava	11,533	3,291	3,976	15,188	4,380	13,360	18,832	6,293	30,758
South Costa Brava	35,004	9,644	11,499	45,813	12,591	29,316	55,863	16,476	53,775
Maresmè Coast	54,931	13,863	15,525	78,932	21,358	36,519	98,970	29,777	68,645
BMC Beach	14,547	3,661	6,605	24,591	6,483	17,325	36,541	10,688	27,325
Costa Dorada	13,770	3,618	4,251	20,258	5,296	15,081	27,803	7,966	42,507
Salou-Cambrils	8,737	2,297	2,851	16,260	4,206	18,712	27,562	7,828	32,411

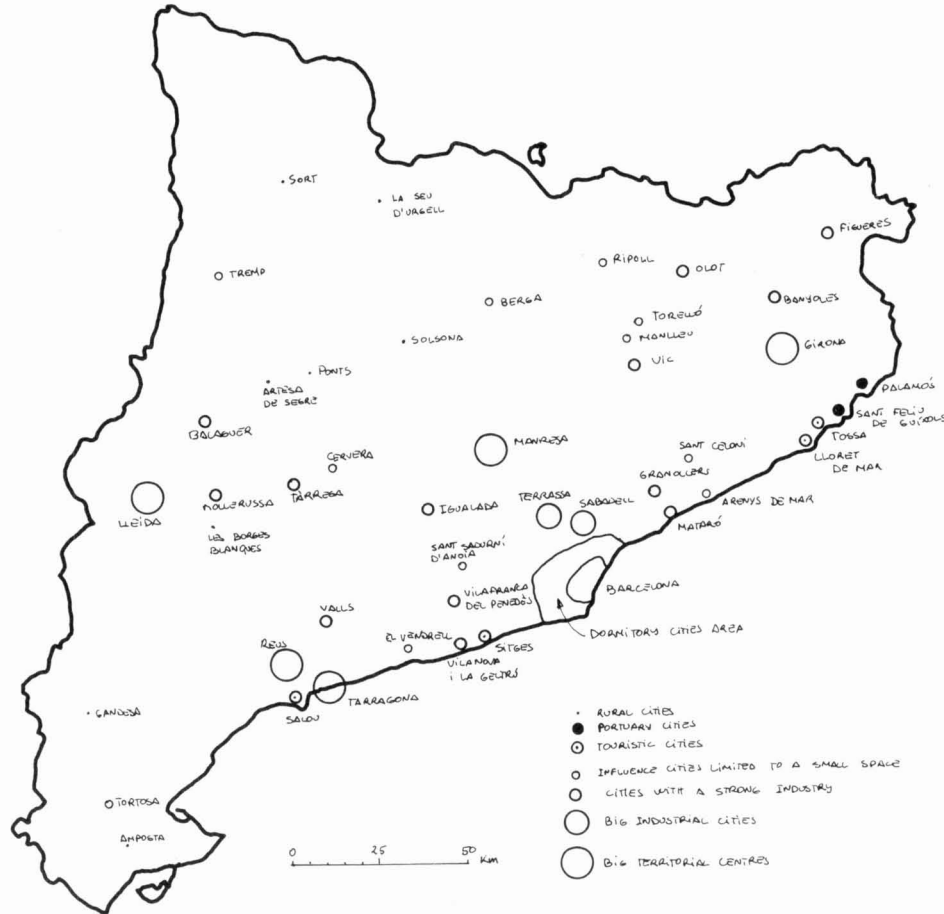
SOURCE: *Censos de Población de España*, IME, years 1960, 1970, 1981.



MAP 1

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF CATALONIAN CITIES. (CASASSAS and BERTRAN, 1983)

MAP 1
FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF CATALONIAN CITIES
(CASASSAS and BERTRAN, 1983)



THE URBAN SYSTEM OF CATALONIA



- TERRITORIAL UNITS OF DAILY BASE RELATIONS (THIRD LEVEL)
- CITIES OF THE SECOND LEVEL
- CITIES OF THE FIRST LEVEL
- INFLUENCE AREAS OF THE CITIES OF THE FIRST LEVEL

Its function is basically military and in a very incipient way, administrative, specially for the episcopal cities. These centers were mainly Girona, Barcelona, Ripoll, la Seu d'Urgell, Vic, Manresa, Besalú and Castelló d'Empúries. In the moslem influenced area there are not either any real cities, because they are also military centers, the main nucleus are Lleida and Tortosa.

