

Franco's urban legacy

The case of Badia del Vallès



Liliana Solé Figueras

Wageningen University
Land Use Planning Group
Gaia building (building number 101)
Droevedaalsteeg 3
6708 HB Wageningen
The Netherlands

Franco's urban legacy. The case of Badia del Vallès

Student: Liliana Solé Figueras

Student Registration Number: 880816-785-030

Supervisors: Claudia Basta and Martijn Duineveld

MSc thesis examiner Prof dr ir Adri van den Brin

Abstract

According to the theoretical framework used to analyse the proposed case-study, architecture and spatial planning are social and cultural practices that construct and reproduce discourses in the built environment (Petrovici, 2008). Moreover, the theoretical framework used for this research also defends that discursive realities are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014).

This research aims at understanding what the relevance of past discourses for present narratives is. The utility of identifying such legacies relates to understand past and present discursive realities as a mean to identify what the future progresses of social discourses and narratives could be, and thence to promote changes in the direction of better future. Since, according to the theoretical framework used, discourses are grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014); future discursive realities should consist of a development of the present ones.

This research attempts to test the theoretical assumption (i.e. discursive realities are always grounded on previous discourses) by focusing on the case of Spain during Franco's dictatorship. The thesis investigates the relations between architecture, spatial planning and Franco's discourses at the scope of identifying the legacies of such discourses in present narratives.

To develop this investigation one case study is chosen, that is, the municipality of Badia del Vallès (Catalonia, Spain). Badia del Vallès was the last social housing area developed under Franco's regime. The case study is analysed through discourse analysis, literature review and interviews to 17 residents and 3 to experts on the area.

The results have shown that some of the discursive realities reproduced by inhabitants nowadays are grounded on the past discourses that led to the construction of Badia del Vallès. Therefore, this finding confirms the theoretical assumptions of the research. Moreover, these results provide the possible tracks of future narratives. Albeit promising, these results are of limited applicability due to the lack of a continuous discourse analysis, which cannot be applied in the context of this research. Nevertheless, they offer a reliable source for reflecting on the legacies of Franco's dictatorship in the current and possibly future narratives of citizens of Badia del Valles, regarding their living environment.

Key words: Legacies, path dependence, Franco, Baida del Vallès discourse analysi

Preface and acknowledgements

One year ago I started this research within the Master program in the Land Use Planning Group with the specialization of Spatial Planning. This research aims at fulfilling my personal need to understand the reasons of recent urban developments in Spain, to comprehend present situations and imagine future scenarios. Therefore, this research is a result of the personal wish to go one step backward to be able to move two steps forward; hence, to comprehend present and future scenarios by understanding past ones. Logically, due to the time frame it was not possible to study the whole country. Therefore, I focused in one specific area: Badia del Vallès. I chose this city because of its singularity and its relation with Franco's dictatorship.

During all this time working on this research I have been for different academic and personal phases. However, I consider that finally I achieve to fulfil academic and personal aspirations.

Thanks my supervisors for the feedback, the patience and to push me when needed. Also thanks to my family and my Wageningen friends to support me in this long trip to the past, present and future.

Summary

According to the theoretical frame used to analyse the proposed case-study architecture and spatial planning are social and cultural practices that construct and reproduce discourses in the built environment (Petrovici, 2008). Accordingly, states and other powerful groups attempt to connect citizens and political projects through material forms, and thus through the built environment (Jones, 2011). Furthermore, the theoretical frame used also defends that discourses are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discursive realities (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014).

Many authors have been studying the relation between architecture, planning or urban design and discourse reproduction in the case of authoritarian regimes (Goverde, 1992; Vale, 1992; Yiftachel, 1998; Hirst, 2005; Sklair, 2006; Hagen, 2010; Sudjic, 2011; Jones, 2011; Zira, 2012). Nevertheless, not many authors have studied the legacies of the discursive realities of authoritarian regime once the authoritarian regime is replaced by other forms of organized political power (Young, 1993; Vale, 1992; Jones, 2011; Petrovici, 2008).

In the same vein, this research aims at understanding what the relevance of past discourses for present narratives is. The utility of identifying such legacies relates to understand past and present discourses as a mean to identify what the future progresses of social discourses, and narratives could be and thence to promote changes in the direction of better future. Since, according to the theoretical framework used, discourses are grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014), future discourses should consist of a development of the present ones. This research attempts to test the theoretical assumption (i.e. discourses are always grounded on previous discourses) by focusing on the case of Spain during Franco's dictatorship. The thesis investigates the relations between architecture, spatial planning and Franco's discourses at the scope of identifying the legacies of such discourses in present narratives.

Through discourse analysis, literature review and 17 interviews to residents this research identifies the main discourses that underpinned and led to the construction of Badia del Vallès and the legacies of these narratives nowadays. To identify the discursive realities that led to the construction of Badia del Vallès, a short review of Franco's dictatorship is reported (chapter 4); further research about Franco's discursive realities is object of a following section (chapters 4), wherein the discursive domains that converge in social housing discourses are identified (chapter 5). In the following, the specific discourses that led to the construction of

Badia del Vallès (chapter 6) and the contemporary legacies of these discourses (chapter 7) are discussed.

The results have shown that some of the discourses reproduced by inhabitants nowadays are grounded on the past discourses that led to the construction of Badia del Vallès. Therefore, this finding confirms the theoretical assumptions of the research. Moreover, these results provide the possible tracks of future narratives. Albeit promising, these results are of limited applicability due to the lack of a continuous discourse analysis, which cannot be applied in the context of this research. Whilst this research has analysed past discourses' formation and compared them with the current situation, it is important to consider that discursive realities are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014). Thus, in some cases is not possible to deeply comprehend the constant transformation of discursive realities and their evolution. Further research should therefore explore discursive realities construction through a continuous effort of analysis. Still, they offer a reliable source for reflecting on the legacies of Franco's dictatorship in the current, and possibly future discourses of citizens of Badia del Valles regarding their living environment

Table of contents

Abstract	I
Preface and acknowledgements	I
Summary	II
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Built environment and power	1
1.2. The study case	2
1.3. Problem statement	4
1.4. Objective	4
1.5. Research questions	4
2. Theoretical framework.....	6
2.1. Power and discourses.....	7
2.2. The contribution of social system theory.....	8
2.3. Path dependence: the past in the present.....	9
Narratives, metaphors, open concepts and ideologies	10
3. Methodology.....	12
3.1. Information of the case study: Badia del Vallès.....	16
3.1.1. Catalonia.....	16
3.1.2. Badia del Vallès	16
4. Franco's dictatorship.....	24
4.1. Antecedents	24
4.2. Brief review of Franco's dictatorship	26
4.3. Political families of Franco's regimes	28
4.3.1. Fascism in Franco's dictatorship	29
4.3.2. Discourses of Spanish Fascism	30
4.3.3. National Catholicism discourses	31
5. Contextual policies	35
5.1. Gender and family: Feminine Section	35
5.2. Social Assistance.....	37
5.3. Religion.....	38
5.4. The labour	39
5.5. Housing and urban planning during first Francoism	40
5.6. Housing and urban planning during second Francoism.....	42

5.7.Social housing.....	44
5.7.1.Social Housing during first Francoism	44
5.7.2.Social housing discourses during Frist Francoism	46
5.7.3.Social housing during second Francoism	53
5.7.4.Social housing discourses during second Francoism	56
6. Baia del Vallès and Francoism discourses	65
6.1. Badia del Vallès discourses in official documents and media	65
6.1.1. Housing and social housing	65
6.1.2. Labour	72
6.1.3. Social assistance and religion	77
6.2. Badia del Vallès discourses in memories: interview analysis.....	79
6.2.1. Gender and family.....	80
7. Legacies of path dependencies in Badia del Vallès	82
7.1. Comparison statistical data	82
7.1.1. Social Housing	82
7.1.2. Social assistance	83
7.1.3. Gender and family.....	84
7.1.4. Labour	84
7.2.Interview analysis.....	85
8. Future discourses in Badia del Vallès	104
8.1. Degradation.....	104
The case of Second generations.....	106
8.2.The identity of Badia del Vallès.....	107
8.3.Franco’s regime memories.....	109
9. Conclusions.....	111
9.1. Franco’s discourses inserted in Badia del Vallès	111
9.2.Legacies of Franco’s discourses nowadays in Badia del Vallès	113
9.3. Future discourses in Badia del Vallès	115
9.4.Recommendations for future actions	117
10. Discussion.....	119
10.1.The limits and values critical and postmodern planning	119
10.2The value of discourse analysis.....	120

10.3.The limits of discourse analysis.....	121
10.4.Other added values.....	123
11. Annex I.....	124
12. References.....	137

1. Introduction

1.1. Built environment and power

This research is developed within a critical and postmodern planning approach¹. In this direction, the theoretical frame used to analyse the proposed case-study states that architecture and spatial planning are social and cultural practices that construct and reproduce discourses in the built environment (Petrovici, 2008). Moreover, the theoretical framework used for this research also defends that discursive realities are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014).

Accordingly, states and other powerful groups attempt to connect citizens and political projects through material forms, and thus through the built environment (Jones, 2011). It can be therefore said that architecture and planning are inherently political: architecture is one social and cultural form through which political projects attempt to become socially meaningful and forged (Jones, 2011). Correspondingly, authors as Kenneth Frampton (1992) and Kim Dovey (2009) point out that architecture is the least autonomous form of cultural production; yet it is constrained by its own technical methods, but also by the vicissitudes of the market and wishes of states and other commissioners. Besides, the capacity of architecture to claim for autonomy from political power makes the profession a political useful tool (Dovey, 2008). In this sense, Dovey (2008, in Jones, 2011, p.24) states that “the separation of architecture’s form and wider program is part of the way in which complicities with power are kept ‘silent’”.

The relation between power, architecture and planning exists in all civilizations (Vale, 1998). In the same vein, Dovey and Dickson (2002, in Jones, 2011) argue that there is a deep complicity between building the environment and social order, since architecture and planning are practices that imagine and ‘build’ a new world which is defined by powerful groups.

In the last decades scholars of postmodern planning and sociology of architecture have been studying the role that the built environment has in ‘socializing power’ in the cultural sphere.

¹ Critical planning theory considers that cities are produced by society and have an internal logic and function that is basically derived from capitalism (Allmendinger, 2009). Concerning to struggle against capitalist powers, planners working within the planning system should practice ‘reflective practice’ (Allmendinger, 2009); thence, to combine critical distance from main political and economic power systems, and work within main political and economic systems in to transform cities. On the side, postmodernist argues that planning is a result of modernity and nowadays has to be adapted to ‘new times’; thus, “to multi-ethnic, multi-racial diverse societies and cities” (Sandercock, 1998 in Allmendinger, 2002, p.177).

Thence, the object of their investigation has been how power groups use architecture and planning to materialize and legitimate power discourses, and how and architects and planners respond to power constrains (Jones, 2011).

Many authors have been studying the relation between architecture, planning or urban design and discourse reproduction in the case of authoritarian regimes (Goverde, 1992; Vale, 1992; Yiftachel, 1998; Hirst, 2005; Sklair, 2006; Hagen, 2010; Sudjic, 2011; Jones, 2011; Zira, 2012). Nevertheless, not many authors have studied the legacies of the discursive realities of authoritarian regime once the authoritarian regime is replaced by other forms of organized political power (Young, 1993; Vale, 1998; Jones, 2001; Petrovici, 2008).

According to Therbon (2002, in Jones 2001), the role of urban design and planning concerning the expansion and consolidation of modern national states discursive realities shall be explored more deeply. Indeed, there is no research related to the role of architecture and planning of authoritarian regimes once the authoritarian regime is replaced by other forms of organized political power. Correspondingly, this research aims at analysing the discourses inserted in architecture and planning by authoritarian regimes; and whether there are discursive legacies, and if so what is their relevance in present narratives. Since the theoretical hypothesis of this research is that present discursive realities are grounded on previous discourses, future narratives should consist of a development of the present ones. Thus, to understand the relevance of past discourses in present narratives can identify possible future evolutions of discourses. So as to, the research is based on one study case; hence, it is studied the legacies of discursive realities of the authoritarian regime of Franco in Spain, once this was replaced by democracy.

1.2. The study case

In 1936 there was a civil war between Republican government and its supporters (alliance of communists, socialists and anarchists) against Nationalists (a right-wing alliance of the army, the church, the monarchy and the fascist). The Nationalists, leaded by Francisco Franco, won the war in 1939. From 1939 Franco established a dictatorship in the country, which lasted until 1975. After Franco's death in 1975, Spain started a transition to democracy. Nevertheless, this transition has been described by some authors as a fluctuation between the social interest to recuperate civil war and dictatorship memories and an official 'politics of amnesia' (Morán 1991, Colmeiro 2005, Labanyi 2007).

The friction described between society and political elites form an interesting frame for this research. It could be argued that the 'politics of amnesia' promoted by main political elites,

could influence the legacies of Franco’s discourses in present narratives. Yet, due to the time frame of this research it is not possible to develop this analysis to the whole country. Instead, one case study has been chosen; Badia del Vallès, which was the last social housing area developed under Franco’s regime. It has been considered that in social housing projects main discourses of planning, architecture and social organization converge. Accordingly, in the case of Badia del Vallès main Franco’s discourses related to planning, architecture and social organization were transposed. Badia del Vallès is a social housing area built to shelter workers coming from poorer rural areas of Spain as workforce for Barcelona region (Sanchez, 1982). Badia del Vallès is located in the outskirts of Barcelona, the main city of Catalonia².

Map 1. Catalonia



Source: http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Palau_Robert/img/mapa-comarques.gif

Map 2: Vallès Occidental



Source: <http://habitatge.ccvoc.cat/img/mapavalles.gif>

² Catalonia is one Spanish region that borders with France and Andorra to the north, Mediterranean Sea to the east, Aragon to the west and Valencia to the south.

The residential area of Badia del Vallès was developed by the *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*, INV (National Institute of Housing), the *Organización Sindical del Hogar*, OSH (Union Organization for Housing) in collaboration with the *Instituto Nacional de Urbanización*, INU (National Institute for Urbansim). 5.372 houses were built through OSH as Contractor Company and INV as promoter. All the houses of the Badia del Vallès were under the regime of social housing property through loans supported by INV.

1.3. Problem statement

According to the theoretical framework used to analyse the proposed case-study; as per architecture, urban design and spatial planning are social and cultural practices that construct and reproduce discourses in the built environment (Petrovici, 2008). Moreover, powerful groups use the relation between discursive realities and built environment to connect citizens and political projects through material forms (Jones, 2011).

Besides, the second theoretical assumption used for this research argues that discourses are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014). Therefore it can be argued that discursive realities inserted in built environment are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discursive realities. Accordingly, architecture and planning developed by authoritarian regimes was coated by discourses, which inhabitants were reproducing and transforming. However it has not been deeply studied how these discourses change when authoritarian regimes are replaced by other political systems. To say, if within new political systems there are discursive legacies of authoritarian discourses and if so what is their relevance in present narratives.

1.4. Objective

This research aims at understanding what the relevance of past discourses for present narratives is. The utility of identifying such legacies relates to understand the reasons of present discourses through the revision of past discourses, to identify what the future progresses of discursive realities and narratives could be, and thence to promote changes in the direction of better future.

1.5. Research questions

Are there legacies of the Franco's dictatorship discourses that led to the construction of Badia del Vallès under his regime?

- Which were the discourses that led to the construction of Badia del Vallès under Franco's dictatorship?

- How were these discourses transposed in the organization and design of the urban space object of this study?
- Are there recognizable legacies of these discourses in present narratives?

2. Theoretical framework

In respect to the objectives of the research two main theoretical postulates are assumed. Firstly it is assumed that discourses are inserted in built environment through architecture, urban design and spatial planning practices (Petrovici, 2008). According to Jones (2011), states and other powerful groups attempt to connect citizens and political projects through built environment. It can be therefore said that architecture and planning are social and cultural forms through which political projects attempt to become socially meaningful and forged (Jones, 2011).

Previous postulates have to be framed within critical planning theory³. According to critical planning theory, cities are produced by society and have an internal logic and function that is basically derived from capitalism (Allmendinger, 2009). Therefore, planning can be considered a state mechanism that aims at reproducing spatial organization derived from the interest of economic powers (Allmendinger, 2009). To struggle against economic powers, planners working within the planning system should develop 'reflective practice' (Allmendinger, 2009); thence, to combine critical distance from main political and economic power systems, and at the same time to work within main political and economic systems to implement changes.

On the side, another theoretical assumption is supposed for this research; by means of, discursive realities are in constant evolution, and are always grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014). The main concept presented in this theoretical assumption is discourse from a Foucauldian perspective. The use of Michel Foucault in planning is inscribed in post-modern and collaborative planning approaches.

Postmodern and collaborative planning theories argue that the emancipatory dimensions of modernity transformed to useful tools for forces looking for private interest, rather than public interest (Allmendinger, 2009). Postmodern theories state that there is not absolute truth claimed by modernist, rather accepted truths driven upon particular interest through power relations. Further, collaborative planning is based on the work of Jürgen Habermans; as per "there is a need to reconstruct the unfinished project of modernity" (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2005). Habermans also criticizes the totalitarian character of modernity, but do not reject the existence of an absolute truth.

³ Allmendinger (2009) explains that Critical planning comes from Frankfurt School as a rethought of Marxist planning. The relation between Marxist planning and Critical planning is based on the struggle for communism, of Marxism, and the struggle for freedom, of Critical planners.

Both postmodern and collaborative theorists consider that planning is a result of modernity; thus, the knowledge and actions developed under modern planning correspond to particular interest driven by power relations (Allmendinger, 2009). Therefore, it is argued by postmodern and collaborative planners that this knowledge and actions are not democratic; they do not represent the heterogeneity and complexity of postmodern times. Therefore objective of postmodern and collaborative planning is “to deconstruct the ‘hidden world’ of power in planning” (Allmendinger, 2009, p.179); to be aware of power relations by deconstructing these relations in spite of understanding social reality and encourage fragmentation, diversity and difference (Soja, in Allmendinger, 2009).

Critical, postmodern and collaborative planning theories aim at developing a critical and reflective practice of planning. However, postmodern and collaborative planning theories do not simplify power relations as victims versus economic or political elites, as critical planning does. Postmodern and collaborative planning theories consider postmodern societies as complex and diverse systems where power relations can be found everywhere. In accordance, planning has to work towards an understanding and deconstruction of these relations with the regard to give voice to all groups of the society (Allmendinger, 2009).

2.1. Power and discourses

Discourse was one of the main concepts developed by Foucault, according to who discourse “is a practice within which narrative realities are produced” (Duineveld and Dix, 2011, p.70). Foucault did not deny the existence of something ‘outside’ discourses; namely, of the reality. However, he considered that reality as ultimate objective truth cannot be known. Hence, knowledge, truth or facts are only but mirrors of reality. Correspondingly, through observation and communication of reality we construct and reproduce discourses reflecting reality (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

Based on the theorists cited above, discourse formation processes are in concordance with the interests of power. Hence, a ‘discourse’ is a set of structured concepts that allows access to certain aspects of reality, while masking other aspects according to the interest of power (Howarth 2000; Foucault 2002; Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

According to Rorty (1992, reported in Dovey, 2008, p.11) power is the capacity to “define and control circumstances and events so that one can influence things to go in direction of one’s

interests". Dovey (2008) distinguishes 'power to' and 'power over'. 'Power to' means the increasing capacity to influence things in one's interests; essentially, it consists of empowerment. Instead, 'power over' refers to the power of one agent (or group) over another, that is, the power to ensure the compliance of other with one's will. Dovey (2008) points out four main ways of 'power over': force, coercion, manipulation and authority.

In Foucault's theory '**power to**' and '**power over**' are reached by the reproduction of discourses through social and cultural practices. It is important to remark that, for Foucault, power is neither good nor bad; rather, it is a set of forces and relations that make realities possible and understandable (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). Hence, we do not have to understand power only as a form of social and political control, but also as a set of forces and relations. These forces and relations are present in any cultural or social practice (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

Nevertheless, power and specifically 'power over' can also be understood by Foucault theory as form of social and political control. Therefore, discursive practices can be forms of control and inclusion/exclusion of realities (Hirst, 2005). In other words, narrative can be produced by certain discursive realities that are constructed by certain subjects which are qualified and able to speak in a certain way, subjects related to particular institutional conditions and forms of power (Hirst, 2005). These narrative realities can be reproduced by four main ways of 'power over' previously named -force, coercion, manipulation and authority-.

Moreover, for Foucault (1980, reported in Dovey, 2008) power forms are mixed and masked; the success of power depends of its ability to hide its structures and mechanisms. Power has the capacity to be hidden in cultural and social practices and discourses. In the case of authoritarian dictatorships it could be considered that power forms are not hidden, instead the dictatorship attempts to control all aspects of society. Accordingly, dictatorships through control of social, political and cultural spheres pretend to impose certain discourses, symbols and images. However, discursive realities are in constant transformation; through social interaction, cultural forms, symbols and images, people (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014) reproduce and can transform discourses coming from authoritarian regimes.

2.2. The contribution of social system theory

Beneficial to understand the continuous transformation process of discourses, Niklas Luhmann's social system theory was considered. Niklas Luhmann applied concepts developed by biological sciences to explain the functioning of social systems. According to him, social

systems are internal continuous processes of interpretation and reinterpretation of internal and external environments (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014)

Operational closure and autopoiesis⁴ concepts are central in Luhmann's social system theory. According to it, social systems internally construct and reproduce an image of themselves and of their environment, which are both in constant transformation. This transformation is always grounded on internal mechanisms and re-interpreted images.

Van Assche, Beunen, et al. (2014) refers to Luhmann's social system theory to illustrate discursive realities as self-referential practices. They consider how social system theory can be used as theoretical framework to explain shifting processes of discourses. Accordingly, discourses are also in constant evolution, always grounded on previous discursive realities. In concordance, discourse evolution is depending on internal existing elements; they reproduce themselves by autopoiesis and operational closure⁵.

2.3. Path dependence: the past in the present

In the context of this research the concept of path dependence provides a valuable instrument to understand the constant evolution of internal elements in discourse production and reproduction. This concept has been studied from many different scopes: political science (North, Eggertsson, Avid), anthropology and history (Claude Levi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, Edmund Leach, Fernand Braudel and others) and recently also urban planning studies (Healey, Pflieger, Kaufmann, Pattaroni, Jemelin, Bontje, Musterd, Coucha, Sykesa, Börstinghaus and others) (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014)

⁴ For autopoiesis it is understood that everything in a biological system is the result of the evolution of the system. Operational closure, by its side, refers to the internal process of reproduction of the cell. In this process the complexity of the environment can have an influence, but it never dictates the process; the reproduction of its constituting irreducible parts is entirely an internal process.

⁵ At the scope of this research it is considered that social systems are self-referential systems; thus, transformations within the system are based on internal dynamics. Therefore, this approach neglects possibilities of total transformation and the relevance of external intrusions. Which originates a critical reflection: is it a total transformation of discourses not possible unless based on previous internal elements? Nevertheless, for this self-referential systems have been considered the proper approach for two main reasons. Firstly, the characteristics of the regime as an autarkic system, although after sixties there was a process of openness. Thence, it could not be considered exclusively a self-referential system. On the side, this research is not aimed at developing continuous analysis, but to understand one past contextual reality, a present one and a possible future; thence a partial study of reality. Furthermore, to simplify even more these two plots of realities are considered as self-referential systems; thus, excluding the interference of external dynamics, in Spain as a system. However, it is known that Spain is not an exclusively self-referential system and hence external dynamics do interfere in Spanish discursive realities.