In the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, the cities play an important role in Catalonian society, because they keep the commerce and the industrial and handicrafts activities. The urban space had very specific characteristics: it was surrounded by walls, and this meant increasing the population density by narrowing the streets and augmenting the height of the buildings; the streets and squares design didn't follow any urbanistic plan, there were areas occupied by the marginated groups: the «calls» (jewish quarters) for example, there were some public buildings: the public exchange, hospitals, dockyards, commercial and government buildings...

From the Black Death (halfway XIVth century) to the early XVIIIth century there isn't in Catalonia any economic or politic activity leading to the growth of the cities. From the XVIIIth century (VILAR, 1962) there is an improvement of the agricultural techniques, a first settlement of manufactures, a trade with the American colonial market with those manufactured products and with the agricultural production (wine and other spirits). It's now that the cities acquire their role of territorial organizers, of centers for technological and intellectual innovation. The mechanization of manufactures, the appearance of factories and therefore, of workers, increase the cities population, that still are surrounded by walls and have spaces not useful for the new way of life (Ancient Regime opposite to New Regime) like the convents for example; the walls destruction and the disentanglement allowed the extensions.

The extensions are the result of the bourgeoisie handling in the city in order to obtain new industrial spaces, to avoid the problem of workers fights, (if the streets are wide and octogonal it's very difficult to build barricades) and to get economic benefits. This way they make certain individual actions that usually distort the original plan: one of the basic cases is the one of Barcelona's extension designed by Idelfons Cerdà (GRAU, 1980). The creation of extensions in the Catalonian cities during the second part of the XIXth and the beginning of XXth centuries, along with the setting out of the railway net, are the two main characteristics of this period in the cities of Catalonia.

In spite of certain well-intentioned attempts, such as those of the «Mancomunitat de Catalunya» between 1916 and 1920, to create the city-Catalonia (that is, bringing to the whole Catalonia the advantage of the urban way of life: electricity, services, industry, quick communications), there hasn't been yet any official action in order to slow down the chaotic growth of Barcelona and its nearest area. The growth spread like a wild fire: the settlement of factories, the big public works, the creation of a strong tertiary sector, either private or public, meant an important increase of the population due to strong migratory flows, with the following need of housing for this just arrived population.

Two great periods stand out in the urban growth of the XXth century: the decade of the 20's and the period 1960-1975. In both periods the same process takes place: when the immigrants arrive they don't find any housing (they can't afford renting one, and by any means buying one) so they build huts; the administration organizes the construction of cheap housing estates in the outskirts of the cities in order to give the workers a place to live; this kind of construction helps the speculation of the ground and the violation of urbanistic plans for the benefit of the land owners and the constructors.

From the decade of the 1920's we can outline the actions carried out in Barcelona (GARCIA, 1974) with the construction in the outskirts of new quarters, socially and territorially marginated, with serious infrastructure shortages and with a very typical housing style: very small houses for one single family. To understand the housing policy during Franco's dictatorship it is very useful to read WYNN (1984 a,b) and FERRER (1985) works; actually, the actions carried out between 1955 and 1975 were spectacular, the spirit being the construction of working class housing at the minimal cost and this meant, of course, a bad quality construction material, a peripheric ublication, bad communications and serious integration problems in the urban net, as well as very imperfect services, if any at all.

To sum up, in the Catalan cities it's very easy to identify three building periods: the old town, usually dating from the Middle Ages with Roman remains, the extension of the XIXth century, built around the old walls, and the new working estates built between 1955 and 1975.

5. Barcelona

Barcelona is the city par excellence in Catalonia: historically and presently it is the politic, administrative, economic and cultural center Catalonia. Therefore it is the most studied Catalan city, either as a whole or one of its parts, or its role as organizer centre of a more or less wide area. If we had to mention some works about Barcelona they would be these:



Barcelona. View of the quarters of Gràcia, Guinardó and the hills of Carmelo (inhabited by the first immigrants after the civil war)

1) GALERA, ROCA, TARRAGO (1973), a magnificent selection of maps allowing to follow the urban evolution of the city, with short but very useful comments.