Since many disciplines are referring to this concept, it has multiple interpretations. Taking into account a broad scope “it refers to developmental sequences and social dynamics that are characterized by positive feedbacks and self-reinforcing dynamics” (David, 2007, p,1).

In terms of discursive object formation, path dependence refers to legacies from the past that impact the course of discursive object formations. What lately has been called “path dependent social dynamics” (Blume and Durlauf, 2001; Durlauf and Young, 2001; David, 2007, p, 94) refers to motions of social human interactions which remain under the influence of conditions which could be seen as legacies of events and actions rooted in each system’s history (David, 2007).

The constant evolution of discursive reality is always framed and grounded by past discourses, the legacies of these past discourses (David, 2007). However, the relevance of path dependence is not equally in each discursive reality. It is especially relevant in the case of what Van Assche, Beunen, et al, (2014) called *images of history*, or historical narratives. Historical narratives provide objects with more stability, they become less questionable, making reflexivity and transformation harder (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

There are different residing forms of path dependence (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). Legacies can reside in objects, actors, institutions, relations, cultures, identities, social imaginaries, narratives, metaphors, open concepts, ideologies, etc.

Narratives, metaphors, open concepts and ideologies

Narratives are structured discursive materials. The structure of narratives makes discursive materials more real and enforced because they introduce temporal, spatial and emotional order (Czarniawska 1998 in Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). Therefore, narratives give to objects, actors and institutions stability and more power (Zizek, 1989 in Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014); they provide contextual frames and links in preferable or understandable manners (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

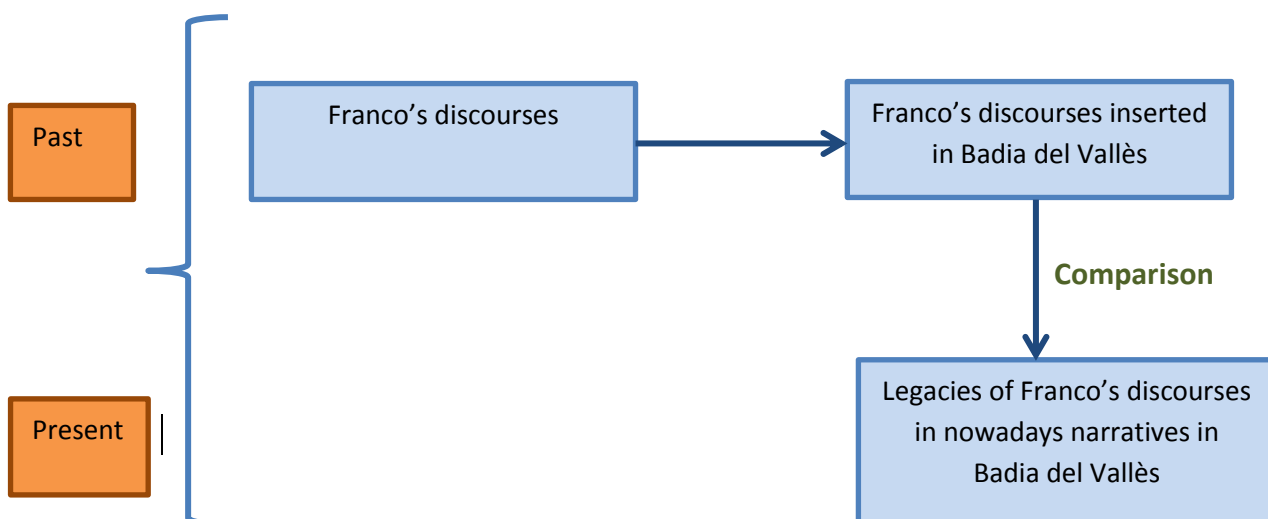
Van Assche, Beunen, et al, (2014) remark that discursive realities are in constant transformation. Hence, the narratives of discourses are also in continuous shifting processes. Actors are continuously reinterpreting and re-appropriating narratives.

Metaphors and open concepts can be embedded in narratives to reinforce the effects of narratives. Metaphors can make things looking similar or different by introducing new elements of similarity or difference (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). Thus, metaphors can change our perception of reality.

Open concepts can also be embedded in narratives. The vagueness of open concepts result in a continuous reinterpretation of these concepts which shift discourses (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014).

Ideologies for Zizek (1989 in Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014) are the discursive realities of political constructions: values, organisation, roles, etc. They are narratives that contain our political meanings. Hence, they construct and delineate realms, where multiple narratives, metaphors and open concepts can be developed.

The aim of this research is to understand what present narratives and legacies of past discourses for these narratives. Toward to perform these objectives, the discourses inserted in built environment by authoritarian regimes and their legacies are studied, once these are replaced by other political power systems. Specifically, the research explores the path dependencies of Franco's discourses that led to the development of Badia del Vallès (Catalonia, Spain) under Franco's regime, whether there are legacies of these discourses in present narratives. The utility of identifying such legacies relates to understand the reasons of present discourses through the revision of past discourses, to identify what the future progresses of discursive realities and narratives could be, and thence to promote changes in the direction of better future.



3. Methodology

With regard to understand the discursive realities behind the construction of Badia del Vallès, the legacies of these discursive realities and their possible future evolution, three main methods are used; literature review, discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews. The application of these methods is divided in two main phases.

Step 1: Literature review and discourse analysis

The analysis of the discourses that led the construction of Badia del Vallès it is conditioned a prior analysis on the general context of Franco's regime; thus an analysis on main Franco's regime discourses. The study of main Franco's discourses is approached through review on main political bases of Franco's regime.

The analysis of main Franco's discourses is followed by zoom into discourses regarding labour, gender, social assistance, religion, housing and social housing. The choice is justified because a preliminary research had shown relations between labour, gender, social assistance, housing and social housing in Francoism regime. Further, the administrations in charge of these departments were controlled by fascist from la Falange. Correspondingly, the government departments in charge of social housing were related to government departments of labour, gender and social assistance. Furthermore, the research also zooms in religion since catholic religion postulates were used for the regime as main mean for social order and control during dictatorship (Moreno-Seco, 2002). Therefore, the analysis of labour, gender, social assistance, religion, housing and social housing provides the contextual frame to develop discourse analysis and their legacies in the case of Badia del Vallès.

Franco's discourses analysis is approached through literature review. Literature is selected using Scopus, the Web of Science and SocINDEX. The results will be broadened with Boolean searches combinations and snowball technique. Moreover Franco's discourse analysis is also developed by using media sources of the time.

- NO-DO⁶ : 44 different NO-DO are related to housing propaganda
- Magazine: *Hogar y arquitectura* (Dwelling and architecture). 1955-1977. Ediciones y Publicaciones Populares.

⁶ NO-DO refers to the documentaries of Franco's regime propaganda that were exhibited before the screening of films in theatres in Spain between 1946 and 1976. Available from:

<http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/>

- Newspapers:
 - o *Diario de Barcelona,*
 - o *La Vanguardia,*
 - o *El Correo Catalan,*
 - o *El Noticiero Universal*
- Other publications:
 - o *Viviendas de protección oficial* (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964),
 - o *25 años Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda,* (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1975)
 - o *Viviendas protegidas* (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947)
 - o *La protección oficial en la construcción de viviendas* (Lozano, D.H. Herrán, J.C.1969)

Step 2: Study case and discourse analysis

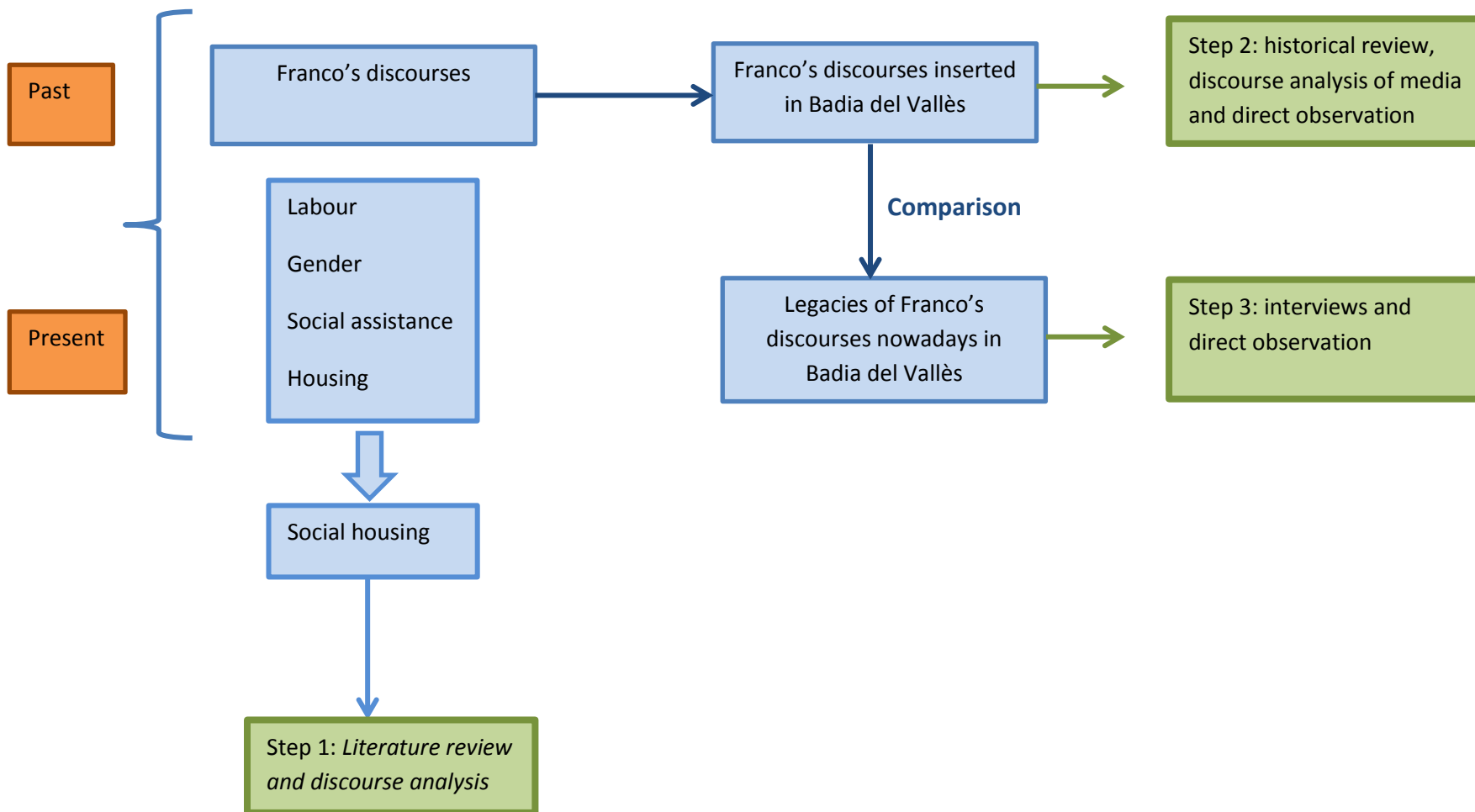
To analyse how Franco's discourses were transposed in the organization and design of the urban space of Badia del Vallès three main methods are used: historical review, discourse analysis of media and direct observation. Firstly, it is conducted an historical investigation of the area from a planning process approach. Secondly, it is developed an analysis of Franco's discourses embedded in the propaganda of Badia del Vallès. Taking in consideration during Franco's dictatorship media were used as propaganda of fascist and catholic discourses. Therefore, a critical analysis of discourses in the propaganda of Badia del Vallès provides with some understanding of discourses that led the construction of Badia del Vallès. The media analysed are *NO-DO, Diari de Bracelona* and *La Vanguarda, El Correo Catalan and El Noticiero Universal*. Finally, the area and some of the apartments are visited, thence, discourses in Badia del Vallès are also analysed through direct observation.

Step 3: Study case and interviews

After the analysis of the different discourses 'injected' in Badia del Vallès, the research invigorates to understand the legacies of path dependencies on residents narratives. In spite of answer this question, 17 semi-structured interviews are done to citizens. The interviews are divided into groups: adults that moved to the city during the first years after the it was built (first generation inhabitants), and residents born or rise in Badia del Vallès (second generation of inhabitants). Within the second generation of interviewers, it can be distinguished two sub groups; the ones that moved to the area when they were kids, thus they were rise there; and the ones that were born and rise in the city. Therefore, from 17 interviews, 8 are done to first

inhabitants and 9 to second generation ones. Finally, 3 experts are also interviewed to provide general knowledge of the area.

Since the topic of dictatorship is still a sensitive topic, it has been considered not to record the entire interview, thus to provide the interviewees more freedom to talk about sensitive topics; instead, notes are taken. Therefore, the interviews are not transcribed



3.1. Information of the case study: Badia del Vallès

3.1.1. Catalonia

The case study of this report, Badia del Vallès is located in the outskirts of Barcelona, the main city of Catalonia. This section provides a brief review of the different economic and political development of Catalonia, which helps to understand the specific characteristics of Badia del Vallès explained in the next section.

From 1900 until 1930 there was an expansion for the Catalan economy and institutional politics. In this period Barcelona was consolidated as an industrial area on a European scale. However the political disruptions in Spain - Primo de Rivera dictatorship 1923-1930 and II Republic 1931-1939 and Civil War 1936-1939- amputated the political and economic development of Catalonia.

When the civil war finished and Franco's dictatorship started, Spain went through a period of fifteen years of deeply economic crisis, international isolation and autarchy. During this period Catalan economy went backwards, until 1955 (Baró-Tomàs and Villafaña-Muñoz, 2009). In 1955 Franco implemented some measures of modernisation and liberalisation of domestic and foreign trade (Baró-Tomàs and Villafaña-Muñoz, 2009). This led to an exceptional economic and industrial growth in Spain, especially in Catalonia, Madrid and Valencia (Baró-Tomàs and Villafaña-Muñoz, 2009). At the same time, these regions highly increase their population. There were waves of immigration from rural parts of Spain towards these industrial areas (Baró-Tomàs and Villafaña-Muñoz, 2009). In the Catalan case the immigration was coming especially from Andalusia, Murcia, Extremadura and Aragon (Solé, 2000).

According to Baró-Tomàs and Villafaña-Muñoz (2009) from 1955 until 1975 Catalonia tripled the value of the economy and increased the population by 1.732.000 people. This population growth was composed by Spanish immigrants that moved to Barcelona's outskirts areas: Baix Llobregat, Vallès Occidental, Barcelonès, Garraf, Vallès Oriental, Bages and Maresme.

3.1.2. Badia del Vallès

The population growth in Barcelona area from 1955 to 1975 meant an increasing pressure on the housing sector. The lack of housing created phenomenon of slums and overpopulated apartments. Consequently, the Decree 696/1961 of 13th of April approved the construction of 12.000 social houses in Barcelona's area within a period of five years. Badia del Vallès –which

in that moment was called Santa Maria de Barberà polygon- was the areas chosen to build 5.372 houses.

Badia del Vallès is a municipality located in Vallès Occidental region. Vallès Occidental region is one industrial regional located in Barcelona's outskirts area. Therefore, during the period 1955 to 1975 many Spaniards coming from rural parts of Spain moved to Vallès Occidental. Thus, it was a proper location to shelter massively Spanish immigrants. The following paragraphs present the main characteristics of the study case. Hence, how were the previous steps before the construction of the area, what services offered the city and what kind of population obtain the houses

Characteristics of the project

As can be seen in *map 2* Badia del Vallès is located at the confluence point of Cerdanyola, Santa Maria de Barbera and Sabadell. Badia del Vallès is surrounded by main industrial cities of the region, as Sabadell or Terrassa. Moreover Badia del Vallès is also surrounded by strategic highways – C-58 and AP-7-. However, there are not direct links between Badia del Vallès and the surrounding highways.

The residential area of Badia del Vallès was developed by the *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*, INV (National Institute of Housing), the *Organización Sindical del Hogar*, OSH (Union Organization for Housing) and the collaboration of *Instituto Nacional de Urbanización*, INU (National Institute for Urbansim). The project consisted 5.372 that were built through OSH as Contractor Company and INV as promoter. All the houses of the Badia del Vallès were under the regime of social housing and property through loans supported by the INV.

The first order of delimitation of the project considered a surface of 70 hectares, with the possibility to expand 30 hectares. The following order delimitation was ratifying in June of 1962, which confirm the expansion of the building land until 100 hectares. Thus, in 1962 the expropriation processes started until 1967 for 88,7 hectares (Sanchez, 1982). Nevertheless, the residential area was reduced to 63,7 hectares, because 25 hectares were used for the future highway between Barcelona and Terrassa and a road belt for the metropolitan area (Sanchez, 1982).

The Master Plan of the project was approved on October 1965 redacted by J.Baldrich and L. Gelpi. 11.504 houses were planned for 51.768 residents. The Master Plan imagined an independent city, with principal axis for commercial activities, all the services needed in the centre of the city and good communications with adjacent cities (Renau and Tarrés, 1987).

Nonetheless, there was a lack of coordination between Ministers; as a result part of the area planned for the construction of Badia del Vallès was also planned to be the future highway between Barcelona and Terrassa and a road belt for the metropolitan area. Hence, the Master Plan had to be restructured (Renau and Tarrés, 1987).

The restructured Master Plan was approved in 1975. 5.372 houses were planned, between 4 to 5 inhabitants in each house; Hence, 24.700 occupants in total (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). The commercial uses -136 commercial offices- were located in the ground floors and in areas with higher densities or areas presumably more profitable. In total were planned 1336 parking spots; one spot for four houses (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974)

Moreover, the restructured plan reduced the services planned (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). The restructured plan projected three commercial centres, four education centres, five nursery schools, one health centre, two cultural centres, two social centres, one sport centre and six green areas. However, Sanchez (1982) exposes that the *INV* had no power to construct these services; *INV* was only allowed to reserve the space for these services. Except for the church, that had to be built by the *INV*. The rest of the services were developed by other ministers or private investors.

In 1970 the competition for the construction of the houses commercial offices and basic roads was held. Cubiertas y Tejados was the contractor. After delays in processing, the homes were built in 20 months; in April 1973 the works were finish (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). The houses were constructed by prefabrication processes. The prefabrication process chosen was "TRACOPA" –system previously used in France-. "TRACOPA" consists in a set of resistant concrete panels assembled in vertical and horizontal and linked by a system of concreted joints done "in situ" (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974).

Five types of houses were built in Badia del Vallès, in concordance with the regulations of *Plan Nacional de la Vivienda 1961-1971*⁷ (Housing National Plan) (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974).

⁷ Housing National Plan developed in 1961 to face housing problems in Spain. The plan pretended to build four million houses until 1975. The plan aimed to support private investors in construction business.

- 1392 houses type T-72/3 with 3 rooms. The usable surface of these houses is 58 square meters. There are 48 blocks of T-72/3, divided in 5 floors, each block has 29 houses.
- 160 houses type T-72/4 with 4 rooms. The usable surface of these houses is 64 square meters. There are 16 blocks of T-72/4, divided in 5 floors, each block has 10 houses.
- 127 houses T-86/2 with 2 rooms. The usable surface of these houses is 57 square meters. There are 2 blocks of T-86/2, divided in 16 floors, each block has 63 houses.
- 3437 houses T-86/3 with 3 rooms. The usable surface of these houses is 68 square meters. There are 119 blocks of T-86/3, divided in 9 or 11 floors. Each block has between 17 to 21 houses, depending if they have commercial office in the ground floor.
- 256 houses T-86/4 with 4 rooms. The usable surface of these houses is 68 square meters. There are 8 blocks of T-86, divided in 16 floors; each block has 32 houses.

The set of manufactured homes are organized based in two types; linear block grouping and H for high rise buildings; Hexagons formed by grouping blocks of three wings for low buildings forming interior spaces, supposedly for community use (Rubert, 2009). Lower buildings are located adjacent to the garden city of Barberà del Vallès (Renau and Tarrés, 1987); higher buildings are located in central and left sectors. The road structure reproduces the shape of Spain and its street nomenclature refers to Spanish geography.

According to Renau and Tarrés (1987), the whole project was developed outside the law. Since the houses were built in 1973 and the final approval for the Master Plan was 1975, besides the Master Plan was not approved by the *Comisión Comarcal de Urbanismo* (Regional Commission of Urbanism) (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). Moreover, the conditions to obtain the houses were not respected. The criteria to gain one of the houses were: low family income, affiliation to *Sindicato Vertical*⁸ (Vertical Union), to be married or plan to be married the same year. Besides some extra points were given to candidates that had their working place close to Badia del Vallès and one member of the family older than 60 or student from *Universitat Autònoma de*

⁸ *Sindicato Vertical* (Vertical Union) the only union organization legal during Franco's regime. It was controlled by *FET y de Las JONS* party

Barcelona. Albeit, these criteria were not followed; instead personal criteria were followed which resulted in awarding more than one house to some families. Hence, some houses were empty until 1977, when some of the apartments were occupied. On the side, 1.989 houses were reserved for public workers from: train company (RENFE), Post company (Correos y telegrafos), Phone company (Telefoncia), and regional offices of the *Sindicato Vertical* and *INV*.

In general, the project was characterized by lack of coordination between different administrations, lack of participation of adjacent municipalities –which had to manage the area after the construction- and low quality of the houses (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). Nevertheless, in July 1975, under the presidency of Juan Carlos, the title deeds of the houses were given (Renau and Tarrés, 1987).

Image 1: Badia del Vallès



Source: ABC, 18/11/2013

Characteristics of the population

According to the data collected by Renau and Tarrés (1987) by majority, citizens of Badia del Vallès were working in Barcelona and adjacent cities to Barcelona (see *Table 1*). Furthermore, Barcelona was the previous residence city for most of the dwellers of Badia del Vallès (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). In the same vein, according to data from 1981 majority of inhabitants performed main activities in Barcelona: working, leisure, non-daily shopping (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). On the side, according to the data of 1981 (Renau and Tarrés, 1987) most of the population was born outside Catalonia, mostly in Andalusia and Castilla Leon (see *Table 3*).

Moreover, the main working sectors were industrial and services, mostly in private companies (see *table 4 and 5*). Nevertheless, the unemployment rate IN 1981 was high 21,84%. The unemployment rate by sex was 78,1% between men and 21,8% between women (see *table 6*). The differences can be explained because in majority women were housewives, not counting as active population; 18% of women stop working when they move to Badia del Vallès and became housewives (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). Further, as a result of awarding criteria – preference for young marriages- the demographic structure of the area was mostly composed by young population; high amount of young men. Thence, more men counted as active population and higher rate of unemployment.

The family income in 1981 was 30% lower than Catalan average (Renau and Tarrés, 1987). Nonetheless, the data show (see *table 7*) that having an own car –which is considered as indicator of economic welfare- was common between Badia del Vallès families, probably due to high rate of commuting and the bad quality of public transports (Renau and Tarrés, 1987).

Data from 1977 also show the common low education level of the population (see *table 8*). Correspondingly, Renau and Tarrés (1987) used education level rates and book shopping rates from 1981 to show the low level of education. Both sources proved that more than half of the inhabitants have only the basic level of education.

The municipality of Badia del Vallès

In legal terms it was created a municipality community with the municipalities Cerdanyola and Vallès Barberà del Vallès. This municipality community was administrated through a Management Committee between the two towns, every two years the mayors exchanged positions: one president and one vice-president (Municipality Badia del Vallès, 2012).

After the completion of the works, citizens reported many deficits of facilities and infrastructure (Sanchez, 1982). This situation led to an important activism of its residents during the seventies and eighties. An important neighbourhood association movement was developed, which at the same time created a sense of identity (Sanchez, 1982).

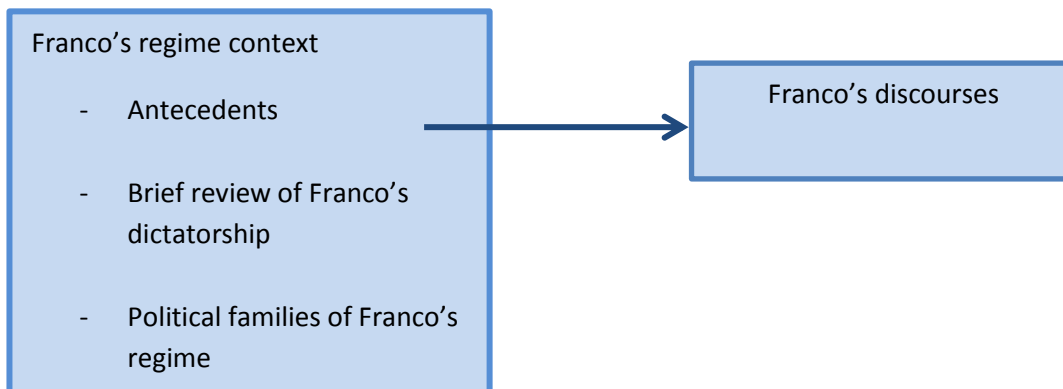
However, the solution for the deficit of services and infrastructures were difficult to apply due to the administration dependency to other municipalities (Municipality Badia del Vallès, 2012) and. Thence, residents started to have a strong desire to make the city a municipality independently. In 9th February 1994, the Parliament of Catalonia approved the Law 1/94 of February 22th for the creation of the municipality of Badia del Vallès (Municipality Badia del Vallès, 2012).

Nonetheless, municipal finances were a problem for Badia del Vallès. All the houses were under social housing regime, which had a special municipal tax treatment reduction (Sanchez, 1982). Low tax collection combined with the lack of industry within the jurisdictional limits meant an extremely reduce municipal budget (Sanchez, 1982). First draft budgets in 1975 showed that it was needed 27 million expenditure, but it was possible to obtain revenues of 7 million (Sanchez, 1982). Therefore, higher Badia del Vallès finances are balanced by contributions of other public administrations, as the regional government. As a result,

currently Badia del Vallès has services and infrastructure as any other city in Catalonia (Municipality Badia del Vallès, 2012). Its population is composed by 14.064 inhabitants (IDESCAT, 2014).

4. Franco's dictatorship

In favour of acknowledge if there are legacies of path dependencies of Franco's discourses that lead the construction of Badia del Vallès, it is necessary to understand Franco's discourses. Nevertheless, to understand Franco's discursive realities it must be comprehended the context of Franco's regime. Therefore, the aim of this section is to provide necessary information of Franco's dictatorship; a brief review of the context within Franco's regime started and how it developed.



4.1. Antecedents

According to Pérez-Agote (2003) Spain was a highly catholic country during XIX and part of XX centuries (Pérez-Agote, 2003). Yet, during both centuries there were economic and social changes derived from industrialization and urban development. These economic and social transformations meant changes in the political scene; Liberal, socialist and republican ideologies developed an anticlerical left current of thought (Pérez-Agote, 2003). During the XIX century there was a permanent political conflict between left and rights sides; right sides attempted to recover the mythical order of Old Regime. On the side, the left pretended to implement modernization processes (Pérez-Agote, 2003).

In 1902 Alfonso XIII ascended to the throne. The reign of Alfonso XIII was characterized by a unstable political situation. The main problems that Alfonso XIII had to face were; labour class struggles due to working conditions; the Rif War⁹ in Morocco; the nationalistic movements in Catalonia and Basque Country; and the dissatisfaction of the army (Spanish Books, 2011). All these issues together with the arrival of Italian fascism gave way to coup d'état in Madrid in 1923 (Spanish Books, 2011). The coup d'état consolidated the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera. Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship lasted from 1923 to 1930. The dictatorship was

⁹ The Rif War, also called the Second Moroccan War, was fought in the early 1920s between the colonial power Spain (later assisted by France) and the Moroccan Berbers of the Rif mountainous region.

inspired in Mussolini's model; however it was less totalitarian and did not mean a fascist revolution (Payne, 1961). Payne (1961) argues that Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was a governmental conservative dictatorship of a small monarchist-military group. There was an only political party called *Unión Patriótica*¹⁰ (*Patriotic Union*), other parties and ideologies were banned.

Miguel Primo de Rivera was forced to step down in January of 1930 due to working-class struggles, economic crisis -Great Depression 1929-, general unhappiness reached by the army and republican uprisings (Payne, 1973). After Primo de Rivera's step down, Spain started a succession of unstable governments until 1931. In 1931 there were elections and republican parties won in most of the Spanish regions; the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed. The Second Spanish Republic meant many political and social reforms: universal suffrage, educational reforms, agrarian reforms and secularization (Spanish Books, 2011).

Conversely, due to permanent conflict between right and left wings and the permanent economic crisis social tensions were still growing. In 1936, elections split the country into two; Republican Government and its supporters (alliance communists, socialists and anarchists); On the other side, Nationalists (a right-wing alliance of the army, the church, the monarchy and the fascist party of *Falange Española y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista*¹¹) (Payne, 1961). This situation gave way to army uprising in 18th July 1936 by group of rebel soldiers which they were led by Franco. The army uprising was another attempt for recovering mythical social order of Old Regime, mixed with revolutionary ideas of fascism. The army rebels were supported by right parties, conservative Carlists¹² and the Fascist of FE y de las

¹⁰ Unión Patriótica was a political party created by Spanish dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera. The party was created as the only party supporting his conservative dictatorship. Unión Patriótica was composed by political Catholicism, technocrats and economic elites. During Second Spanish Republic, the party was called *Unión Monarquista* (Monarchist Union). In 1936 was merged into the Falange (see ³).

¹¹ The fascist were represented by the party *Falange Española y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista*, *FE y de las JONS* (Spanish Phalanx of the Assemblies of National-Syndicalist Offensive of the FE and JONS). *FE y de las JONS* was composed by two political parties; Falange, (FE) and *Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista*, (*JONS*). Falange was the fascist party created by the first-born son of the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera, José Antonio Primo de Rivera. José Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the political party Falange in 1933. The Falange was a fascist political party inspired in Mussolini's principles. *Juntas de Ofensiva nacional-sindicalista*, *JONS* (national-syndicalist offensive) was also a fascist political party created by Onésimo Redondo, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and others. Both parties were joined together in 1934. In 1937, due to Franco's decree of unification traditional Carlists parties and other right parties also joined FE and JONS, creating FET and JONS.

¹² Carlism is an ant-liberal political movement that emerged in Spain in the nineteenth century. Carlism emerged as a result of a struggle for the throne between Isabel II of Spain, daughter of Fernando VII, and Carlos María Isidro brother of Fernando VII. The struggle for the throne between Isabel II of Spain and Carlos María Isidro, was a struggle between two political, social class. The supporters of Carlos María Isidro -Carlists- were the traditional and

JONS. Some military units of Spain followed the uprising: Morocco, Pamplona, Burgos, Valladolid, Cádiz, Cordova, and Seville. Nonetheless, some important cities—such as Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Bilbao, and Malaga— remained into the Republic side. Therefore, the country was militarily and politically divided. Hence, the civil war started in 18th of July of 1936 between the Republicans and the Nationalists -the rebel wing of the Spanish army-. The war last until 1st of April of 1939

The Nationalists advanced from the south and the west –were they had more supporters-. In 1937 they already captured most of Spain's northern coastline (Payne, 1973). At the ends of 1938 and beginnings of 1939 they captured large parts of Catalonia (Payne, 1973). The war ended in April of 1939 with the victory of the Nationalists and the exile of thousands of Spaniards.

Although, during the war both side committed atrocities, on the republican side less atrocities were committed (Vidal-Castaño, 2012). The atrocities committed by Nationalists were mostly organized purges to eliminate leftism and consolidate the new political regime (Vidal-Castaño, 2012).

4.2. Brief review of Franco's dictatorship

In April 1939 Franco's dictatorship started and it last until 1975. During 36 years there was a permanent political and social repression of the opposition. Indeed, there was only one political party, the *FET y de las JONS* (*see*⁹). After WWII the term party was avoided and replaced by *Movimiento Nacional* or *El Movimiento* (National Movement or The Movement).

From 1939 until 1942 Spain was declared as state of emergency. In 1942 *Ley de Cortes* (Law of Courts) was approved. This law defined the government as ultimately responsible for all legislation (Fernández-Puig 2011). Hence, the Courts of Spain was only an advisory body elected by neither direct nor universal suffrage. Instead, all ministers were chosen by Franco as the only figure of legislation power (Fernández-Puig 2011).

Historians consider that Franco's regime had two main stages. From 1939 until 1959, first Francoism; while from 1959 until 1975, second Francoism. During the first Francoism it can be

anti-liberal wing of the Spanish society. Hence, the defenders of the Old Regime (the Church, the aristocracy, etc.). On the other side, the supporters of Isabel II represented the bourgeois and liberal reforms inspired in the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. Carlism had little impact on large cities, being a predominantly rural movement. During XIX There were three civil wars, called Carlist wars. The First Carlist War(1833-1840), the Second Carlist War (1846-1849) and the Third Carlist War (1872 to 1876).

distinguish two sub-periods; from 1939 until 1944 and from 1944 until 1959. According to Sanz (2013), until 1944 the fascist forces had strong influence in Spanish politics. The fascist forces developed several laws to strip the fascist project. Nevertheless they faced grave economic and political adversities. The period 1939 till 1944 it is characterized by post-war legal arbitrariness, experiments of fascist, compulsory union labour, state social control, autarky, state economic intervention and reconstruction (Sanz, 2013). Besides, dismantle the Republican socio-legislation and persecution and humiliation of Republicans (Sanz, 2013). During the first Francoism, economic policies were basically anti-market policies, which resulted in high inflation rates, and hence, the creation of 'black' markets (Sanz, 2013).

Still, the result of Second World War meant progressive symbolic and institutional changes in Spanish regime. Accordingly, the traditionalist forces -Catholic and neo-traditionalist- gained more influence. It was a period characterized by reconstruction, Catholic Church acquired large areas of representation and some protectionist and liberalizing economic measures were adopted (Jumilla, 2007).

In the early 1950s, in the context of cold war Spain become strategic for the United States and its European allies against the Soviet Union. Hence, it started an alliance between Spain and US. This alliance meant the end with the international isolation, which help the economy and rise tourism (Spanish Books, 2011). The end of international isolation was accompanied by a relaxation of extreme economy interventionist policies (Spanish Books, 2011).

In 1959, second Francoism started when a critical economic situation induced drastic economic reforms. Since 1957 a political élite associated with Opus Dei¹³ became strong influence wing in Spanish politics (Payne, 1967). They were called *technocrats* because they occupied the key economic posts by developing modern economic neoliberalism. They developed the *Plan de Estabilización y Liberación de la economía Española 1959* (Liberalization and Stabilization Plan of the Spanish Economy) and push Spain to modernisation and international investments (Payne, 1967).

¹³ Opus Dei is a Roman Catholic sect organization funded in Spain in 1928 by Jose Maria Escrivá de Balaguer (1902-75). Opus Dei is composed for both clergy and lay members and dedicated to fostering Christian principles at all levels of society. The main principles of Opus Dei are: lay spirituality, freedom of conscience, love for the poor, care for details, passionate love for the world, love for the Church and the Pope, Christian identity and collegiality in governance. Opus Dei is composed mostly for families, the ideal of Christian family has an elemental role in the organization (Opus Dei Information Office, 2013)

At the same time, Franco did some political changes. For example a new *Ley organica del Estado 1967* (Organic Law 1967), which was supposed to limit Franco's power by establishing a President of the Government. Moreover Franco offered the throne of Spain to Juan Carlos of Bourbon (Payne, 1967). Juan Carlos of Bourbon promised to follow the ideology of the National Movement, hence, to perpetuate Franco's regime (Payne, 1967). Instead, after Franco's death -20th of November of 1975- Juan Carlos of Bourbon promoted a referendum for political reforms which meant the beginning democratic transition.

4.3. Political families of Franco's regimes

After the contextualization and brief description of Franco's dictatorship it is needed to comprehend the origin and discursive realities of main political families of the regime. The following section provides an analysis of the main political families of the regime and their discourses. This analysis is needed to understand Franco's narratives and their transposition in Badia del Vallès.

Franco's narratives embraced three political wings and promoted each one in different periods of the dictatorship; From 1939 until 1944 fascist had main role. From 1949 to 1969 national-Catholic forces were predominant. Finally from 1959 to 1975 Opus-Dei led the regime. The reinforcement of each specific political wing was according to internal and international context. Therefore, Franco adapted the regime to different political wings, at the same time these wings adapted to the regime.

Fascist defended a revolutionary resurrection to construct a new national order through a social and national revolution, which was necessary to mobilise popular bases. Instead, **National Catholicism** promoted a non-revolutionary resurrection to impose absolute monarchy and economic control of aristocratic elites; Old Spanish regime. The mix of both political trends –as a result of civil war- resulted in a set of narratives, symbols and ideologies coming from reactionary Catholicism and fascism; revolution and traditionalism, social transformation and reactionary order (Perez-Agote, 2003).

In 1957 another political force came to the scene: **Opus-Dei**. Opus Dei is a religious, but not political, organization. Opus Dei attempts to reconquer the influence lost by the Church in modern society (Payne, 2008). In October 1969, 10 of the 19 ministerial seats were given to people associated with Opus Dei. Opus Dei ministers supported modern economic liberalization (Payne, 2008). Although, the political philosophy of some members of Opus-Dei

could be considered contrary to fascist ideology, Franco considered Opus-Dei members more capable than either old Falangists or national Catholics (Payne, 2008). Besides, Opus Dei members applied a “doctrine of pragmatic, pluralistic modernizing authoritarianism, capable of accommodating change while preserving the basic structure of the Franco regime, to continue, presumably, even after Franco's demise” (Payne, 2008). Therefore, Franco’s regime continued, while the economy was being liberalized.

4.3.1. Fascism in Franco’s dictatorship

The influence of the fascism of *FET y de las JONS* in Franco’s regime has been studied by social scientist. Stanley Payne is one of the most influential scientists regarding Franco’s dictatorship. He considers that Franco’s dictatorship is a unique case due to its last and to its heterogeneity. Its heterogeneity refers to the influence that non-fascist political, social and institutional forces supporting the regime had, which set aside fascism ideology. The relegation of fascist ideology in Franco’s dictatorship has been interpreted by social scientist in different ways that can be aggregated in two main groups.

The first one is represented by the sociologist Juan Jose Linz. In 1970 Linz published “*De la Falange al Movimiento: el partido único y el régimen de Franco (1970)*” (From the Falange to the Movimiento: the only party and Franco’s regime). According to Linz theory, Spain was an authoritarian regime of limited pluralism; neither totalitarian nor fascist. Linz considered *FET y de las JONS* as an authoritarian political party, without a clear ideology due to its internal heterogeneity. Moreover, Linz also argued that *FET y de las JONS* was characterised by a high level of bureaucratization and loss of relevance in front of other political forces (Sanz, 2013). In concordance with Linz theories, other social scientist also defend the idea of Franco’s dictatorship as non-fascist, rather characterised as an authoritarian, reactionary and catholic dictatorship with limited pluralism.

In opposition to Linz theory, other social scientist approach Franco’s dictatorship from cultural approach. The cultural approach - defended by authors as Gallego and Sanz- emphasises the relevance of the fascist project of *FET y de las JONS*, although the specific situation of fascism in Spain. Accordingly, scientists from cultural approach argue that *FET y de las JONS* and other areas controlled by fascist had an importance role in the ideological development of Franco’s regime. In this sense, Sanz (2013) define Franco’s dictatorship as a fascistized dictatorship.

Fascist dictatorships bring together the fascist project represented by FET y de las JONS and the complex interactions and influences of right reactionary, nationalistic and catholic forces – called National-Catholicism-. According to Sanz (2013) approach, during the civil war there was a process of spread and empowerment of fascist ideology through the Franco's bloc. Still this process was never completed. Therefore, there was a limited defascitization of the regime during 1941-1945, which was emphasised during the economic opening 1957-1962 (Payne, 1961; Perez-Agote, 2003; Jumilla, 2007; Thomas, 2011; Sanz 2013). Sanz (2013) argues that the causes of the defascitization of the regime are the unification between National-Catholics forces and fascist. This unification was called national-syndicalism in the party *FET y de las JONS* in 1937 and led to several internal battles in the party. Moreover, the defeat of Axis power in 1945 also meant an international defeat of fascist project. Although this defascitization process fascist ideology was not totally left aside; since fascist controlled some of the governmental areas (Perez-Agote, 2003; Jumilla, 2007; Thomas, 2011; Sanz 2013). Moreover, nationalistic-catholic forces were also supporting part of fascist ideology (Thomas, 2011). Thus, the limits between National-Catholicism and fascism were not clear.

4.3.2. Discourses of Spanish Fascism

According to Sanchez-Lopez (1999) Spanish Fascism discourses were ruled over three main units of social structural organizations:

- Natural unit of human cohabitation
- Historical unit of human cohabitation
- Spiritual unit of human cohabitation

The natural unit of human cohabitation refers to organization of organic society through family, municipality and unions (Sanchez-Lopez, 1999). These three subunits were the base of the social organization; each individual had a function and rank within the organization.

Secondly, historical unit of human cohabitation refers to the nation. Nationalism was based on the ideal of national cohesion and hierarchy. Moreover, national cohesion and hierarchy was always linked to natural unit of human cohabitation by using symbolism. The final goal of natural unit of human cohabitation was the common good for the nation.

Finally, spiritual unit of human cohabitation relates to the Church, which comprehend the rest of human cohabitation units and provides moral values models.

During 1939 till 1940 FE-JONS approved many laws favourable to fascist ideology. However, the application of these laws was limited due to the lack of economic resources (Thomas, 2011). They controlled the following areas (Thomas, 2011):

- Direct control of Falange's members
- Control of working class through unions (sindicatos verticales);
- Political and social control of women, youth and students;
- Control and operation of the media;
- Repressive tasks;
- Social assistance and social housing, used for propaganda;
- Participation in various institutions, such as Spanish Courts and some ministries: General Secretariat's, agriculture, labour or others.

All these power fields were relevant to attract mass population. In this sense, Molinero (in Sanz, 2013) stressed the centrality of discursive realities of FE-JONS to legitimated Franco's regime. These discursive realities were focus on strengthening the national cohesion and promoting traditionalist moral codes. Accordingly, social assistance practices were used to spread these discourses, especially propagandistic discourses of social justice. On the side, the ministries and organizations controlled by the fascist - Labour Ministry, Sindicatos Verticales and Feminine Section- were also means to spread and consolidate fascist narratives; thus, rhetoric of social justice and national cohesion. Nevertheless, fascist could did not reach the domain in education, which was usually controlled by Catholics (Sanz, 2013).

Besides, Fascist also controlled the repressive action against all the opponents during the civil war; since they were considered enemies of the regime they were persecuted after the end of the civil war (Sanz, 2013).

In concordance with Fascist, the war was an important memory. It was considered the moment when the youth set the foundations of the new state. Those that were not with the 'good' side during the war, had to be punish. The punishment was done by building and empowering discourses of defeat, punishment of the defeated by working exploitation, humiliation and violence (Sanz, 2013). Hence, the objective was to construct discursive realities of regret and fear among the non-supporters of the regime.

4.3.3. National Catholicism discourses

According to Martí- Martí (1974) national Catholicism is based on four main features:

- Catholicism and nationalism are inherently linked. Therefore, faith is controlled by patriotism, at the same way, patriotism is controlled by faith.
- Civil values are subjected to faith. Therefore, social order shape through catholic moral.
- Modernization has brought degeneracy of society; anti-modernity. Life based on an idealized memory of the past: the Golden Age of the Empire.
- Project to reconquer society from the apostolic and political arenas.

Right catholic forces considered Franco's dictatorship as a proper frame to apply its ideology. Moreover, Civil War is seen as a reconquer process; thus, called crusade (Martí- Martí, 1974). A crusade ran by economic and religious elites. These elites defend the value of private property under state control, to protect their properties from left ideologies and labour movements.

Organic democracy and traditional family

In terms of social and economic organization Spanish fascism (national-syndicalism) and national-Catholicism argue for a central role of organic democracy and traditional family (Martí- Martí, 1974). Yet, there are some differences within the understanding of organic democracy and traditional family from national-syndicalism and national-Catholicism.

Organic democracy

The theory of organic democracy was developed by German and French Catholic intellectuals during the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to organic society theory, industrialisation and modernisation meant an individualisation of society and deterioration of working class, which led to social movements that broke the traditional equilibrium. Hence, organic democracy is a reaction against these social movements; thus, against collectivist aspirations of radical socialism (communism, Marxism, etc.) and also against liberal democracy politics (Sladky, 2012).

René de La Tour du Pin was one of the most important organic democracy theorists. He considered society as a living organism (Sladky, 2012). Therefore, society is not an organism guided by contracts among individuals, rather is a system guided by social functions (Sladky, 2012). Thus, each individual has a role to play, a function.

Sladky (2012) argues that René de La Tour du Pin goal was to apply social values from the Old Regime to the modern age. Therefore, authority and liberty should be balanced by intermediate bodies between individual and the State. In this sense, the family was the elemental collective, but also, provinces, corporations, and parliaments (Sladky, 2012). These

groups meant ties between individuals and. Moreover, these collectives restricted the liberty of the individual from within the group as to develop an equal and decent common life (Sladky, 2012). According to Sladky (2012), the moral principles to perform an equal and common decent life are:

- a) **Duties** and responsibilities within the organism prevail over individual rights. Organic democracy looks for a common good, rather than individual benefit; the individual sacrifice his own desires for the good of the community.
- b) Property of goods is equally **accessible for all**. Any individual has the right to be benefited from the use of goods, but through the access and defence of private property.
- c) **Subsidiarity** or pluralistic organization of society; freedom of association for private (family), social and labour life. Accordingly, the state has to balance the public control and the respect for private association and initiative.
- d) **Participation** the mean to achieve common good. Participation is the base of democracy and cannot be limited.
- e) **Solidarity** as a social principle and as moral value for human communities.
- f) **Freedom, true and justice** are the pillars of social organization.
- g) With a view to face complex and difficult social situations groups have to perform **charity** actions. Charity in front of social troubles represents the pillars of social organization: freedom, true and justice

National-Catholicism supports the subsidiarity principle, hoping for free Catholic workers' unions. But, national-syndicalism does not respect subsidiarity principle, since national-syndicalism argues for an authoritarian regime. Therefore, membership in the occupational corporations (*sindicatos verticales*) was compulsory. Moreover, there was only one political party.

Corporatism

In this organic society politics have to work according to needs of the organic community. The community is organized through corporatism, constructing a functional and non-ideological state (Sladky, 2012). René de La Tour du Pin (in Sladky, 2012) argues that through corporatism groups will be represented and able to develop their function.