2) CIRICI (1971), an essential guide to walk around Barcelona, with either the artistic monuments or the «real estate speculation monuments».

3) CARRERAS CANDI (1916 ?) from the historiographic point of view this work has not been exceeded and it's an indispensable reference for any kind of historical analysis of the city.

4) VILA and CASASSAS (1974), an urban study of Barcelona within the field of regional geography: the physical environment, the location matter, the historical process of Barcelona's formation, the study of the morphology we can see today, and what has to do with it (population, economic activities, services).

5) FERRAS (1977), an exhaustive analysis of Barcelona considered as the centre of a metropolitan region, insisting on the controversial aspects resulted from the urban agents actions (ground owners, estate-agents, constructors, the administration itself) during Franco's dictatorship.

Besides these five fundamental works for the knowledge of Barcelona as a whole, we must point out the existence of other authors who studied specific periods, producing high intellectual level works, for instance Grau for the period between XVIIIth century until 1850 and Roca and Massana for first 30 years of the present century (see bibliography).

Barcelona keeps remains of the Roman city. They are shown in the City Museum of History and some pieces of the roman walls are still in the streets; the *forum* is to be found in what today is Sant Jaume Square: during 2000 years, the political centre of the city has been in the same place, because in our days, we find there the City hall, the Generalitat of Catalonia (autonomic government) and the Diputació (representatives of Spanish government). In the Old Town are obvious the signs of medieval city manning: the street design (small, tortous, dark and humid), the religious buildings (the Cathedral, the churches of Sta. Maria del Mar, Sant Pere de les Puelles, Sant Pau del Camp...); this historic centre is also the most often visited by tourists and by the Barcelona citizens themselves, because besides the cultural interest of the quarter, it is also the main centre of retail in the city (the main bookshops, the dress shops, the furniture shops...), a lot of restaurants, theaters, cinemas... But on the other hand, the people living in the old town often do it in miserable conditions: the flats are small and have little services such as WC or showers..., the streets are difficult to clean, the population residing there is either newly arrived (the port and the railway station are next to the old town) or native people staying there because they can't afford leaving, the examples of the «Chicago School» are really obvious in this Barcelona Old Town.

Because the walls limited the same space from the Middle Ages until the time of its destruction (1857), all the construction during more than five centuries was made within this space, the only exception is the Barceloneta quarter, sign of the XVIIIth century city planning, that has been studied by TATJER (1973). The space inside the walls was enough until the XIXth century when the need of space for the industries and the workers housing was so urgent that there wasn't any other solution, as the extension.

Ildelfons Cerdà planned an extension able to win the opposition country-city, organizing a low density space, homogeneous where infrastructure is concerned and with an unlimited character, that is, without a centre and a periphery, without agregation or margination; this democratic character of Cerdà's project was unattainable, mainly because it's impossible to supress the social classes. The ground owners especulated during the building process and the result was a zoning within the extension: the territory centre of

the city is to be found around the Passeig de Gràcia, Rambla de Catalunya and Balmes and Pau Claris streets, although in the late years, it's been moving along the Diagonal to the Francesc Macià square; the population of this part of the city is usually old and of a high standard of living; in both its sides, the extension becomes an area of skilled workers, retail for these working classes and industrial zone.

In GALERA, ROCA and TARRAGO (1973) atlas, the construction process of the Barcelona extension can be observed. This process began around 1860 and didn't finish until the 30's although not completely. Throughout the course of this period the immigrants arriving to Barcelona started settling down either in the Old town or in the old nucleus of the independent municipalities in Barcelona plain: Sants, Hostafrancs, Sant Martí de Provençals, as well as the Parallel and Montjuic huts.

Barcelona played an important role during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) as a working class and catalan nationalism centre. This fact caused that Franco's dictatorship administration measures to solution the serious problems inherited from the war came only quite a long time later.

Around 1950 they «discovered» that in Barcelona, there was an exceptionally high number of huts and self made houses, and from this time onwards, the horizontal hut-system is substituted by vertical hut-system: the housing-estates are enormous blocks built with defective materials, poor services and serious margination problems (NEGRE, 1981).