Fernández Riquelme (2010) argues that corporatism is the method of representation and application of an organic democracy. Corporatism creates concordance between confronted groups; grouping employees and employers. The relations among them must be regulated

according to justice principle, catholic solidarity and charity. According to Fernández Riquelme (2010) corporatism has to be revolved around four main elements:

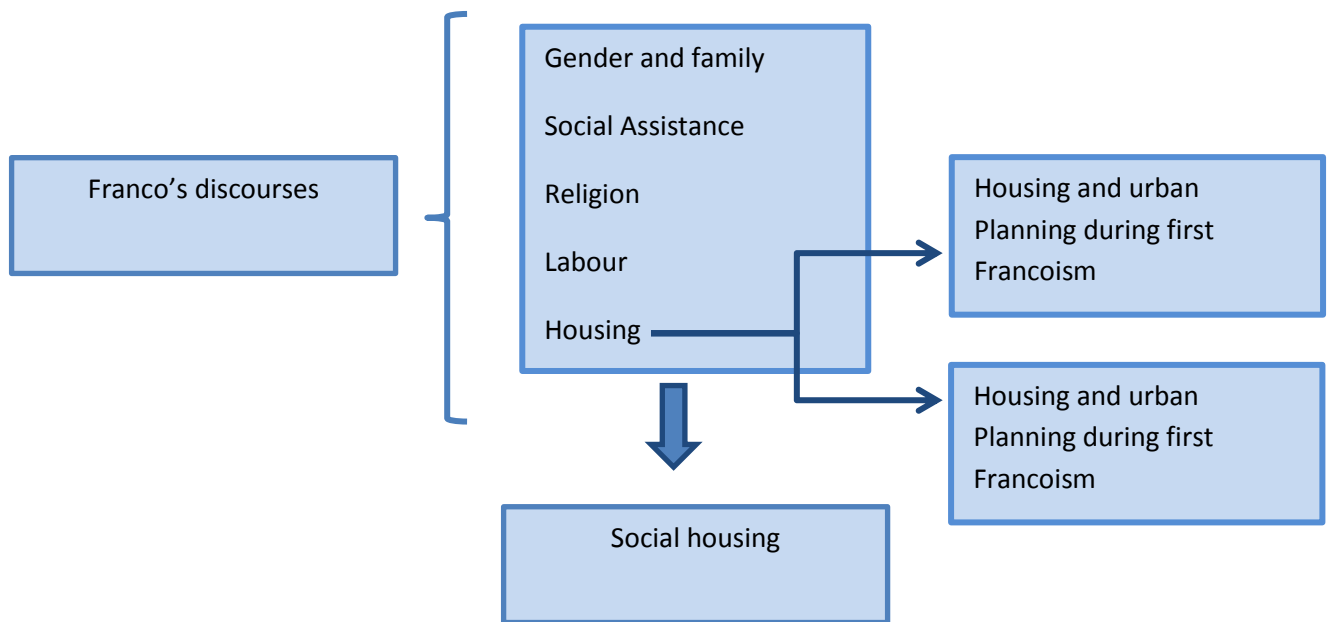
- a) The state and civil society have to stop class antagonism and promote collaboration between professions;
- b) Social organization must arise from professions, rather than classes;
- c) Within professions every individual has a function, a value that has to be respected and cannot be considered as a good;
- d) Individuals have to create associations within a frame of freedom and respect.

Traditional family

Family is the social basic unit within the organic society (Jumilla, 2007). This unit has to be rolled over discipline, abnegation, apathy, self-denial, passivity, guilt and subjugation of woman to husband and soon (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). The woman role had to be the 'mum and wife' (Manrique-Arribas, 2003).

National-syndicalism consider woman as an elemental part to spread fascist revolutionary discourses and actions. Moreover, reproduction function was not the only value which women could contribute to revolution, also their force of work was valued. Instead, according to National-Catholicism the woman was subjected to the authority of the husband or soon by consolidating and performing the concepts of discipline. National-Catholicism considers that the goal of the woman was to create a Christian environment at home – her field of action- where she had to teach the Christian dogmatic values, the popular traditions and lifestyles (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). Since family is the main mean of education, the woman is used to spread the traditional catholic values and behaviours, to thereby reduce the repressive activities of other state bodies (Manrique-Arribas, 2003).

5. Contextual policies



National-syndicalism and national-Catholicism discursive realities were transposed to different government narratives. For this research it has been analysed main characteristics of labour, social assistance, gender, religion and housing discourses. These discourses are reflected in social housing discursive realities; thus in discourses that led the construction of Badia del Vallès. Therefore, the analysis of labour, social assistance, gender, religion, housing and social housing discourses provide the reader with the necessary frame to understand the transposition of discursive realities in Badia del Vallès.

5.1. Gender and family: Feminine Section

Toward to control women education and behaviour the Falange created *Sección Femenina* ,S.F. (Femenine Section) in 1934. S.F. was the feminine branch of the party and it was ruled by Pilar Primo de Rivera Sáenz de Heredia, sister of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera Sáenz de Heredia (founder of Falange). "S.F. promoted a feminine ideal through the main objective: a complete education for women" (Manrique-Arribas, 2003, p.83).

The intentions of S.F. were to spread fascist feminine ideal. Still, as previously mentioned National-Catholicism ideologies had an important role in defining and instilling social and cultural values, especially in relation to women (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). Hence, the S.F. was sometimes in contradiction between gender conceptions and women role of fascist and catholic traditionalism.

According to S.F. principles, the feminine ideal had to be based on the role in creation strong family unit. This unit had to be rolled over discipline, abnegation, apathy, guilt and submission of woman to husband and soon (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). Catholic religion and assumed medical and scientific judgments, justify the submission of woman to husband due to her intellectual and physical inferiority and fragility (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). Therefore, the objective of woman was to construct a catholic atmosphere at home, where she had to instil the catholic ideals and submission role of feminine gender. The women were used to spread the values and behaviours in concordance with fundamentalist catholic ideologies. In this way, the repression applied trough other repressive organizations could be reduced (Manrique-Arribas, 2003).

Accordingly to Manrique-Arribas (2003) and Alicia Alted (1989) there were two periods in relation to education and conceptualization of women. The first fifteen years of Franco's regime, the most catholic fundamentalist doctrine was adopted (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). Manrique-Arribas (2003) dconsiders that the most fundamentalist doctrine could be applied due to the social and economic situation after the war; total destruction of the national productive system and high rate of mortality, especially between young mans and children. Thus, the reproduction function of woman was priority interest; women have to provide children to the nation (Sanchez-Lopez, 1999). Within this context the legal, ideological and cultural bases for the education of women based on traditionalist catholic doctrine could be set. Woman had to be educated to be an ideal catholic wife and mother who instil the essential values of Catholicism within the family: discipline, abnegation, submission and inferiority.

Nevertheless, mid-fifties the economic development produced certain social changes. These changes meant some transformations of discourses related to the role of women in society. Although, the conceptions of women from the previous years were still valid, some new discursive realities were added, such as the value of women work and the recognition of certain rights which relieve her role (Manrique-Arribas, 2003). That transformation was reflected in legal documents: 1947 right of woman to vote, 1953 association of woman university students, 1961 legislation "*Derechos políticos, profesionales y de trabajo de la mujer*" (*Political, professional and work rights of woman*) (Manrique-Arribas, 2003).

5.2. Social Assistance

Authors as Molinero (2006), Sanchez-Lopez (1999) and Jumilla (2007) argue that social assistance was one of the main tools that the regime used to instil his ideological values, their institutionalization, anti-republican repression and social control; thus, tools used for the legitimation of fascist discourses linked with the aim to strength national community (Sanz, 2013).

Social assistance discourses were developed by different organizations controlled by Falange: Ministerio de Trabajo, Obras Sindicales, Sección Femenina and Auxilio Social (Sanz, 2013). The Falange was controlling social assistance politics, but these politics were strongly influenced by economic and politics elites with national catholic discursive realities and technocratic trends. The results of friction between secular traditionalist, fascist and technocratic forces was also influenced by the international historical context (Second War World, Cold War, economic development, etc.). Therefore, social assistance politics were the result of friction between different political forces and historical context.

After the Civil War, from 1939 until 1943 social assistance policy was characterized by beneficence through multiple organizations with paternalist character, defeasance of republican social policy and state intervention (Jumilla, 2007). Policies of beneficence of these years were marginal and meant a high level of stigmatization (Guitierrez, 1987). Beneficence is always defined by the wish of the benefactor, while the beneficiary has no rights and he is hold in his condition of poorness (Guitierrez, 1987). In the case of Francoism benefactors were looking for social control trough paternalism, catholic moral and anti-republican repression.

As example, the municipal regulations approved in 1939, 1945, 1953 and 1955 *Ley de Bases de régimen local* (Bases for local regime) Art. 101

“Beneficence; protection of minors; prevention and repression of poverty; improving customs, social assistance especially through the creation of schools as benefit societies; social cooperatives and refuges for temporary residents”

Social justice was conceptualized as a path for national unification, authority, hierarchy; rather than distribution of resources and social equality (Sanchez-Lopez, 1999). Thus, social assistance policies were not a tool to transform, but they were used for propaganda and legitimatization of national-syndicalism.

After Second War World until 1957 the room of fascist ideology from national-syndicalism was slowly replaced for national-Catholicism. However, in terms of social assistance policies beneficence was still the base.

Between 1957 and 1962 the regime went through a technocratic and liberalization process that meant a political openness. In this context, the approach to social policies changed towards distributive and social equality. Two main systems were combined. First, *Seguridad Social* (Social Security) which covers basic protection: sickness, labour security; Second, complementary assistance for emergency and social exclusion (Gutierrez, 1987).

5.3. Religion

As previously mentioned, religion was one of the main bases of discursive realities of Franco's regime; Through religion social order and control were developed. According to Moreno-Seco (2002), the regime was using religion for social integration and submission. At the same time, the church used the political regime for the socialization of catholic discursive realities.

Moreno-Seco (2002) summarizes five fundamental principles of the religious political discourse during Franco's regime - the last two fundamental principles are added-

- a) The crusade myth. Spain is the nation elected to defend Christianity. Hence, Spanish nationalism and Catholicism are linked. The essence of Spanish nationalism is the endless fight between the catholic Spain and the non-Catholic, what is considered anti-Spain
- b) Franco represents the will of god and the leader of civilization
- c) Guilty, punishment and forgiveness. After the chaos of Second Republic and the religious persecution during civil war, there must be a collective guilt and punishment –hunger and violence- to achieve collective redemption. At the same time, the image of Spain as a catholic nation is used to integrate winners and defeated; religion as the unification element of the New Spain.
- d) Religion to legitimate socioeconomic system. The catholic discourse in terms of social justice justifies private property and social inequality.
- e) Catholicism and patriarchal organization. Family as nuclear unit led by the male, the father. Accordingly, the cult to some catholic personages was especially encouraged; Maria, as wife, mother and virgin; Or Ignacio de Loyola as soldier and monk (Moreno-Seco, 2002).
- f) Idealization of rural lifestyle (based on Mussolini's ideology). Agriculture and rural life are seen as bucolic and morality superior lifestyles. Indeed, urban areas are seen as chaotic and perverted due to liberal and communist ideas (Sanchez-Lopez, 1999).
- g) Political use of historical icons to construct an image of pass continuity (Sanchez-Lopez, 1999).

5.4. The labour

National-sindicalism and National Catholicism consider that employees and employers should be gathered through corporations. National Catholicism was hoping Corporatism to be the main element for the New State (Herrera-Oria, 1933 in Alier and Roca 1987/1988). Catholics were expecting Catholic workers and employers unions, which would be developed through collective contracts between employees and employers through the principle of subsidiarity (Fernández Riquelme, 2010).

The Catholics in Spain believed in the subsidiarity principle, hoping for free Catholic workers' unions "which would enter into collective contracts with the employers of the same 'corporation'" (Alier and Roca 1987/1988, p. 9) accordingly, the Spanish National-Catholics were expecting for natural corporatism to spread. But, according to Alier and Roca (1987/1988), after the civil war the social base necessary to develop corporatism was suppressed; since during the war many workers were killed and there was strong repression of workers unions (Alier and Roca 1987/1988).

Moreover, the subsidiarity principle was not respected under Franco's regime, since membership in the occupational corporations (*sindicatos verticales*) was compulsory. *Sindicatos verticales* were grouping both workers and employers. The officials of *sindicatos verticales* were chosen by the government, and had to be associated to the Falange. Besides, from 1939-1958, there was not real corporatism because salaries and working conditions were not negotiated, but regulated by the government (Alier and Roca 1987/1988).

The evolution of the regime and the international context entailed a progressive transformation towards functional, technocratic and neo-liberal models of corporatism from 1959 till 1975 (Alier and Roca 1987/1988). During this period there was ideological transformation inside the regime from authoritarian doctrines of social harmony to a primacy of the economy, but still authoritarian regime (Alier and Roca 1987/1988).

Concerning to apply primacy of the economy of model, in 1958 Franco approved the law of collective bargaining. The main function of this law was that collective bargaining agreements should be signed at decentralized levels (Alier, 1978). Nevertheless, Franco kept some restrictive power in case collective bargaining agreements could be inflationary (Alier and Roca 1987/1988). The objective of collective bargaining agreements was to link wage increases to

increase productivity and benefits and to strengthening social peace (Alier and Roca 1987/1988).

5.5. Housing and urban planning during first Francoism

It has to be considered that after the civil war Spain was in ruins; material and human capital was destroyed due to the combat. Besides, the destruction due to the war made worse the already existing lack of housing in the country, especially around the main cities and industrial areas.

As it has been explained, the first years after the civil war the national-syndicalism movement attempted to implement the fascist project. In concordance, they tried to rebuild the country in material and moral terms according to fascist criteria. There was a lot of work to do, as Franco said during the first National Council meeting after the war “Let’s get to work!” (Zira, 2012). As D’Ors (1938 in Zira, 2012) states the material nation had to be rebuilt reflecting the moral values of the new state; thus, the glory and majestic of the past and the wishes of the future according to the fascist ideology of FET-JONS. Accordingly, the architect Víctor D’Ors wrote *Confesión de un arquitecto* (Architect confessions),

“It is necessary to create a New Spain, totally new of continent and content, exclusively base on the authentic vein of our tradition. Hence, with imperial style and aspiration. Ever a country in any age has been building his empire with more joy and conviction” (D’Ors, 1938 in Zira, 2012, p. 153)

Therefore, it can be understood that the New Spain had to be built reflecting the glory of the past nation and the willing of imperial future to consolidate national syndicalist society; it was a revolutionary mission based on glorification of imperial past and mystification of civil war as crusade.

According to Zira (2012), the frames used for the architecture of the New Spain were organic architecture theory, imperial architecture and neoclassic architecture. Imperial architecture and neoclassic architecture were representing the glorious past of Spain. El Escorial and El Prado – built by Herrera and Villanueva respectively – were the main models of imperial architecture and neoclassic architecture (Zira, 2012). These models had to be used for inspiration to find own style, so not to reproduce past styles (Zira, 2012). Zira states that the result was a monumentalism architecture based on traditional and neoclassic styles (2012).

Furthermore, the text of D'Ors (1938 in Zira, 2012) also argues that the profession of architecture had to be unified to develop the project of the New Spain. In concordance in September 1939 it was founded the Directorate General of Architecture. Directorate General of Architecture had to guarantee the state coordination and control of architecture and planning (Zira, 2012). Thus, "To be ONE and NATIONAL"(Blein , 1939 in Zira, 2012, p.158).

According to the regulation of Directorate General of Architecture (BOE, 273), the Directorate had to work at the service of national-syndicalism ideologies. Therefore, the architects would work in concordance with national-syndicalism criteria previously defined by leaders of Falange: sober, austere, classical, simple and decent (Zira, 2012). Moreover, the Directorate General of Architecture was ruled by Pedro Muguruza, who was ascribed to Falange. On the side, the Directorate General of Architecture was depending on Government Ministry. Ramón Serrano Suñer was the minister of Government Ministry and one of the pillars of the fascitization process (Zira, 2012). Hence, national-syndicalism attempted to strength the relation between national-syndicalism principles and architecture profession.

Furthermore national-syndicalism aimed to influence the fundamentals of the urban planning. Zira (2012), states that organic theory was the base of Francoism urbanism. Accordingly, the nation was an organic system composed by sub-organs (regions, cities, and municipalities). Each sub-organ had a function within the system. These functions were defined by the State to serve the nation. At the same time, cities were also considered organs by themselves; therefore within the cities functions were distinguished to contribute to the supreme cause of the New State (Zira, 2012). As example, General Ideas about National Plan of Arrangement and Reconstruction (1939, Madrid, Technical Services of FET-JONS, Architecture department in Zira 2012):

Differentiation of functions and adequate available organs; hierarchy and mutual influence between functions and organs in systems analogous to physiological systems; unity, harmony and expression of the various members which constitute a unity with a fullness of perfection

In accordance with national-syndicalism, new cities had to be the reaction against urban liberalism and freedom. New cities would be a perfect creation to serve the national mission (Zira, 2012). As a result, it was needed a combination between the newest technical tools and the particular Spanish traditional art style and genius (Zira, 2012). Besides, Falangism cities

were also planned taking into account the idealization of rural lifestyles as organic and traditional societies. The result was urban areas with rural appearance.

In accordance to the theory frame used for this research, the state defined set of services and proposes for new urban developments to dignify citizens and insert them into the national-syndicalism rhetoric (Zira, 2012).

Nevertheless, there was a debate concerning the construction of new cities (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). The debate was between main families of Francoism regime: national-syndicalism, national-Catholicism and technocratic. As it has been said, national-syndicalism was on favour to overcome class struggles, but not to eliminate social class differences (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). In concordance, national-syndicalism was against spatial division in relation to social class. According to national-syndicalism, zonification and its spatial division in relation to social class was the result of liberalism cities (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). They stand up for mixing functions and classes within the cities, within each urban area, within each block. In concordance, working class had to be spread in different urban areas. As a result, dispersion will debilitate working class, which will make easier to control it (Lopez-Diaz, 2002).

On the side, the other political families of the regime argue for social segregation as a mean to defend bourgeois city (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). In this sense, Lopez-Diaz (2002) considers there was a spirit of revenge against worker classes, accusing them of the communist revolution and chaos of the Second Republic. Therefore, spatial segregation was seen a meant to punish working class.

5.6. Housing and urban planning during second Francoism

In the early 1950s, the critics towards Spanish architecture and planning greatly increased. The critics proceed mostly from architects close to Opus-Dei and technocratic approaches. According to them in terms of architecture and planning, the autarky period after the civil war and strict limitations imposed by the government had meant stalemate for architecture; simple copy of neoclassical style, nothing new (Fisca, 1948 in Zira, 2012). Therefore, they claimed for a renovation of Spanish architecture by looking at northern European nations, which were defined by rationalism and functionalism in urban planning and architecture. On the side, the housing problem was increasing since the population was growing, especially in urban areas (Lopez-Diaz, 2002).

At the ends of the forties at beginnings of the fifties a new generation of young architects started to travel around Europe and slowly supported an openness of Spanish architecture through their works and publications on architecture journals (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). These architects started to look for new solutions to housing problem. These solutions were based on European modernist architecture¹⁴ before the Second World War and European avant-garde of that moment (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). Hence, recover debates of standardization, prefabrication, rationalism, functionalism, zonification, building height, etc.

Modernist architecture and urban planning in Spain

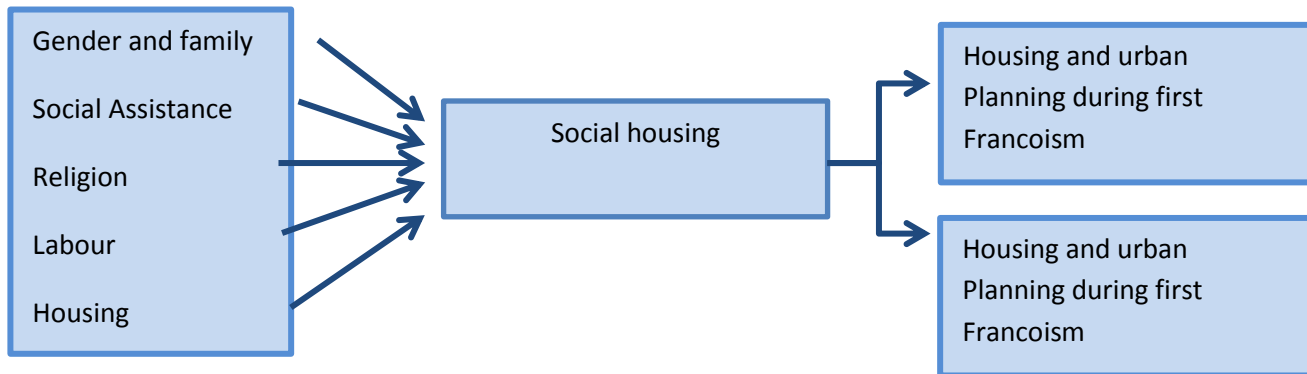
During the fifties and sixties modernism urban planning and architecture were established parallel to the establishment of technocratic liberal forces in Franco's regime (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). In concordance, Franco's government developed national housing plans and expansion urban areas were built around big cities, mainly composed of social housing. These expansion urban areas were directed towards workers and low class families (Lopez-Diaz, 2002). Therefore, they meant spatial segregation and created urban ghettos for working class.

Although spatial segregation was in contradiction with organic theories promoted by fascist; modernism rational urban planning embraces some of ideals of organic society. Modernism urban planning provides tools to construct new urban areas that can function as organism; for example, New Town planning. However, the triumph of modernism under Franco's regime can be explained because of the turn towards technocratic postulates over fascist and traditional catholic ideals. Furthermore, the regime managed to adapt and internalize modernism urban planning and architecture discourses.

¹⁴ The modernist architectural movement emerged in continental Europe between 1890 to 1930. But its diffusion throughout the capitalist world was during the period 1945 to 1965. Modernist architectural was the aesthetic wing of liberal technocratic ideology in interwar period (Cooke, 1990). Modern architecture was based on modernism movement pillars; technology, rationalism, functionalism, scientific knowledge and planning used to increment economic productivity and to find solutions of social conflicts to improve society (Guillén, 1997). In terms of economic productivity, modernism architecture and planning imposed spatial zonification (Guillén, 1997). In terms of social transformations it was considered that working class had to be provided with minimum standards to live-welfare state- one of them was housing (Guillén, 1997). Technology, rationalization and planning were used to provide working class with housing, which imply standardization and mass production of social housing (Guillén, 1997). At the same time, provide working class with areas to scape of Fordism capitalism: green areas and recreation open area everything tough in terms of increasing productivity (Cooke, 1990). Thus, modern architecture meant the intervention of economic bourgeois into capitalism, to rationalize and stabilize its operation (Guillén, 1997).

5.7. Social housing

Since Badia del Vallès is a social housing area, it is especially relevant to understand the development of social housing policies and the discourses related to social housing during Francoism. Moreover, social housing discursive realities are composed by discourses previously analysed: gender and family, social assistance, religion, labour and housing. Hence, this section provides the necessary analysis to comprehend the discourses inscribed in the case study.



5.7.1. Social Housing during first Francoism

The reconstruction of housing of urban and rural areas was considered a grave problem to deal with it. The destruction caused by the conflict, the lack of materials and the immigration from rural areas to urban areas due to the increasing unemployment in rural areas made worse the already existing absence of housing stock (Maestrojuan, 1997). Different laws and government organisms were working to promote and construct social housing to palliate the situation.

Social Housing organizations

During first Francoism there were four organizations in charge of social housing:

- *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones* (Directorate General of Devastated Regions and Repairs),
- *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (Housing National Institute),
- *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (Colonization National Institute),
- *Organización Sindical del Hogar* (Housing Sindical Organization),

The functions of *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones* –created January 1938- were to guide, facilitate and occasionally lead the reconstruction of the damage produced by the war in Spanish villages and cities (Más-Torrecillas, 2008).

The *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* was on charge of managing government action in housing control, plan private housing sector and stimulate and contribute to social housing market (Maestrojuan, 1997). The *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* was created in April of 1939 and it was subordinated first to *Sindicato Vertical*. In January 1942 it was subordinated to Labor Ministry (Maestrojuan, 1997). Finally in 1957, when the Housing Ministry was crated, the *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* was part of the new Ministry (Maestrojuan, 1997).

The role of *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* was related to economic and land ownership reform of rural areas (Más-Torrecillas, 2008).

The *Organización Sindical del Hogar*(OSH) founded in 1939 depended on Governance and Syndicalist Ministry. The role of OSH was to "To contribute to the creation of an architectural style that expresses the content, meaning and the concerns of the National-Syndicalism as doctrine that represents a peculiar conception of man and life"(Jubert, 1974, p.43). Until 1941 the aim of OSH was as mostly related to research and analysis. But, in 1941 all the builder organisms of the Falange were joined and OSH started building activities as promoter and builder. In 1957 OSH was subordinated to Housing Ministry (Jubert, 1974)

Social housing regulations

The organization presented in previous section promoted a serial of laws to promote social housing market. The first law was *Protected Housing Law 19 April 1939*, which aimed to solve housing problem caused by the war. Syndicates, municipalities, regional offices or any private and public institution were on charge to construct social housing (Maestrojuan, 1997). They could benefit of tax exemption, loans without interest, compulsory expropriations and bonus (Maestrojuan, 1997). Besides, the future owner had to pay the cost of the house trough deferred payments. Nevertheless, the law failed due to the lack of resources and the economic restrictions imposed by the autarchy.

Therefore, in 25 November of 1944 it was approved the *Law of Redeemable Housing*. The aim of this law was to decrease unemployment rate by trying to promote private construction market by 90% tax exemption for 20 years (Maestrojuan, 1997). Within the frame of this law some housing projects were developed, but for financial reasons the law resulted unfeasible (Maestrojuan, 1997). Finally, 15 July of 1954 the government approved *Law of Restricted Income Hosuing*. The law divided the projects in to categories depending on the state

intervention (Maestrojuan, 1997). The exemptions are similar as *Protected Housing Law 19 April 1939*.

On the side, in 1954 the first National Housing Plan was approved. The Plan aimed to construct 55.000 new houses in five years. According to Jubert (1974), $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of the plan were achieved. The Plan was updated by the National Housing Plans of 1955 and 1956. Still, the lack housing was increasing, since more than one million houses were needed.

5.7.2. Social housing discourses during Frist Francoism

According to the discourse analysis done by using media sources it can be understood that the lack of housing was conceived by Franco's regime as national problem and Franco was the leader that could solve this problem, always guided by God. Hence, housing was used as strategic field of propaganda for the **figure of Franco**; the good father of the nation that was solving the housing problem; as example the following quote.

The work we have to do is immense; but with everyone's efforts, with the encouragement of the Caudillo, not eyebrow goad our social duty, and with God's help, to be a must for the Christian home can be a living temple, we can give top, culminating stage, the most fruitful and true social revolution, instead of blood and tears shall smile symbol of a new generation that comes from life in the pure source of a happy home (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.10).

As previously explained architecture and housing was seen for the regime as **strategic fields** to insert regime discourses. In the documents studied for this research it has been found the relation between the reconstruction of the country, an especially dwelling, and the objectives of the regime;

We must reconcile the resurgence of the nation with housing problems; within the objectives and criteria of our nation (NODO, 1959. 864B).

'New policy, new architecture "(D'Ors, in Zira, 2012, p.157).

Furthermore in accordance with the documents analysed it can be detected a transformation of discursive realities as a result of the transformations of the regime. The first documents after the civil war refer to the importance **housing for revolution, social justice, and reconstruction**; the national reconstruction and resurrection were the mean to ensure social peace. As Arrese (in Naredo, 2010) states social inequality was the cause of social conflicts; "Man, when he is homeless, takes over the street, pushed by his temper, is subversive, bitter, violent, ..." (Arrese in Naredo, 2010, p.18). At the same time, social peace could be achieved through the gratitude of workers to the Sate because of his work in national reconstruction and resurrection. Therefore, it can be considered a mixture between fascist revolution discourses and **paternalistic** and charity discourses. In the following quote it can be

comprehended the mixture of fascist propaganda discourses related to social justice and the paternalistic role of the state;

No sacrifice can be the most grateful and rewarded to the state. The appreciation will result in the social order produced by the innermost of working families, which is the sprouting within a nice home club (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.6).

Besides, in terms of the vocabulary used it can be seen the stamps of fascist lexical, as the word race, as following quote;

The rewards will soon be in the moral and physical vigor of the race (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.8).

Moreover in these documents there is a national exaltation after **civil war referring to victory**, as the resurrection of the nation.

«New architecture that symbolizes the spirit of our glorious revival»

(Guterrez-Soto in Zira, 2012, 157)

Besides, it can be also recognized a vision of **Second Republic** as period of **abandonment and destruction**.

We have to change the sullen face of many of our towns and villages, where big souls are settled in miserable shacks; forever we have to sweep from the shores of our great cities the disgusting slag that has been left decades of unjust neglect (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.8).

Nonetheless, during the fifties the focus of the propaganda moved towards stress the importance of **peace period**.

25 years of peace¹⁵ have forged a new nation. To shelter her roof looked decent. The Spaniards are finding their home (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p.6).

In the propaganda documents studied twenty-five years of peace are presented as the victory of Franco. The main idea presented in these documents is that thanks to Franco's regime Spain had been twenty –five years in peace, which allowed economic and social improvements to be developed.

Good road has been made in twenty-five years ... (twenty-five years of peace)! And hope it is good (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p.3).

¹⁵ Massive propaganda campaign promoted for Manuel Fraga (Tourism Ministry 1962-1969) to commemorate the twenty-five years of peace in Spain. The twenty-five years of peace in Spain were presented as a victory of the Franco regime. With a more conciliatory attitude, the campaign was intended to remark the importance of peace and link it to economic and social improvements (Carrillo Navarro, 2011).
<http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum21/secciones/estudios-8-propagandaelectoral.htm>

Image 5: Camping 25 years of peace. Propaganda of built houses



Source: Original Poster Barcelona

Considering that the idea of peace played an important role for these generations that lived civil war and wished new generations to live in peace. In this sense, one important element not found during the literature review is the relevance that the propaganda was giving to **childhood** and new generations. NODO show recurrently images of kids playing in public spaces. Moreover, references to kids and youth are common elements in written documents- as can be seen in following quotes and pictures-.

New homes, new more healthy, happy and full life. The man, woman and child in work and rest with laughter and games (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p.5).

And neighborhoods build as magic, youth under the sun (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p4).

Image 6: Kids playing in social housing area



Source: Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, 1964.

Besides, references to healthy, hygienic and happy life are common in written and visual documents; “New homes, new life more healthy, happy and strong (NODO 1966, 1219C)” “New homes healthy and happy (NODO, 1957, 764A)”. These references are opposed with images or comments of slums made of shacks, which was a common problem in big cities. It has to be taken into account, the gravity of dwelling problem-slums, overcrowded houses and serious deterioration-. Accordingly, the regime used propaganda of new houses to show their virtues, in opposition of the disastrous situation of the slums.

It is considered that discourses of peace, new healthy generations, happiness and families and hygienic cities were linked to the reinforcement of national-catholic forces within the regime. Family and new generations were considered by National-catholic forces as central elements to implement and spread national-catholic values. In accordance, National-Catholicism looked for a frame to maintain traditional catholic order, based on authoritarian regime and non-secularized society. Franco’s regime offered to catholic forces the proper frame to maintain traditional catholic order because of the social peace achieved through repression and the control of economic means.

Within this new frame fascist revolution went to the background. Therefore, social revolution based on fascist postulates was not an objective; but maintaining catholic traditional reactionary order in benefit of aristocratic elites. As a result, social housing policies reinforce charity as main element of social housing discourses and put into the background fascist

revolutionary elements. Thus, social housing discourses were transformed, but grounded on previous discourses.

Gender and family

In all the social housing propaganda documents done by the regime **family is presented as** main unit to develop a healthy and peaceful life “The State has taken upon himself the task that it is not a Spanish family without a home to serve as a physical basis for the development of the family virtues, which (families) are the safeguard of our state (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.5)”. In accordance,

References to **organic theory** could be found in propaganda documents, relating **family as** main **cell of human society**, as the following;

Ultimately it is the permanent home (the house) of the family and the basis of a locked and harmonious existence of the elementary cell that integrate human society (Hernández, 1972, p.40).

Familiar house is conceived as central material and symbolic element for family reproduction, it is the reflection of familiar life conception.

The house is inherent to man and his personal and family world. The house is more intuition and sense rather than rationalism and style. The house attached and bonded, tied to a way of seeing and experiencing life, collected through the plant and appearance, as well as outfit and equipment, how to live, work and family feel. Housing includes man's attitude towards life and this attitude has a preferred family dimension (Hernández, 1972, p.42).

The reinforcement of national-catholic forces meant that social housing became a charity issue and slow transformation towards justifications of housing as **biological need for families**, which strength the commitment of the state to provide new houses to families

The house appears as a purely biological vital necessity in spontaneous and natural way (Hernández, 1972,p.42).

The reinforcement of national-catholic forces also meant the conceptualization of families as fundamental structures to implement **national-Catholicism values**. Therefore, the works of the state housing organizations started to work according catholic principles; “The Institute has faithfully followed the rules of the Catholic social doctrine, becoming fundamental or subsidiary construction according to the circumstances (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1947, p.7)”. Accordingly, in the sources analyzed it can be found some direct references of social catholic doctrine as life conception in relation to family and housing. Thus, family,

housing and patrimony are linked concepts. Family is the main unit of social organization; housing is the material form of the family; patrimony is the reflection of human personality.

Family, home and heritage are three related concepts, being decisive and dominant family. Patrimony in Catholic social conception is merely a projection of the human personality in the familiar world and home is the physical office of the family (Hernández, 1972,p.42).

Moreover, the roles of the members of the family are divided in concordance with catholic family vision; man in charge of remunerate job and **woman housewife**. The role division can be especially seen on NODOs, which reproduced images of men going to work and women in the kitchen or doing errands. Moreover, the images are accompanied with some explanation as:

Nuria in her kitchen (NODO, 1967, Nº 1294A)

The woman, housewife (NODO, 1975, Nº 1713A)

The man going to work (NODO, 1975, Nº 1713A)

Besides, the female gender is rarely named. For example female gender is not used to refer to remunerate jobs or general references to individual life.

On the side, only the man could full in the application for a social house. Only married couples affiliated to the *Sindicato Vertical* with or without children could apply for social house. Frist year married couples had priority, with regard to support family creation. Also large families had priority. Therefore, the social catholic doctrine defined family conceptualization and roles: **patriarchal and sexist organization, but some fascist elements remained.**

On side, during visualization of NODO it has been detected that mostly the issues related with housing were **propaganda** of new housing areas developed by the regime and the ceremonies of key delivering. In these ceremonies, the leader of ceremonies was Franco or the Housing Minister, after 1970 some of the ceremonies were led by the prince – Juan Carlos de Borbon-. They were on charge of delivering the keys to new owners. The keys are given to men, rarely to women. The ceremonies were also **walkabouts** for the dictatorship. All the ceremonies recorded in NODOs shown the images of multitudes supporting the dictator or the Minister.

Image 2: Key delivery ceremony Pumarín (Gijón) 1960



Source: NODO , 1960, 916B

Image 3: Key delivery ceremony Avilés (Asturias) 1944



Source: NODO, 1944, Nº 79B

Image 4: Key delivery ceremony Sam Cristobal (Madrid) 1944



Source: NODO, 1961, 943C

5.7.3. Social housing during second Francoism

The context of economic technocratic and planning of second Francoism meant some structural changes within Franco's government. Technocrats considered that all humans need minimum standards to live. The state had to regulate economics to achieve distributive justice and social equality. Therefore, technocrats started the instauration of **modern welfare state** by redistributive policies. Hence, social services were not conceived anymore as a matter of charity, instead the State had the obligation to provide social services, one of them was housing. Yet, the final aim was the same than national-catholic system: the social peace and control of the population.

Food, housing, health, culture and work are inalienable rights of man, whatever his people, race or status. Concerning them, all individuals should be considered universally equal. Concerning them, it is necessary to reject both selfish individualism, as any man outside the upper and transcendence (Lozano-Herrán, 1969, p.36).

In relation to housing, the aim of technocrat forces was to provide housing to Spaniards by enhancing private market mechanisms. In accordance it was developed a centralization of the efforts done by different housing organizations (Maestrojuan, 1997). Therefore, it was created the Ministry of Housing. The main objective of the Ministry was to reinforce private capital participation for social housing (Maestrojuan, 1997).

The Ministry gathered some existing organizations as *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones* and *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* (Housing National Institute) (Maestrojuan, 1997). The Ministry was divided in four main departments: Urbanism Directorate General, Housing Directorate General, Architecture Directorate General, Economy, Technic and Construction Directorate General. Moreover, there were six provincial offices. The Ministry aimed to plan and control the land, the loans and the materials (Maestrojuan, 1997). Besides, Housing Ministry promoted private investments in housing sector (Maestrojuan, 1997). However, Housing Ministry performed as building company in places where the private market did not invest (Maestrojuan, 1997).

During second Francoism OSH had enough economical and financial resources to develop the roles of building company and promoter (Jubert 1974). Therefore, in this period OSH became the building company of *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda* and other promoters (Jubert 1974). Furthermore, OSH was a governing body on charge of planning, control and financial collaboration of actions developed by Unions in relation to social housing (Jubert 1974). The main functions of OSH were;

- Building company of *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*,
- Spread social housing benefits between possible beneficiaries,
- To promote social housing building by financing the projects and the future owners,
- Guide private capital,
- Agreements with public institutions to finance housing projects,
- Innovation and research for better technical and economic efficiency of housing construction.

Since the housing problem continued in November 1957 the government approved a new legislation related to social housing, *Law of Subsidized Housing*. This law aimed to correct the mistakes of previous legislations and to reinforce private capital investments (Maestrojuan, 1997). According to Maestrojuan (1997), firstly it is approved a partly liberalization of rent market. Secondly, the state provides public subsidies for each dwelling. Thirdly, the Ministry controls the materials, tax exemptions and supplementary loans.

The *Subsidized Housing Law* was accompanied by Social Emergency Plans and the National Housing Plan 1961-1975. Social Emergency Plans were intended for disadvantaged suburban areas of big cities, as Madrid or Barcelona (Jubert 1974). The National Housing Plan 1961-1975 planned to construct four million houses (Jubert 1974). To go to be able to build them, the Plan proposes big expansion areas in the suburbs or rural areas. The main characteristics of these new areas were: high density, high buildings, prefabrication, low economic and environmental value of the land, low quality of the buildings and the services (Jubert 1974). Badia del Vallès, the case study of this research is one of these areas.

Abadía (2002) considers that the new legislation was aimed at provide the private capital with the financial and legal tools in order to make social housing market profitable. Furthermore in the direction to promote private housing market, the government approved some parallel politics to promote property market instead of rent market; providing property housing to urban population trough public direct or indirect bonus (Abadía, 2002). The results were a speculative housing development, low quality expansion urban areas, social segregation, architecture favoring tower building and the creation of corporations between building companies and financial organisms (Abadía, 2002). In accordance Abadía states “The housing policy of this period should be understood as the start of a long and complicated process, from a situation of extreme deprivation, eventually lead to the creation of a genuine housing market enrolled in the mechanisms of markets consumption (Abadía, 2002, p.29)”.

To summarize, housing discourses and policies suffered a similar transformation than Franco’s discursive realities: from fascism to National-Catholicism and to technocratic neo-liberal. Nevertheless, the different discourses are mixed in time; to say, that new narratives are based on the transformation of past discourses. Hence, fascist legacies remain and are mixed with National-Catholicism and to technocratic discursive realities. In the next section is analyzed the development of social housing discourses during second Francoism, which are especially

relevant for understanding the case study, since Badia del Vallès is a social housing residential area developed during second Francoism.

5.7.4. Social housing discourses during second Francoism

The penetration of **technocratic forces** in the regime meant a critical revision of the economic structure of the country. As previously explained technocrats were willing to **change archaic economic structures** of the regime towards. Hence, technocrats were moving towards modernization of economy through rationalization and planning of economic and social processes. Accordingly to the idea of rationalization and planning, the government approved serial of plans to develop international overture and modernization of the economy¹⁶.

Plans were also developed regarding housing, such as National Housing Plan 1961-1975. Moreover, by analyzing the documents used for this research it is proven that documents and plans regarding housing insert discourses of rational spatial planning, as following text published in 1973 in the newspaper Correo Catalan ;

Growing need for housing, schools, hospitals and buildings generally requires rational planning, endowed with a profound social sense to initiate, direct, coordinate and control the activity of building, from spatial planning to concrete work, planning towards the proposed order (Valls, 1973).

In addition, written and audiovisual documents analyzed show propaganda in favor of the Plans developed by the regime; all the same, there are some critics to previous policies and actions performed by the regime, as example a record extracted from one NO-DO of 1972;

Housing and planning: housing problem has been a problem for several decades. The state in recent years has made a great effort. This effort sometimes did not have the expected result; too many luxury homes and lack of middle and lower class houses. Third Development Plan is proposed to solve this problem by putting priority to social housing that corresponds to the real needs of economically disadvantaged population. The state will end the paradox that in a year are built 300,000 homes that are affordable to only the strongest economies. The social housing plan 120,000 and 1 million to social protection houses. But it is also about quality, human habitat (NODO, 1972, 1538^a).

In other respects, by analyzing documents related to housing published during second Francoism –such as Lozano-Herrán (1969)-, the entrance of technocratic wings into the

¹⁶ Plan Nacional de Estabilización Económica 1959 (*National Economic Stabilization Plan 1959*). Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social (1964-1967) (*Plan for National Economic and Social Development*). Segundo Plan de Desarrollo (1968-1971) (*Second Development Plan*). Tercer Plan de Desarrollo (1972-1975) (*Third Development Plan*)

government meant a shift of the focus of housing problem. Housing was for technocrats another **commodity**. As any commodity it is regulated by supply and demand law. Technocrats defend that supply and demand law has to be planned, rationalized and regulated by the state.

At the same time, housing was considered a **human right**. Therefore, the State had the obligation provide low disadvantaged groups with houses; social housing. **Industrialization, rationalization and prefab processes** were used to satisfy high amount of social housing required. Since housing works as a commodity, housing problem was seen as productivity problem. Hence, by increasing general economic productivity, and specifically increasing productivity in construction, the housing problem could be solved.

The problem (of housing) must be attacked, again, from other fronts. What it should be addressed is to improve the purchasing power of our middle and working class families. Simultaneously reduce the price or rental of housing designed for these families. We do not see another way than to raise productivity in all economic activities of the country and, in a special way in the construction industry (Lozano-Herrán, 1969, p.36) [...]Balance the housing prices and the purchasing power of those sectors most affected by the problem, it should increase productivity in general, and the specific of the construction, particularly (Lozano-Herrán, 1969, p.36).

Furthermore, technocrats abrogated for an increasing participation of private investors¹⁷ and improving productivity to reduce cost of construction and supply housing demand. The introduction of technology, scientific knowledge, planning and rationalization in building processes was considered the way to increase productivity. Thus, industrial fabrication processes and **standardization** within building were supported and applied.

It is essential to the industrialization of the sector, as we could hardly conceive prefab or some kind of "new architecture", from the current inability to give a massive response to massive needs [...] (Lozano-Herrán, 1969, p.40) [...] We consider it essential to industrialize construction, because only when the factory fixed wherever the fundamental priority works, prefab may arise (Lozano-Herrán, 1969, p.40).

Nevertheless, the industrialization of construction and prefab processes, imply the standardization of constructed parts.

¹⁷ As it has been said in 8.2.1. *Social housing, the entrance of private capital in special housing market meant speculation and creation of big construction corporations. Nowadays some of these corporations, as Dragados or Sacyr are still running and expanding.*

Some documents analyzed argue that inside houses were the spaces where individual expressions and diversification had to take place, as example Flores-Pazos (1965); thus, inside houses were used to combat arguments against standardization and loss of diversification,

We refer to what is said in terms of the danger that such a system is contrary to human personality, individuality and diversification principle is so ingrained in the minds of people. Let objection: According to homeownership should be something unique to "a family" and therefore different from "other". But we believe that the reluctance to dwell identical buildings decrease with custom, as it has happened with many other industrial items, automobiles, for example. **We believe that the personality of the inhabitants can be beautifully designed in a standard housing assembly, always ready to collect within individual details that clearly reflect the spirit and personality of the living.** We are sure that if you come walk inside the homes of some villages or neighborhoods built in any of our towns and cities in recent years, we would find two completely identical houses, and we could easily discover how sensitive spiritual, social morality of its citizens (Flores-Pazos,1965 , p. 29).

Moreover, some text analyzed also discuss about the controversy of architecture being technical discipline, instead of artistic discipline, as Candilis (1968)

[...] Does not mean that the belief that architecture should become purely technical to give the company the necessary service. If the architectural fact somehow did not include humanistic and cultural values would not become architecture (Candilis, 1968, p. 5)

The common argument within the texts studied is that architecture cannot forget about its artistic aspect, still, the main **aim of architecture is to provide society with proper solutions to current problems.** Therefore, **economic benefit and functionality** are the main pillars of new constructions; aesthetics are extra.

Modern functional architecture provides the technical and theoretical frame for Franco's regime for the development of new architecture, especially with social housing projects. **Modern functional architecture offered the frame of non-aesthetic industrialized mass production**, which reduced the cost of construction; hence, a higher benefit for the private or public promoter.

In concordance, **NODO shows this turn to modern functional architecture**; making propaganda to the benefits of new housing projects developed under this new architecture paradigm. Images of new urban projects, mostly social housing projects accompanied by narrations as;

Houses that combine functionality with clean and comfortable dwelling (NODO, 11-04-1960. Nº 901A).

Innovation in housing construction (NODO, 30-01-1961. Nº 943C).

Concern for well-distributed property, comfort, independence tenant, use maximum light in winter, cool in summer are fundamental premises of the project. (NODO, 30-01-1961. Nº 943C).

Homes built with prefabricated materials (NODO, 05-08-1963. Nº 1074C).

Skyscrapers, modern urban important work (NODO, 18-04-1960. Nº 902B).

All cases are constructed according to the most modern urban techniques (NODO,30-01-1961. Nº 943C).