Presently, the municipality of Barcelona can not grow any more because it's practically built up completely. The municipality has a deindustrialization process, because the factories inside the city have problems due to the traffic congestion, the price rise in transport; in the municipality of Barcelona, the industries concentrate mainly in the Zona Franca area, next to the port, and along the litoral; a different matter is the no decreasing percentage of the industrial workers, since the mobility due to work reasons to neighbour municipalities is very high. In Barcelona concentrate the third sector works, and if we admit its existence, those of the fourth sector, distributed basically in the centre of the extension and along the Diagonal. The population distribution is closely connected to the economic level: the social groups with the highest incomes live in Pedralbes (where Pearson avenue is, one of the few streets in Barcelona without any single shop) and in la Bonanova; the upper classes live in Sarrià and in the centre of the extension; the non-skilled workers live in the north of the city. The sector called la Mina is paradigmatic with its dirty buildings, its lack of social integration and a too long lasting carelessness; the quarters of Gracia and Sants, as well as the sides of the extension are occupied by skilled workers and the small retail shops owners; in the zone of las Corts live the middle executives and the service workers, who need good communications with the rest of the city and the metropolitan area; the old town, la Barceloneta and the surrounding areas are occupied by the most marginated sectors of society: foreign immigrants (mainly northafricans), the world of drugs and prostitution.

6. Final Remarks

There is a need of detailed study of the Catalonia urban system: this study of course, should begin with a clear definition of «city» for Catalonia; but within the geography and other related sciences, there isn't any theoretic discussion about this subject, and the works of Capel (see bibliography) although excellently commented, are nothing more than bibliographic compilations. Any how, municipality must not be mistaken with city, there-

fore, the INE statistics must be very carefully handled. What we do find in Catalan geography is a very important current of territorial analysis, and we have to remind that the cities are the organizers of the territory; but the systematization of all the existent knowledge about Catalan cities is missing. And to conclude, we must not forget either that any inhabited point of Catalonia is less than 5 hours away from Barcelona by car, therefore, all Catalonia is a metropolitan area despite Catalonia is not yet completely built up (luckily) *Catalonia is an only city*.

Notes.

¹ RACIONERO (1981) points out 4 territorial levels of analysis: world, state, region and «comarca» levels; in each level the cities hierarchy is different; for example, at region level (Catalonia), the main city should have between 500,000 and one million people, whereas the lower level would be integrated by the 10.000 people cities. Of course, these cities of 10,000 people have no importance if we consider the world urban system.

² The problem is to define what the Catalan School of Geography is. CASASSAS (1974, 1977) says, despite its modern origin, the members of this school have found the right atmosphere for their activities development; this atmosphere is based in the admission of the Catalan territorial unity (against the actions of the Spanish government, felt as something alien to Catalonia) and the right to administrate this Catalan territory in the most convenient way.

³ See CASASSAS and CLUSA (1980,1981)

⁴ The municipalities integrating each focus are:

— North Costa Brava: Armentera, Cadaqués, Castelló d'Empúries, l'Escala, Port de la Selva, Roses, Sant Pere Pescador.

— South Costa Brava: Begur, Castell-Platja d'Aro, Calonge, Mont-ras, Palafrugell, Palamós, Sant Feliu de Guíxols, Santa Cristina d'Aro, Vall-Llóbrega.

— Maresme Coast: Arenys de Mar, Arenys de Munt, Blanes, Caldes d'Estrac, Calella, Canet de Mar, Lloret de Mar, Malgrat, Pineda de Mar, Sant Andreu de Llavaneres, Sant Cebrià de Vallalta, Sant Iscle de Vallalta, Sant Vicenç de Montalt, Santa Susana, Tossa de Mar.

— BMC beach: Castelldefels, Sitges.

— Costa Dorada: Altafulla, Calafell, Creixell, Cubelles, Cunit, Roda de Berà, Torredembarra, el Vendrell.

— Vilaseca de Solcina i Salou, Cambrils de Mar.

⁵ The most important were *Tarraco* (Tarragona), *Barcino* (Barcelona), *Dertosa* (Tortosa), *Ilerda* (Lleida), *Gerunda* (Girona), *Iluro* (Mataró), *Baetulo* (Badalona), *Egara* (Terrassa) among others.

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