Montbau Zone is a landmark of modernity, with more than two thousand houses of modern type
(NODO, 19-08-1968. Nº 1337A)

Complex modern urbanized and spacious garden areas (NODO, 16-05-1966. Nº 1219C)

Where the functional combined with the comfortable (NODO, 25-09-1967. Nº 1290A)

Prefab process saves time and ease. (NODO, 23-10-1967. Nº 1294A)

Words as modern, functional appear constantly in NODO from 1960. Besides, from 1960 the propaganda of new housing projects is accompanied with images of the mockups of the projects and images of new apartments, which show innovative furniture and house design coming from international experiences;

Fair Innovations German household (NODO, 08-09-1975. Nº 1704B)

Dream Kitchen for the housewife, German innovations (NODO, 10-11-1975. Nº 1713A)

International Housing Innovation: Austria, USA ... (NODO, 10-11-1975. Nº 1713A)

Utility, decorative and comfortable furnishings. (NODO, 28-08-1967. Nº 1286A)

Words as modern, functional or rational are sometimes accompanied by the concepts of **order**. Modern and functional architecture are understood as antagonism to chaotic, conflictive and polluted cities. Modern and functional architecture can provide solutions to real social problems, as slums, chaos, traffic jam or contamination; to transform urban areas into places of order and modernity, better places to live.

New stamp order and rationality. (NODO, 30-01-1961. Nº 943C)

Modernity and order (NODO, 26-06-1972. Nº 1538A)

In general, the documents studied from second Francoism used technical vocabulary and referred to economic concepts. Therefore, it can be detected a shift from previous periods, where the vocabulary used was no technical and the message was mostly propaganda of the

regime. This shift corresponds with the technical and rational approach of housing during second Francoism.

On the side, also new terms appear such as green areas. Exactly, green areas appear in three occasions of the forty-four NODO analyzed, all of them in NODO played after 1965.

Finally, it has to be taken into account that technocratic forces pretended to be aligned with Western Europe economies, as it can be confirmed by some documents published by OSH;

The European vocation of Spain is so essential and evident that it does not requires any effort to prove it. The Spaniards felt by European tradition, history and geography (OSH, 1973, p., 57).

Thus in the eighties Spain will have a similar housing situation as most advanced European states (OSH, 1973, p., 57).

Spatial planning discourses during second Francoism

According to the following quote, within the frame of modern architecture spread in Spain, Spatial planning was enhanced by architects **as technical solution for economic and social problems** related to the city,

A housing policy to meet your goal is to have at first requirement, cutting aggressively they land speculation and be together with, social, urban planning, development and improvement of the communications, provision of green and all those benefits and services that are only currently due to reach a financial possibilities and class privilege areas (Flores-Pazos,1973 , p. 21) [...]Urban development Plans have to be understood as planning of space to serve individuals. Undertake land legislation to fix mistakes made by new urban policy, legal framework adjusted to the needs (Flores-Pazos,1973 , p. 21).

Besides, there was not a direct participation of peoples; instead, **scientific techniques were used to understand needs of inhabitants**. Therefore, the needs of citizens had to be understood and **planning has to be at service of these needs**;

Urban planning is the service of man (OSH, 1973, p., 58).

The customer is king [...] but of course, this is not to follow the motto of a French company "Project you home and we prefabricate it". The project was born of a prior information; a classification of needs and desires in the light of the criticisms of the work already carried out and the results of tests already scheduled; treatment of these data by specialized sociologists; close collaboration between project teams, manufacturing and execution, etc.(Flores-Pazos,1973 , p. 18).

As modern functional architecture, spatial planning used scientific knowledge, technology and rationalization to solve social problems and to implement order and dignity in urban areas. One example of rationalization of space is zoonification, dividing the cities through functions.

The confusion that characterizes the centers of the cities should disappear and be replaced by the order which assigns each street the most appropriate function according to their nature (Águila-García, 1973, p., 19).

According, to documents analyzed housing areas for workers re one of these divisions.

Homes for Workers (NODO, 19-08-1968. Nº 1337A).

Houses built for public workers (NODO, 31-07-1961. Nº 969B).

Houses for middle class families (NODO, 05-08-1963. Nº 1074C)

Taking in consideration the idea of **organic planning**, within functional divided areas, economic classes and functions should be mixed. Nevertheless, rational planning promoted under technocratic period normally meant a segregation of social housing areas from higher class areas and the center of the city. Social housing areas were then isolated and closed residential areas constructed by economic and political elites to shelter low economic class. The segregation of these areas permitted political and economic elites to have better control of workforce population.

La ordenación urbana está el servicio del hombre y debe permitir a nuestras familias una grata convivencia y las mayores facilidades para el desplazamiento al lugar de trabajo, a la escuela, al lugar de esparcimiento...Que haga posible un medio ambiente limpio y adecuado (Águila-García, 1973, p., 19).

In addition, another strategy to control workforce during last period of Franco's regime—social control- was **housing ownership**. Through the promotion of property through mortgage payments and neglecting renting, families were constrained to payment instalments. Due to the lack of alternatives, families were forced to pay social housing apartments through affordable instalments. It was done to create 'people of order'. Thus, it was done to ensure conformity of the population by facilitating their access to home ownership and tying them to payment responsibilities. It was considered that housing creates to human responsibility feelings and imposes a standard of life. Hence, home ownership was a vaccine against social instability; subvention against subversion.

On the side, another important objective of Franco's regime was the rising of Spanish nationalistic feeling. Housing was considered a good tool to rise Spanish nationalistic feeling;

because of the **nationalistic propaganda and symbols** added to the projects and because of the sedentary and community building linked to housing property, such as;

25 years of peace have forged a new nation (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p.5).

Homes are provided as an act of justice and prove of dearest tenets of Spanish state (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1964, p.6).

OSH and Movimiento are doing an effort to give clean and decent housing to Spaniards (OSH, 1973, p., 58).

Image 7: Commemorative plaque placed in all buildings build by OSH or Instiuto Nacional de la Vivienda



Source: Photography Pau Martí Moreno

Image 8: Social housing buildings built by OSH



Source: <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/los-anos-del-no-do/anos-del-do-1961-pais-obras/1777373/>

Gender and family

The economic modernization and the international overture of the country implied a social modernization of Spain. Nevertheless, social regulations and institutions did not change. . Thus, it was created a gap between the aim of the regime and its legislation and social reality. To say, the regime was still imposing **national-catholic doctrine**, but at the same time moving towards overture to **European liberal market**. In general, Spanish society was already approaching the rest of Europe and transforming towards a western modern society. Nonetheless, the imposition of national catholic doctrine and the **repression** of any opposition to the regime were still strong.

One example of contradiction of the regime between modernization and national catholic doctrine can be found in NODO between 1968 and 1975. The images shown by NODO in this period are images of young blond tourist in the beach, creating a picture of Spain as touristic destination for central Europeans. Yet, these images are accompanied by small reports of European furniture innovations, especially kitchen furniture. These reports are starred by young women and accompanied by narrations as:

Dream kitchen for housewife(NODO, 1975, Nº 1713A)

Social assistance and religion

The spatial planning regulations related to social housing projects took into account the complementary buildings for services that had to provide to the occupants of these areas. The complementary buildings are for **education, religion and *el Movimiento***. The National Housing

Plan 1961-1975 adopted previous regulations - previous National Housing Plans 1954, 1955, 1956- in relation to complementary buildings.

The regulation did not oblige the promoter of the project to build complementary services, but to reserve space for these buildings and cede it to *Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*, which had to build the religious services and to find promoters for the other services. Therefore, there was a **priority for religious services**. Moreover, it has been detected in written documents prominence of religious services over other services¹⁸.

If the housing policy focuses on family and life, it must also observe the same social projection, estimating factors of religious, cultural, recreational or sporting nature, and giving satisfaction within the set of households (Hernández, 1972,p.43) [...]Well these are complementary buildings used for religious, cultural, commercial, health care, sports, administrative, political, recreational and generally works for all those services and institutions necessary for the harmonious development of the relationship life purpose ... (Hernández, 1972,p.43).

Besides, written documents consulted list or name services and religious services is the first, except in *La Protección Oficial en la Consytrucción de Viviendas* (Lozano-Herrán, 1969) and *La Nueva Ciudad Badia* (*Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda*, 1974) where education services are named before religious services.

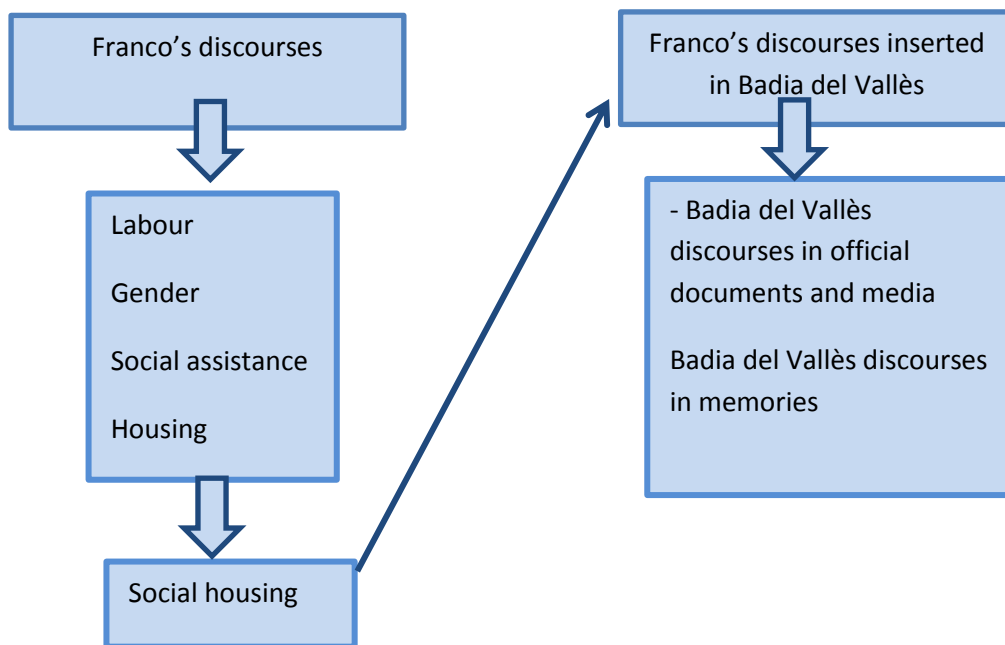
On the side, in audiovisual documents services are mentioned in five occasions - within a total of forty-four documents-. From these five occasions, four of them churches or parishes are the first complementary buildings named. After that, education, health and sports services are mentioned. But, there are no images of people using religious services, as going to mass, but there are many images of people using leisure and sportive services. Nevertheless, religious authorities and religious ceremonies are developed during key delivering events.

Again, the discourse analysis has shown the path legacies of discourses and the relations between social housing discursive realities and the ideological transformations of the regime. The main elements that the discourse analysis has found out are: **central role of family, importance of religion, relevance of peace and new generations, propaganda of the regime and the figure of Franco, nationalistic propaganda, modernism, rationalism and functionalism, zonification vs. organic planning, bases of welfare state, housing as commodity and promotion of housing property vs. rent.**

¹⁸ The absence or insufficient supply of services in these areas resulted in strong grassroots movements during seventies and eighties. The phenomenon has been deeply studied, as introduction to phenomenon see N. Calavita, F. Amador (2000) 'Behind Barcelona's Success Story: Citizen Movements and Planners' (2000). *Power Journal of Urban History* September 26: 793-807,doi:10.1177/009614420002600604

6. Baia del Vallès and Francoism discourses

This chapter researches how the discourses analysed in the previous section were transposed in the organization and design of the urban space of Badia del Vallès. Through the analysis of the Master Plan (*La Nueva ciudad Badía*), the newspapers (*Diario de Barcelona*, *La Vanuardia*, *El Correo Catalan*, *El Noticiero Universal*), the analysis of the interviews done to residents and direct observation of the area it is analysed hidden Franco's discourses in social housing area of Badia del Vallès.



6.1. Badia del Vallès discourses in official documents and media

6.1.1. Housing and social housing

In concordance with Rubert (2009), the idea of the first Master Plan of Badia del Vallès was to create a new city, independent city — with all services needed: hospital, supermarkets, market, fireman offices, Police, multiple socio-cultural centres, etc. “Unlike polygons constructed in areas near to the central city, and therefore sharing their infrastructure, Badia emerges as an authentic New Town in the Valles horizon for 25,000 inhabitants.” (Rubert, 2009, p,180). Therefore, to create a city base on New Town¹⁹ planning movement.

¹⁹ New town: “a form of urban planning designed to relocate populations away from large cities by grouping homes, hospitals, industry and cultural, recreational, and shopping centres to form entirely new, relatively autonomous communities (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/412182/new-town>). More information: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BbWqbg6lf8o> or <http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/latest/publications/dpu-working-papers/wp108.pdf>

Nonetheless, as it has been described in section 3.1.2.. *Badia del Vallès*, the Master Plan was restructured and services planned were reduced. The final Master Plan was approved in 1975 and it was presented as *La Nueva Ciudad Badía (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974)*.

The idea of New Town was in the background of the Master Plan approved in 1975; As it can be noticed by the use of the expressions as “new city”, “future city” or “city of the future, which are common in the documents referring Badia del Vallès. In concordance with the idea of New Town, the final Master Plan projected: small commercial offices in ground floors (daily products) and open green areas. Thus, minimum services were planned to provide the city with minimum life and independence.

The New Town planning developed in Badia del Vallès also corresponds to organic theory planning defended by falangist and national-catholic forces. Cities for falangist and national-catholic had to be a reaction against urban liberalism and freedom; cities must be plan and controlled. Accordingly, through planning and control it is possible to create a harmonious organic city system where functions have to be differentiated and hierarchized. Hence, they do argue in favour of zonation of functions, but at the same time creating independent and organic urban residential areas, as New Town and modern architecture movements.

As argued in previous chapter, modern architecture and planning movements had some correspondence with Falangist and national-catholic movements; thus modern discourses could be transposed to Franco's regime discourses.

Nevertheless, falangist and national-catholic forces imagine the harmonic, ideal and organic city similar to traditional rural societies. Instead modern architecture works on height. Functional division in modern planning paradigm is inspired by Le Corbusier “The city of Tomorrow” developed through city levels; ground level for roads and commercial activities, higher levels private spaces for residential activities. Therefore, the discourses related to ideal city based on rural aesthetic of falangist and national-catholic had to be transformed towards modernist criteria –height, technology and functionalism- as ideal city. This transformation can be seen in the audio-visual documents analysed –NODO- (see 10. discourse analysis). In these audio-visual documents from middle sixties the viewers are bombarded with pictures of modern urban areas, miniatures of the projects and information of modern architecture and design; such as “The replacement of the traditional method of zonal urban planning in two

dimensions by generating a three-dimensional system coupled to cyclic infrastructure. So melts the so-called "core system" (horizontal urban arteries step space vertically) with the "piles system" of the pioneers of modern architecture, which supplies private spaces in the air to live and work and common spaces at the level of ground "(Flores-Pazos, 1965,p,24). Accordingly, Badia del Vallès is functionally divided in levels: roads, green areas, pedestrian spaces and commercial activities in the ground floor; to the contrary, houses in high levels.

High-rise cities or urban areas constructed prefabrication and standardization processes arised some critics concerning homogeneity, usually coming from architecture reactionary wings. Therefore, architects attempted to find some diversification within homogeneity by different layout of the buildings and different highs. In the case of Badia del Vallès, as Rubert (2009) argues, different typologies of buildings were constructed to provide heterogeneity, as it is explained in the Master Plan of 1975;

The criticism of the serialization of parallel block had led testing new forms of grouping. This was repeated to ensure no gaps or monotonous. More important than the regular sun exposure or cross ventilation was to ensure spatial variety and for that link-block solutions are tested, the rates are multiplied, and the heights to encourage greater formal complexity and more social mix (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p, 20).

Though, it is argued by the allocation of the buildings that different types of buildings are not mixed; lower buildings are mostly located adjacent to the garden city of Barberà del Vallès (Renau and Tarrés, 1987); higher buildings are located in the other areas.

Image 9: Serial buildings Badia del Vallès



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 10: High-rise buildings Badia del Vallès



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 11: Lower buildings Badia del Vallès



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 12: Panoramic Badia del Vallès



Source: Google maps

Other common critics of the period were the lack of regional planning and coordination between administrations, especially in metropolitan growing areas as Vallès Occidental (where Badia del Vallès is located). From 15 articles analysed in 4 newspapers, 5²⁰ were referring to the need of regional planning to stop processes of massive suburbanization and speculation. In the case of Vallès Occidental, the article *Valles occiendtal hacia ordenacion racional territorio. Correo Catalan. 14/08/1972* argues that the area has to be functionally divided in industrial function, socio-cultural function, residential function and a centre of knowledge.

In accordance with the documents analysed it can be said that Badia del Vallès is characterized by modern Planning and architecture. Furthermore, the analysis of the documents referring to Badia del Vallès proved that the fascist discourses of planning and architecture are not strongly present in the area. Nevertheless, the fascist symbols are strongly present in the area, each building have a commemorative plaque of the Housing Ministry with the symbol of Falange.

²⁰ Pradas, R. 1972 'Los pisos de la O.S.H. versión de la propia entidad: Sobresaliente actuación' *El Correo Catalán*, 16 August 1972.

Diario de Barcelona 'Algo falla en la O.S.H.' 19 August 1972.

Diario de Barcelona 'Una extraña política de vivienda' 22 January 70.

Miguel, A. 1970 'O.S.H. La política de la vivienda y una sugerencia de Amando de Miguel', *Diario de Barcelona*, 7 March 1970

Valls, F. 1973 'Valles occidental hacia ordenacion racional territorio', *Correo Catalan* 13 August 1972

Moreover, as it has been said, the road structure reproduces the shape of Spain and its street nomenclature refers to Spanish geography. The reproduction of the Spanish map can be understood as a patriotic message, especially taking into account the fact that the area is located in Catalonia, where there is a Catalan identity different than the Spanish identity. However, according to the architect R. Piqueras the reasons of the reproduction of the Spanish map are not clear. R. Piqueras argues that the shape of the area could be a simple coincidence that afterwards was used. The architect also specifies that they did not plan it; according to him the shape of the area was given to them as it is. R. Piqueras considers that it could be a decision coming from higher administration levels. Nonetheless, for this research it was not possible for to research more about this issue.

"The map was given, we did not think it; it was how the terrain was, we just urbanize. Maybe it was a coincidence that someone took advantage"(R.Piqueras).

6.1.2. Labour

According with the information provided for the Master Plan the reasons that determined the location of Badia del Vallès were;

"The choice of this polygon is advised because of the easy and immediate **communication with Catalan capital** through subterranean railway line Barcelona-Zaragoza, with a distance of fifteen minutes; the **proximity of the road from Barcelona to Sabadell and Terrassa**, with twenty minute bus ride (approximately nine miles); **difficulty to have other areas** of land surface and suitability for building housing; **labour census of the many industries that are located nearby the polygon**, such as industries "Aiscondei", "Uralita", "Textile Carbonizaje", "Pedragosa", "Capella, Anbnima Society" and planned or started "Industries Prats", "San Juan, SA", "Yarn Spinning Industries", "Poligris, SA", etc, Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,3).

Therefore, Badia del Vallès was thought as housing for workers - of industries mentioned – that must necessarily work outside the new city. Moreover, the data in Annex I has shown that the area is characterized by strong social homogeneity in terms of income, origin, level of education, work and age. There is only one reference to social mix in the Master Plan; "[...] and the heights to encourage greater formal complexity and more social mix."(Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,6).

In Badia del Vallès there were some houses destined to public workers families, these families had higher income other families of the city. Therefore, public workers could afford more expensive houses; houses with more rooms, which were located in the lower buildings. Thus,

there was social and spatial segregation within the area, which was already characterized for being a spatial and social segregated space as a whole.

Agreeing on the data presented in Annex I the most common group was young married couples, with or without kids. In general, social housing projects under Franco's regime were addressed to families, especially young families, with two kids or more. Accordingly, in Badia del Vallès and other projects the structures of the houses correspond to these preferences. The majority of the houses have between 3 or 4 rooms, hence for families with two kids or more.

The preference for young married couples can be explained because of family conception of the regime (see section 5.1. *Gender and family*), basically characterized by family as central element of social organization; family as basic element for social control, for perpetuating traditional family roles and discourses of the regime in terms of social organization. Thus, Badia del Vallès and other social housing projects can be seen as way to perpetuate the discursive reality of the regime, even when the political structure of it collapses.

Moreover, the social segregation was accompanied by a strong spatial segregation. The area was near metropolitan services emerging and contiguous to the main roads of Catalonia. Located halfway Cerdanyola del Vallès but inaccessible; adjacent to the Garden City of Barberà del Vallès. Furthermore, the city is far from Sabadell, with the aerodrome interposed; near the University, but across a highway and a ravine that separates them. The spatial segregation can be seen as the city and its residents are fortified in a physical and metaphorical sense. In accordance, the city was created to be an island for working class; where the workforce can be controlled by economic elites and workforce do not disturb higher economic classes.

Image 13: Badia del Vallès



Source: Liliana Solé Figueras

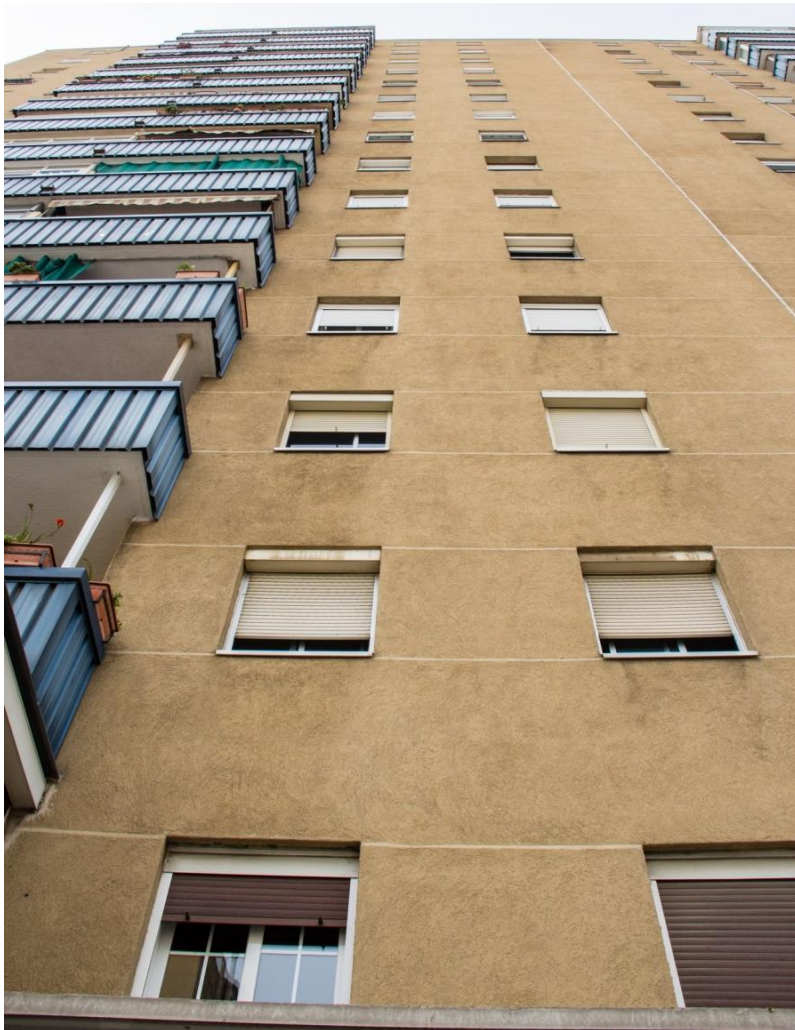
On the side, the distribution of the buildings and the windows of the buildings provide common spaces with “eyes looking” to these common spaces- as Jane Jacobs described in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Jane Jacobs (1961) stated that the windows gave a surveillance function of open spaces because there is the constant feeling that someone is looking at you; hence, more control.

Image 14: Building Badia del Vallès (“eyes looking”) (1)



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 15: Building Badia del Vallès (“eyes looking”) (2)



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 16: Building Badia del Vallès (“eyes looking”) (3)



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

6.1.3. Social assistance and religion

The Master Plan of Baid a del Vallès described the uses and services that the city should be provided with. Accordingly, it distinguished five main uses: religious, commercial, socio-cultural, green areas and sports use.

- Religious use and services: referred to the construction of one church in the new city. The church had to be built in the center of the new city.

"It has been chosen a spot that match almost with the geometric center of the future city, easy visibility and access, and located along the main axis that develops itself along Avenida Burgos" (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,20).

- Commercial use and services; the plan expected to build a shopping mall, a market, a supermarket, a social, a cultural recreational center, an administrative office center and an elderly house. Referring to administrative office center The Master Plan of Baid a del Vallès considered such as center as an element that provide autonomy to the city. Hence, pretending to create a lively and independent city by providing services and uses needed for dwellers. The idea of creating lively and independent city from scratch corresponds with modernist planning and organic theory planning.

"It has been thought that a city such as Badia, integrated by families with very different conditions, it must have an area for office buildings that host both essential services today, such as agency and others, such as professional offices of doctors, lawyers, etc. Besides, there must be a corresponding parking area. This is to further narrow the autonomy process presiding INV performance for Polygon Badia, favoring its inhabitant's easy access to their problems or questions to professionals who will attend to and reside in the same city." (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,21).

About the social, cultural and recreational center the plan expected to build a cinema, a cultural center and a library. Still, the plan stressed the silent character that these activities must have; giving to inhabitants recreational activities but always framed in terms of control and order.

"Basically we recommend the creation of a public library and a meeting room and artistic events and recreation rooms for the people, silent character"(Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,22)

Moreover, the plan also stressed the idea to create a dynamic center of the city along the Avenue Burgos, which crossing the city horizontally, dividing the city in two equal parts (*see image 1.*).

"Should be maximized creating this center of attraction, because together with the commercial and administrative hub they must define a vital hub for the future city along the Burgos Avenue, which connects both ends." (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,21)

- Sports use and center: The sports use and centers planed were complete. Besides the plan highlighted the need to build it urgently. The sports equipment planned were: 6 tennis

courts, 1 Olympic swimming pool, 1 outdoor children swimming pool, 1 soccer field, 1 artistic skating, 3 sports courts tracks, 1 golf, two auxiliary courts, 1 gymnasium uncovered, 1 general building for dressing rooms, storage, etc.

- Green areas: Green areas according to the master plan were all non-build areas, hence edges of the buildings and six other forestry areas. The edges of the buildings were considered green areas because they were treated with lawn or gravel; thus, it can be understood that the criteria to delimit green areas responded to the idea of creating a city that relieves the feeling of overcrowding of suburban areas. Accordingly, a city with open spaces, green and trees was seen as the solution of social dissatisfaction in suburbs.

“All land not occupied by blocks or resulting plots of complementary use, and is available as a free road and green areas for public use.” (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,22). Regardless, all the blocks are surrounded by strips of lawn and there are 6 green areas following the previously forestry existing spaces. All areas will be cited as free, will be treated with lawn or gravel, and lots of trees; all the public and open spaces for the enjoyment and comfort of the population.” (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1974, p,22)

Moreover, the first Master Plan planned a Hospital and a community health center. Nevertheless, the final Master Plan only considered one community health center.

6.2. Badia del Vallès discourses in memories: interview analysis

From the 12 interviews, 8 were the interviews done to first citizens. These 8 interviews have shown some expected results, as the social homogeneity of the first inhabitants (*see table 31*). Accordingly, three of the interviewees received the apartment because they were public workers, the other two were part of a large family; all of them coming from other parts of Spain to work in Catalonia – 4 from Andalusia, 1 from Albacete, 2 from Castilla la Mancha and 1 from Aragon-. Most of the interviewees were previously living in the region of Barcelona, only three were already living in the region of Vallès Occidental. The same phenomenon is detected in relation to the working place; 5 in Barcelona 3 in Vallès Occidental. The job types are more variable 3 in public sector, 3 in industry sector, 1 in commercial sector and 1 housewife.

The first impression that the interviewees had are similar. The adjectives that interviewees used to describe the city are: beautiful, green, modern, open, luxury, clean, nice, calm, spacious and ample.

Spacious and quiet, very quiet (P. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

A new, all very modern. Badia was a neighborhood, a city a house, we had nothing. It was good. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

greatly nice, beautiful. Gardens, no vehicles. (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

In Badia we found a luxury. We came to visit before inaugurate apartments. We were going to be very lucky, we were going to be posh compared to the people around us. There were gardens, so high and large homes, all new and especially large. It was truly good. (B. 2014, pers.comm. 13 March)

I have a picture of a sunny day, all gardens, great memories. (B. 2014, pers.comm. 13 March)

Only one of the interviewees considered the city ugly

Ugly, but eventually you get used (J. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

All the interviewees highlight the lack of services that the city had at the beginning. However, the seriousness of the lack of services varies between the interviewees. There are also variations in listing the types of services available in the first years (see section 9.2. Interview analysis). Moreover, all agree that the situation improved through the years (see section 7.2. Interview analysis).

6.2.1. Gender and family

On the side, 7 from 8 interviewees remark the good memories of the first years. They remember the high amount of kids playing in open spaces and green areas. Besides, the interviewees also comment in a nostalgic way the strong neighborhood relations and solidarity between the neighbors. Two of them linked the strong neighborhood relations with the social homogeneity.

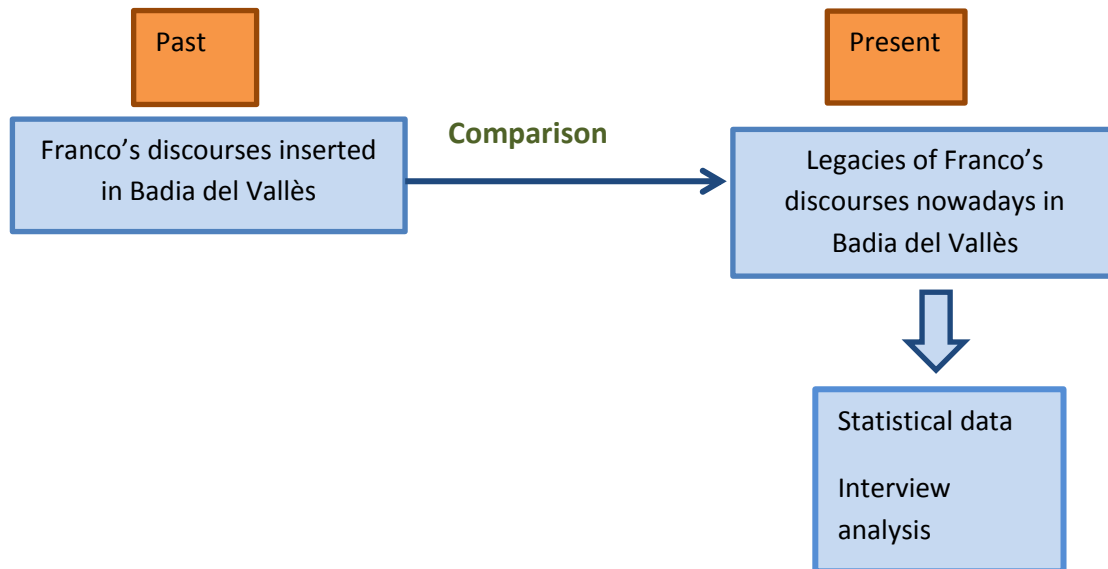
Furthermore, four interviewees also note the importance of sports facilities. According to them, they established relations with the neighbors by using sports facilities; many sports associations and clubs were founded and they raised pride and identity of Badia del Vallès. The rise of these feeling could be seen as parallel to the intentions of Franco's regime, since Riordan (2002) links the use of sport during the regime for the rise of national pride. Consequently, it could be assume that the regime attempted to raise national pride through use of local pride.

Therefore, in the new city of Badia the possibilities for a «official life» were study until high school, go to church (in the center geometric center) to be visited by in a community health center, go to a social center, shopping in a supermarket or in small shops, go to a movie (as a

project), put a telegram or certified letter, have an elderly house and building with managers, doctors, lawyers. Also go to the swimming pool, tennis courts, football field, skating court, sports courts and fitness. Nonetheless, most of the services were not built as the cinema or some schools. Besides, the city had no capacity to provide jobs to inhabitants. Thus, to work they had to leave the city; for fun they had to leave; also to buy non-daily products or to go to a specialized medical consultation, etc. Though, the regime was providing citizens with an open, modern, green and spacious city where kids could play, air was clean and the apartments were equipped and spacious, compared to previous situation of the dwellers. Hence, it was perceived for residents as a present from the regime which strengthened the propaganda of the regime and the figure of Franco.

To sum, Badia del Vallès was the construction of an up-dormitory town, but with supposed expectations of creating a NewTown. Badia del Vallès is one of the examples of the transition towards modernist architecture and planning in Spain during the sixties and seventies. The common characteristics between fascist and modern architecture and planning – as functional divisions, organic systems, order and control- allowed the regime to integrate modern planning and architecture within the dictatorship's discourses; at the same time, modern architects and planning adapted their discourses to the preferences of the regime.

7. Legacies of path dependencies in Badia del Vallès



The aim of this section is to understand the legacies of the discourses inserted in Badia del Vallès during Franco's regime. Two methods have been used: statistical data and discursive analysis of the interviews executed to the inhabitants. The statistical data of Badia del Vallès shows the main characteristics of Badia del Vallès citizens: age groups, sex, work, education, etc. The comparison of these statistical data between the first years of the city and the present provide information about the reproduction of certain living patterns influenced by discourses. On the side, the analysis of the interviews show information about discursive realities and their paths dependencies; hence, the existence of narratives reproduced under the regime and their evolution.

7.1. Comparison statistical data

As it can be seen in Graph 1, the population structure of Badia del Vallès is mostly concentrated between 30 to 55 years old. Badia del Vallès has a young population, compared to Catalonia (see table 33 annex). The reason is the priority that the regime gave to young couples and families to obtain a house in Badia del Vallès. However, Badia del Vallès is going to an aging process (see graph 1), as Catalonia.

7.1.1. Social Housing

The migratory flow of Badia del Vallès has been negative until 2012, which resulted in decreasing of population. The dismiss is especially significant between 1995 to 2003, when population of Badia del Vallès was moving mostly to other municipalities of Vallès Occidental area. Furthermore, during this period not many newcomers moved to Badia del Vallès (see

table 10 and graph 2). This negative population flow can be explained due to the fact that the kids born during the seventies in Badia del Vallès reached the emancipation age. Nonetheless the city cannot be expanded; thence they had to move to adjacent cities. Besides, the national economic development experienced during the last decades, meant an increase of household income (see table 33 Annex). Hence, working-low classes could afford better housing conditions, as single family houses built in adjacent cities of Badia del Vallès.

Table 10 (see table 10 and graph 2) also shows the high rate of migration flows in the municipality, what is commented by the interviewers (see 7.2. interview analysis). In general interviewers realize about the decrease of population, its mobility and diversity in terms of nationality (see 7.2. interview analysis and Table 11 and 12). Even so, deep analysis of the quantitative data partly reflects these perceptions. In this sense, the decrease of population started to be reverted in 2000, especially from 2002 to 2006 (see table 10). In those years the migratory movements in the city were extremely high. It has to be considered that from 2002 to 2006 the population flow was extremely high in Catalonia. These years correspond to the higher rate of international immigration in Spain (Pajares and Alcalà, 2010). Therefore, according to the quantitative data, it can be assumed that in those years Badia del Vallès was receiving international immigration, and at the same time national inhabitants were moving to adjacent cities. After 2006 the immigration and emigration movements in Badia del Vallès were reduced, and the decrease of population was also reduced until 2012. In 2012 the population flow in Badia del Vallès is positive. Hence, the perception of interviewers related to high mobility of the population can be seen in quantitative data, although the trend is changing.

Moreover, the newcomers are mostly coming from Vallès Occidental region and Barcelona region –as emigration movements-. The nationality of inhabitants of Badia del Vallès is mostly Spanish (94,16%), foreigners only represented 5,8% of the population, while in Catalonia they represented 15,68% in 2013 (Idescat, 2014). It is important to remark that the increase of foreigners it concentrated in a short period, from 2000 to 2008. Thus, can be perceived as a massive movement of foreigners to the municipality, especially in Badia del Vallès where the social homogeneity was a relevant characteristic.

7.1.2. Social assistance

In terms of education the data show a high increase of population reaching secondary level of education (see table 14). Furthermore, analphabetism was eradicated (see table 14). However, there is an increase of non-qualifications (see table 14). In 2011 the percentage of university

education was 4,52%, which was significantly low compared to the rest of Spain, where 12,60% of the population had university education. It is especially relevant the low level of university education, taking into account that the distance to Autònoma University is 2,4 km. This fact, can be seen as a prove that Badia del Vallès is grounded and isolated from adjacent environment.

In terms of education centers, it can be seen a reduction (see table 15), nonetheless the data from 1977 refers to planned education centers; some of them were never built. Further, in terms of number of services, the city did not experience a significant improvement since 1981 (see table 26). Nevertheless, the quality of the services has been improved, according to the interviewers. Besides adjacent cities have improved quantity and quality of services which are used by occupants of Badia del Vallès. On the side, sports facilities have been highly improved in terms of quality and quantity (see table 27).

7.1.3. Gender and family

The current household's structure cannot be compared with 1977, because there are no data available. However, it can be compared current household structure of Badia del Vallès with the rest of the province (see 16 and 17). The data show lower percentage of one person household and higher percentage of three people households in Badia del Vallès. Furthermore, the data also show higher percentage of couple with children and mother or father with children in Badia del Vallès. Therefore, Badia del Vallès is still mostly inhabit by families. Still, as in the rest of the country, the total fertility rate has been reduced (Idescat, 2014).

7.1.4. Labour

The data related to economy (table 19) reveal more percentage of unemployment in 2011 than 1977. Besides, comparing to Catalonia the percentage of unemployment is also higher (table 19). The jobs are mostly related to services and construction (table 20). Furthermore, the percentages of unemployment are also concentrated in these sectors, both are sectors especially affected for the economic crisis in Spain (table 22). It can also be seen that the unemployment rate between women has been doubled from 1977 (table 21). The double of unemployment rate between women can be interpreted due to the entrance of women to job market; in 1977 household wives were not included in job market systems, but nowadays most of the women are counted as active population, thus included in the job market

The high amount of unemployment is reflected in household income (table 23) lower than the rest of Vallès Occidental and Catalonia in 2010 and 1981. According to Renau and Tarrés in 1987 the household income was 40% lower in Badia del Vallès than in the rest of Catalonia; in

2010 it is 26,90% lower than the rest of Catalan households. Therefore, the economic situation of Badia del Vallès families have improved in the last decades -as the economic situation of the country-. It has not been detected a significant decrease of Badia del Vallès household income from 2008 (when the economic crisis started), nevertheless there is a lack of data before 2008. However, it has been proven an increase of social subsidies and decrease of working salaries in Badia del Vallès. (see table 35 annex), which can be interpreted as a decrease of household income.

Furthermore, the lower economic level of the population is also proved with the lower percentage of second residences, highly common between high and medium class in Catalonia, and lower percentage of car ownership –even the lack of public transports connections of the city- (table 29 and 30).

Data from 2001 showed that it was reduced the amount of people living in the city but working outside, yet it was still 67,26% of the population (see table 18). Hence, the city has still some dormitory town patterns.

The data referring to offices proved a reduction of the amount of offices comparing 1977 and 2001, from 136 to 117 (see 24). Moreover, these are data corresponding to 2001, but by the interviews and the direct observation it has been detected a significant reduction of working offices in the city since 2008. This reduction can be explained because of the economic crisis in Spain; however some interviewers considered that the phenomenon started before with the opening of big supermarkets in the city.

To summarize, the statistical data showed that Badia del Vallès is still characterized by **low income, low education levels and young families. However, there has been an improvement of income and education and ageing processes** in the city in concordance with the general trend of the country.

7.2. Interview analysis

The interviews were done to three different groups; eight interviews to first residents, four interviews to second generation and experts in the area. The election of two different generations of inhabitants it is due to the aim of the report to understand if the legacies of discursive realities inserted in Badia del Vallès under Franco's regime, are still being reproduced by the narratives of old and new generations. Moreover, the vision of the experts also provides some value information.

The interviews done to first inhabitants show some common experiences and perceptions (see table 31). All the interviewees were young and born in other parts of Spain, not Catalonia, when they moved to Badia del Vallès. However, all of them had been living in Catalonia before moving to Badia del Vallès, mostly they were living in Barcelona area. The previous life conditions are remembered by all the interviewees as bad experiences: small apartments, over-habited and bad conditions of the houses.

According to interviews done to first residents, the arrival date to Badia del Vallès is similar, but it varies from 1975 to 1978. After the first three years of the inauguration of the city, there were many empty houses, some of them were occupied by families. Therefore, it could be that some of the interviewees did not obtain the apartment by official channels. Nevertheless, this fact it is not recognized by any interviewee, all of them justifies the obtaining of the apartment due to large family criteria or because one members of the family was working in the public administration (see table 31).

Second generation of inhabitants in Badia del Vallès refers to people born during seventies and eighties, some of them were born in Badia del Vallès some others moved there when they were kids. Six interviews were done with the second generation of citizens of Badia de Vallès, which have shown some interesting results. Moreover, three interviews were done two international immigrants recently moved in Badia del Vallès.

7.2.1. Labour

Most of the first inhabitants interviewed were working in Barcelona area, not in Vallès Occidental. In concordance, the interviewees recognize a strong relation with the city of Barcelona, not only in terms of work also in terms of recreational time, shopping and others.

The typology of jobs varies between industrial, local commerce and public workers, but not high rang positions. Moreover, none of the interviewees had university education. Therefore, once again it is proven the area was created to settle low working class families.

7.2.2. Social Assistance

They do not refer to the lack of services and public transport: bus and train. They consider that the city had the most important services and later on other services were slowly provided, as can be seen in following quotes;

The services were good; we did not have trouble getting post in school. The medical center was working well also. We had police office, market and small shops that have disappeared. We also had train, bus ...

(L. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

I've never felt abandoned and I'm happy to work and live here. (O. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

There were some small shops selling everything (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Services were good. It was a city that was starting from scratch, but there was everything. Then they put the market and people from close towns were coming here. After the medical center. (L. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

In two cases the interviewees compared with the previous housing experience, where they did not have any service;

Badia was a neighborhood, a city a house, we had nothing before. It was good and there were shops, services: ambulatory market ... (I. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

In our previous house in Sabadell, there was nothing, it was a shack. (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

However, when the topic of services is asked deeply, they start talking about the civic movement that appeared during seventies and eighties protesting for the lack services in the area;

Fight for the sports centre, where judo club was founded. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

But I do remember demonstrations asking for more schools, because people came here with 4 or 5 children. Hence, they needed schools, they had many children. Now it is very different (P. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

7.2.3. Social housing

Idealized past life

The first generation interviewees remember their first impressions of Badia del Vallès as good and positive. This could be explaining because of their previous housing experiences and the modern urban design of Badia del Vallès. The official media of the regime were promoting, during fifties and sixties, the benefits of modern urban design.

A new, all very modern. Badia was a neighborhood, a city a house, we had nothing. It was good. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

greatly nice, beautiful: gardens, no vehicles. There were soccer fields with real grass. (M. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

In Badia we found a luxury. We came to visit before inaugurate apartments. We were going to be very lucky, we were going to be posh compared to the people around us. There were gardens, so high and large homes, all new and especially large. It was very good. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

I have a picture of a sunny day, all gardens, great memories. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

As it has been said, only one of the interviewees considered the city ugly

Ugly, but eventually you get used (J. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Second generation of dwellers interviewed was also asked for memories of their lives in Badia del Vallès when they were kids, their perceptions and their current live. **All of them have good memories of their lives as kids in the city, remarking games on the street, strong community ties and the good opportunity to live there.**

We were always playing on the street. (O. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

There were many children, all families with children you were coming. It was fantastic. (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

We came to school and went out to play here and in the forest, we were a lot and our mothers were also on the street watching (O. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

We played a lot of football and when they put the sports center it was fantastic (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

In general, the interviewees remember the civic movements of the seventies and eighties; they associated them with strong community feelings and ties.

Before the protests were for something specific, there was a lot of movement here and we got a lot of things. Now people do nothing, they are stealing us and do nothing.

Although, only two of them are currently involved in a civic organization -boxing center for kids and commercial association- and three others bring their kids to sports or cultural associations in the city. On the side, all of them use some sports facilities, especially the swimming pool during summer.

Nonetheless, all the interviewees remark that now they consider the city ugly and with horrible buildings. Moreover they especially comment the deterioration of public spaces and buildings from the last five years. According to all the interviewees this deterioration is due to the economic crisis. They state that before the crisis the public spaces and urban furniture were in better conditions. Likewise, the interviewees especially complain about decline of social services of the city. They notably remark the decline of the health center which, according to them, before the crisis was working right.

In general, the interviewees have **good memories about the past city life in Badia del Vallès**. They remark the lively streets, kids playing in the streets, the use of sports facilities and the good relations with the neighbours -**“like a family”**-, the solidarity between them and the existence of **small shops in the ground floors of the buildings** (see image 17). During the recall of these memories a strong melancholic feeling is perceived by the interviewer.

Image 17: The market square of Badia del Vallès



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 18: Burgos boulevard



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Relationships with neighbors were good, our block was a family, a clan and very supportive. With occupations there was a lot of solidarity. Now this is missed, now we are extremely individualistic, it does not exist anymore.

Good relations with neighbors, as a family. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

We were all one family (O. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

We are all a big clan (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Well it was like a village (J. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

We are not better than then, we have become individualistic, ghostly prosperity times have made us individualists. I remember some personalities of Badia ... (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

I remember much street life, many children playing. All families came with children, nowadays there are fewer kids. (L. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Before we knew evryone here (P. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

We were about 25,000 now 13,000 and the children are gone(P. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Withal, one of the interviewees explains that at the beginning the city was a dormitory town, without many ties between the neighbors. Or at least she did not establish relations with the neighbors until she started to use some of the services of the city.

It was a city without an identity where everyone was going to sleep. People came from different places but Spaniards, now they are from everywhere. There was not much relations. Or I did not have any.

Then when I got married and started to take the child to school, I started to have more relations with the neighbors. Besides we were going to the sports outside Badia, where we also establish some ties. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

The narrative of Badia del Vallès as **idealized past life** is common in the interviews. This idealization could be partly explained because most of the inhabitants came from villages from the Spanish countryside. In their places of origin they were used to had strong community ties and town lifestyle. However, their previous living experience – in Barcelona metropolitan area – was totally different; town lifestyle and community ties were missing. In Baida del Vallès they could found similar lifestyles and community ties to their place of origin, which they had been idealizing.

As a matter of fact, the interviewees describe that **they were feeling fortunate** because they could leave behind the previous housing situation, and start a live in a new modern city of Badia del Vallès. Furthermore, Badia del Vallès offered them the possibility to create similar conditions to towns; hence, to construct town lifestyle and community ties, while being close to the city. The intention of the regime was to make feel citizens lucky because of the big opportunity that the government was giving to them, a present from the regime to them.

"The apartments of the OSH are a gift"(1967, N° 1294A)

The feeling of being lucky because of moving to Badia del Vallès is still present in the interviewee's memories, especially the first generation of residents. Moreover inhabitants are open to recall these memories. Yet, when it is asked the reasons why they obtain the apartment and about their relation of Franco's regime the answers are short and vague. Nonetheless, it is remarked in all the interviews some form of repression from Franco's regime. Some of the interviewees were more willing to talk about Franco's repression and they explain some personal experiences, all of them related to Franco's police repression in demonstrations and strikes because of working conditions.

It was not the normal police as now, but police Franco: los grises (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

There was no freedom of expression; you could not say certain things (J. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Others remark the calm of that period in the city,

The city was very quiet then, no crime as it was later (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Here there were no demonstrations, everything was quiet. Spacious and quiet. If you wanted to go to demonstrations you were going to Barcelona (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

With Franco the city was quiet, but had a bad name because of the gipsies coming from other areas - Mina and Santa Coloma- that came to steal here. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Degradation

All of the interviewees agree in the **current degradation of the area due** to the economic crisis that Spain is going through since 2008.

The medical center before worked much better, but with the crisis. Everything has degenerated everywhere.

The medical center is working worse now Badia, services are worse with the crisis. Now with immigrants we have small new stores, but some people do not want to let them come in. (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Garden areas are heavily degraded, with the crisis the budgets go elsewhere. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Now the crisis has worsened the city (P. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Before it was different, there were so many people. Now I am afraid at night, there have been some problems like violence crisis. I feel insecure (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Image 20: Deterioration of buildings (1)



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Image 21: Deterioration of buildings (2)



Source: Pau Martí Moreno

Moreover, all of them agree on the **deterioration of relations between neighbors**, they do not feel community engagement anymore. The reasons of this deterioration are not clear for them, neither when this deterioration started. Still, asking deeply there is a common discourse for some the interviewees. They do consider that the **period of economic prosperity** could mean the reason of the degradation of the relations; thence, the reason why the citizens started to be **more individualistic**, stay more at home and construct less community live. On the side, the **economic crisis** is emphasizing this process, since each one has to look for himself.

Relations with neighbors are bad nowadays, they greet you shortly. Before we all knew each other, after the crisis began they did not greet you anymore. (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Before relations were better, like family. Now everyone goes about their business, everyone has their problems with the crisis. (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

I remember good relations with neighbors, as a family. Of course, there were some problems because some people came from many troubled neighborhoods. (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Before the relations with neighbors worked well. It was like a village, everyone knew you were talking with all ... it was a village. Now everyone is individual, not like before. Everyone thinks about how he will pay his own. With the crisis everything is complicated (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

(J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

J: Before we all knew each other, since the crisis began no longer greet you.

L: So you think this situation began with the crisis?

J: Yes, I would say yes ... but also before. When we were kids it was different. There were lots of bonding between neighbors, but then I do not know ... it was disappearing. Maybe we did not have so many reasons to come together and protest or were too busy to care for others.

(O. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

O: It was better before, you could walk around like a village. We were all a family, but now we cannot trust our neighbors do not even know where they are from!

L: When you say earlier, when do you mean?

O: Well, I do not know. There were many things at once, some went to other villages, new people came and they were not integrated, they are different. And I guess now everyone also has its problems, so they focus more on their problems.

L: different?

Yes, Moroccans, Africans, South Americans ... everywhere we go!

On the side, they link the situation of individualism with the dilution of civic associations and civic movements in the city. They remember the seventies and eighties as a period with active civic movements in the city, struggling for better services, more cultural and social spaces and more consideration from the public administrations. The result was the creation of some

cultural associations, enhancement of community ties, creation of the municipality and the improvement of education, health and sports services. The interviewees consider that new generations are not interested in developing community ties and continue with the cultural associations.

Nowadays the youth are not involve any more in the associations (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

The only ones that are going to the community center are the elderly and some kids, not young people.

They do not care (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Nevertheless, some interviewees also blame for this situation to **international immigration**, because of the difficulties to “integrate” immigrants to civic life of Badia del Vallès. Furthermore, interviewees also notice that Badia del vallès is for immigrants a bypass situation, they move away frequently; thus, making difficult to build strong connections.

It is also important to remark, that for some interviewees the deterioration of the community ties is due to second generation of inhabitants moved to adjacent cities. These interviewees state that the conditions created during the real estate bubble in Spain (1996-2007), make possible for some residents to move to adjacent cities with better housing conditions. Moreover, second generations had to move to adjacent cities because there were not enough houses in Badia del Vallès, since the city cannot be expanded. Therefore, previous inhabitants of Badia del Vallès left and empty houses were used for international newcomers. The result, according to interviewees, is a deterioration of the community ties.

Youth (Spanish) are gone. New ones are only passing by. (L. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

New neighbors are South American, Muslims, gypsies ... (L. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

The Muslims are not integrated, I see it because when I go to school with the child I see, they form their groups and children too, is not as it should be. My grandson is mulatto and I see: the whites with whites, blacks with blacks ... not as it should be. But there is no violent conflict, each in his roll. (O. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

The poorest are passing here. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

It is a dormitory town, where everyone is mixed: people that do not have where to go, people without resources. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Before people came to stay, now is only a temporary solution. Many of those who came when they could they move to Sabadell, Barbera ... although cases were more expensive (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

These perceptions are contraries to quantitative data. In accordance to the data analysed, in 2012 from 13.531 inhabitants, only 789 were non-Europeans (Idescat, 2014). On the side, data also show that the emigration to other municipalities of the region is decreasing since 2009, Finally in 2012 the population flow of Badia del Vallès is positive; mostly young people from 15 to 29 moved to Badia del Vallès. However, the change of the migration balance is not yet perceived for the citizens, maybe because of the newness of the phenomena.

In most of the interviews talking about immigration the interviewees tried to not express straight racism expressions, but hidden. They considered themselves as a family, as a group with similar characteristics. They are concerned about the difference between them and international immigrants. They distinguish themselves from international immigrants as Spaniards, hence a group distinguished from other nationalities, the non-Spaniards. Correspondingly, the creation of these two groups – Spaniards and non-Spaniards- means a certain social homogeneity of within the groups.

They are Arabs, blacks ... but not integrated (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

The problem is that they do not speak, we do not know who they are and they are different from us, the smell of food, the sounds ... everything. (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

It's hard to live with them, they do not adapt to our culture. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

On the side, in two cases the interviewees show empathy for international immigrants by trying to find similarities between both groups. Both cases are people involved in civic associations in the city. Two arguments are given by these interviewees; the first one, is that they were also immigrants in the past; the second one, tries to enhance the belonging to the same social class.

We were also immigrants, my nephews are now in London. We are all people and we have to respect and help. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

We cannot afford not to let immigrants enter the community; they have been living and working in this country a long time. We were the same at the time. (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

We're all equally screwed; we have to help us, and help meet (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

These phenomenon of differentiation and/or empathy with international immigrants – especially non-Western immigrants-is not an exclusive phenomenon of Badia del Vallès, it exist

in all Western countries²¹. Furthermore, differentiation between “original national group” and non-European immigrants is one of the main bases of racism in European countries nowadays.

The identity of Badia del Vallès

It has been noticed that the interviewees also link the conversations about the degradation social relations, with the disappearance of small shops in the ground floors of the buildings. According to the interviewees, in the past there were many small shops for daily products in the ground floors of the buildings, but nowadays these are disappearing. Again, the perception of a melancholic feelings is also noticed when the interviewees talk about the small shops in the ground floors of the buildings.

This connection and melancholic feeling could be explained by New Urbanism theory. In accordance with New Urbanism small shops in ground floors create a physical dynamic landscape on pedestrian zones; which creates lively, interactive and dynamic social synergies²² (Jacobs, 1961; Ghel, 1987; Whyte, 1986). Moreover, in small shops the relation between customer and the seller is closer. Thus, small shops mean enhancing community ties, what nowadays is missing for inhabitants.

It was like a village in the city, we all knew and had all: medical, market, schools and small businesses which now are closing (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Small businesses gave life to Badia, not now ... everything is changing for the worse (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Before you were going to the street, to the store and you were talking to the neighbors (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

There were some small shops. I think there was a doctor, but I'm not sure. Above all there were small shops (B. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Furthermore, during the first years of the city the non-participation of women in job market and their role as housewives, could also favor the use small shops, building edges and in general public space.

²¹ This report is not aimed to analyze the role of “the other” in identity formation, if the reader is interested one starting point can be Neumann (1999) *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation*. Manchester University Press

²² see more about New Urbanism and edge effect in Jacobs, 1961; Ghel, 1987; Whyte, 1986.

On the side, the interviewees link the conversation about the deterioration of the city with the proud of being a citizen of Badia del Vallès. Their strong identity feeling is linked with neglecting the bad reputation of Badia del Vallès. Badia del Vallès was seen, especially during the seventies and eighties, as a **conflictive dormitory town**. Badia del Vallès was associated with street violence, robberies, burglaries, youth involved in criminal activities, drug dealing (heroin), gipsy clans related with illegal activities, etc. During this period there were other suburbs of Barcelona with similar reputation: La Mina, Sant Adrià del Santa Colma de Gramanet, Besos, La Pau, etc. In concordance with the interviewees, there were not criminals in Badia del Vallès, the bad reputation was due to criminals from other neighborhoods that were going to Badia del Vallès to commit crimes. Moreover, in two times the interviewees commented that the movie "Perros Callejeros" (1977), which some scenes were filmed in Badia del Vallès, got worse the reputation of the city. The movie narrates the life of a famous Spanish criminal "El Vaquilla", who represent the lost generation of the heroine in Spain, between late seventies to beginnings of nineties.

At 17-18 years we formed a brigade to guard the neighborhood people coming out to steal. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

The movie that was filmed in part in Badia took much notoriety. But nothing is further from reality; we were living pretty well in Badia. I'm there, and nothing binds me to Albacete. (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

The film that was even worse, everyone said you Ciutat Badia full of junkies (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

With the regard to improve the reputation of Badia del Vallès the city changed the name from Ciutat Badia to Badia del Vallès, this change is seeing for the interviewees as positive. Besides, they do not like when someone calls the city Ciutat Badia, for them this name is related to the bad reputation of the city. Thus, the name change means for them a new town not related with violence and crime.

Ashamed to say where you live due to the bad reputation. Now with the change of names is better. Now globalized, everything comes and goes and the name change has helped. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

For some people is hard to change the name, for them Ciutat Badia relates to violence, theft ... (J. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

It's called Badia del Vallès, not Ciutat Badia. We do not like to be called Ciutat Badia because people link this name with drugs and violence. And this is not, life is good here in Badia del Vallès. (I. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

None of the interviewees named the first name of the city, Poligono de Badia. On the side, the interviewees from the second generation they do not know about it. Besides, the interviewees from the first generation answer vaguely and remark that this name was at the beginning. They do not feel identified with the first name –Poligono de Badia- they argue that nowadays Badia del Vallès is a city and not a residential zone.

Sport facilities and sport successes in Badia del Vallès is perceived for most of the interviewees as one of the elements to be proud of the city. To be noticed, sports facilities were during the eighties one of the reasons of community citizen struggle in Badia del Vallès; hence inhabitants feel proud the sports facilities of the cities. Also they remark that sports facilities work as community meeting points in Badia del Vallès.

11 of the interviewees recognize a general happiness about their life in Badia del Vallès, but they talk in past tense. Currently they are not satisfied living in Badia del Vallès, because of the impact of economic crisis, their neighbors, the relations within the citizens and deterioration of the city.

In the case of international immigrants, they do not identify with the city and they recognize their situation in Badia del Vallès as temporal. Furthermore they also consider their stay in Spain as temporal because of the economic crisis. Three of them talk about family and friends in other European countries and the willing to move there.

On the side, the interviewees that moved to adjacent towns still have strong relation with Badia del Vallès: one is working there and another was involved in the sports department of the municipality. This cannot prove that other inhabitants that move to adjacent towns still have strong ties with Badia del Vallès. According to J and M most of them do not have strong relations anymore with the city.

When things were good, some went to Cerdanyola or Barbera, better sites with better houses (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Many young people left, they bought a house close by to live better (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March).

J and M explain that some citizens moved to a better place, with better houses, which it implies that Badia del Vallès is not as good as adjacent cities. Adjacent cities are considered for

them places with better houses and better quality of life. J and M also explain that now these neighbors are having economic problems related with mortgage payments; nonetheless, according to J, they are ashamed of their situation.

(J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

J: I am volunteer at the food bank of the evangelical church of Barbera and sometimes I see some who formerly lived here. It's Tuesday and Thursday evening, about eight o'clock. They come to pick up food, but with shame, some regret having left Badia.

During some interviews **resignation and fortunate** feelings are detected. For example, the interviewee M is resigned with the fact that she received a house to live in Badia del Vallès. At the same time, she feels sorry of neighbors that moved to better areas and now cannot pay their mortgages, and lucky that she did not take the same decision. Moreover, J explains how some of the neighbors that moved are now penitent for leaving Badia del Vallès.

(M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

M: Some of those who moved, now they cannot pay for the apartment, they did not say but I know from mutual friends. The situation is extremely bad. Badia is ugly and now even more, but what can we do? we got these homes and now is our city. If I had gone perhaps I will be in their situation. I am happy and proud to be of Badia, but now this all weathered and dirty. But it was much better before and here you lived well.

I: And now?

M: Everything is worse, it is harder and people are going wrong

Recall fortunate feelings were common when interviewees recall the moment when they received the houses (1975-1977), especially when they compare to previous situation. Nowadays, this feeling appears again when they talk about ex- neighbors of Badia del Vallès that cannot face mortgages payments. Yet nowadays this feeling tends more towards resignation or anger due to the consequences of economic crisis; thence, to accept their role in society as low income population, which should not try to reach higher income lifestyles.

We are who we are, those who tried to live better they are now much worse . (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

So we got these ugly houses and..yes we got this. (J. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

By the said, the discourse of **belonging to lower layers of society** is extending within the interviewees. It is not possible to know if before the crisis this discourse was also reproduced by Badia del Vallès inhabitants. This discursive reality is common between the interviewees from first and second generation (11 from 17). By the said, other interviewees show their exasperation with politicians, the economic system and the need to change.

Now the Government funds the council, because we have nothing in Badia (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Here mostly poorest (C. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

Franco's regime memories

All the interviewees were asked about reproduction of the Spanish map in the road structure. None of them consider it relevant, and in 6 cases they did not know. They do not identify the nomenclature with the country. They do agree that the reasons behind the reproduction of the Spanish map could be to exalt Spanish nationalistic feelings, especially taking into account that the area is in Catalonia.

One of the first issues explains by all the interviewees, except the international immigrants, is the fact that area was developed under **Franco's regime**. Nevertheless, in general Franco's regime is seen for both generations **as distant, something that happen long time ago**. It is noticed lack of willing to talk about it, especially among the first generation interviewees. It has to be taken into account that the apartments sometimes were given for personal criteria, as connections with higher layers of the public administration or showing support to the regime. Therefore, when it is tried to ask in depth the relations with the regime, the interviewees are not open to talk about it. Withal, the interviewees of the first generation remark the lack of freedom of expression during the regime and the violence of repression. At the same time, they consider life in Badia del Vallès in those times as calm, without problems or confrontations with the regime and of course, fortunate for receiving the houses.

The interviewees agree on the negative aspects of the regime, as the **lack of freedom, poverty and difficult live conditions suffered before arriving to Badia del Vallès**. Likewise, when they are asked about positive aspects of the regime, most of them consider that there were not positive aspects, only two of them comment that the city was calm and without violence.

In terms of the relation with the local authorities during Franco's regime and following years, the interviewees mention the improvement that meant to have their own municipality,

instead of being managed by two adjacent municipalities, and the current good relations with the local authorities.

The two councils were not giving much attention to us, but I do not know the relationship. Now good relationships, willingness to work and promote the sport (J. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March)

Nobody wanted to hear from you; 2 years Cerdanyola council, two years of Barberà. Now the Government funds the council, because we have nothing in Badia (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Relations with the council I consider them pretty good, they are receptive (G. 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Well, relations are good, although there are few resources (M. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

Only one of the interviewees comments the different relation that they could have with the local authorities.

We could not look the mayor like now, it was different (...) more distant, more authority, they were from Franco's side. (E. 2014, pers.comm., 17 March)

It has been noticed **contradictions between the negative perception of Franco's regime, the conscientiousness of the regime as provider of the houses and the fortunate feelings that all recall of the first impressions of Badia del Vallès**. To say, that the interviewees comment that Badia del Vallès was constructed during Franco's dictatorship, and that the acquisition of their houses was possible because of the fulfilment of the parameters established by the regime. Withal, they perceive it as long time ago, not related to the present; now these houses are their own houses and Badia del Vallès, their own city. They do not feel any sympathy for the regime; in general they express indifference for Franco's regime. At the same time, they recall lucky feelings when they receive the houses. However, **they separate these feelings from the regime; they do not feel thankful to Franco's regime**.

Therefore, the interviewees had separate Franco's regime with the acquisition of the houses. They use neutral grammar forms to refer to who gave the houses to them. When it is asked deeply, the answers are normally vague and pointing the public administration or the state, as an abstract and superior organization, but without making explicit that it was Franco's government.

L. 2014, pers.comm., 14 March

(L) We were given these houses many years ago (...)

(L) When you say that the houses were given to you, how was the process?

(L) Well I do not know, you had to fill in a request and then they gave the house to you

(L) But who?

(L) Well, the administration ... I do not know

(L) Franco administration right?

(L) By then yes, it was still Franco but it was ending.

(M. 2014, pers.comm., 15 March)

(M) We received the houses long time ago

(L) How was the process?

(M) I do not remember very well, I think there was a selection process based on what you won, the children ... and then nothing cumplías requirements if you gave it

(L) Who was responsible for giving the appartments?

(M) I imagine the state, I could not tell you.

(L) The state at that time was not Franco's administration?

Moreover, nowadays they consider the city as deteriorated and they are not satisfied in general with their daily lives in Badia del Vallès. Nonetheless, this disaffection goes further; they are unsatisfied with the current situation of the country. They express they disaffection and anger with government, the corruption cases revealed, the unemployment, social care cuts, etc. Still, when they compare their situation with other people, as ex-inhabitants of Badia del Vallès threaten of dispossession because of the payment of mortgage, they consider themselves lucky and resigned at the same time. To say, lucky because they did not take the same decision to move to adjacent cities and resigned because they have to accept their role in society as lower layer of society.

8. Future discourses in Badia del Vallès

8.1. Degradation

According to Wacquant (2008) marginal urban peripheries of Western Europe are mixed and ethnic diverse²³. Referring urban peripheries of WE, properly French, Wacquant (2008) states

²³ Wacquant (2008) argues that the presence of immigrants in Western European marginal areas is a consequence of decreasing spatial separation; since previously they were banned from public housing and thus more segregated.

that normally they contain low social categories composed by majority of French citizens, and immigrants from different nationalities, from two to three dozen nationalities. Since Badia del Vallès, accommodates subordinate categories and ethnic diverse population, it can be framed within marginal urban peripheries of Western Europe.

In this regard, Wacquant (2008) considers urban peripheries of Western Europe are suffering a new form of marginality, different from traditional marginality of the preceding half-century.

In the same vein, Silver (1996, in Martínez-Veiga, 1999) considers that traditional exclusion was based on inequality and conflict between classes; hence, the interest within workers, neighbourhood and family coincided, and were opposite to interests of dominant class. Instead, new marginality²⁴ is not related to social class struggles; yet traditional social class system has been disbanded, by fragmentation of working class in different social groups. New marginality confronts these fragmented groups; thus, places those who are party or permanently out of the labour market against those employed; the dominant ethnicities against minorities; national citizens against immigrants (Martínez-Veiga, 1999). Furthermore, Martínez-Veiga (1999) argues new fragmentation prevents mobilization of social groups.

Urban peripheries of Western Europe are also characterized because of the residents raised there can have the opportunity to ascent in the structure of the society, through education, labour market or entrepreneurship; thence, they are able to leave margin urban areas and move to preferred areas²⁵. However, the space left is taken up for lower subordinate categories (Gilbert, 2011). In the same vein Fernandez (2006), supports 'exit effect' and 'call effect'; groups less vulnerable move out and leave space to more precarious ones.

In line with Wacquant, Badia del Vallès first inhabitants were not barred from public housing; rather there were not enough public housing areas, and thence they were segregated in slums.

²⁴ New marginality is nourished by the disbanding of the traditional working class due to the normalization of mass unemployment and part-time and unstable jobs; the dissolution of state social protection by enhancing market power; and general renaissance of economic and social disparity; thence new marginality "spawned by the neoliberal revolution" (Wacquant, 2008, p.115).

²⁵ In the same vein, in 2005 report by the Observatoire national des zones urbaines sensibles (Onzus) was published, which analyses residential mobility between 1990 and 1999 in "*zones urbaines sensibles*" (ZUS) [literally "sensitive urban areas"] (Gilbert, 2011). ZUS are peripheral marginal urban areas of French cities. The study reveals that residence mobility was 10% higher in ZUS areas than the national average. Furthermore, two-thirds of those residential changes were to "preferred" areas. Thence, the authors argue that residing in ZUS does not mean an inhibition to housing routes (Gilbert, 2011). These housing movements were normally linked with economic and social upward professional (Gilbert, 2011). According to the authors, marginal urban areas can serve as a catalyst to upward. Thence, Onzus study supposes similar conclusions than the model established by the Chicago School, which considers neighborhood of first accommodation as a transitional place towards immigrant integration.

Nonetheless, it is argued that this process is now being reverted in Badia del Vallès; yet departures are decreasing, and citizens that upward social categories and left the area are currently downward and moving back to Badia del Vallès (see Table 10). Therefore, they have to share the space with those that took up their space, supposedly lower subordinate categories.

The fragmentation of social categories and individualization of citizens are reflected in current narratives of Badia del Vallès in several groups, such as: gipsies, Spaniards, international immigrants, etc. Within international immigrants, other subgroups are created in relation to the nationality. These groups are already confronted among them. During the interviews has been detected this confrontation; cohabitation conflicts, concern to difference, insecurity, etc. This confrontation is especially noticed between Spaniards of second generation, not involve in civic associations, against international immigrants²⁶. In general, international immigrants are seen as menace by native residents. In this regard Wacquant (2008) postulates that native residents are afraid of downward mobility of international immigrants.

The case of Second generations

In the case of Badia del Vallès, there are three types of second generation immigrants; second generation of Spaniards, second generation that return to Badia del Vallès of Spaniards and other nationalities and second generation of international immigrants, the last is still quite limited.

In concordance with the analysis of the interviews, the second generation of Spaniards that never left Badia del Vallès has already hostility towards lower social categories of international immigrants. They normally mix narratives of frustration due to the national economic situation, general deterioration of the city and struggles with international immigration.

On the side, Wacquant (2008) argues that generally second generation of international immigrants are more 'integrated', into the mainstream of national life, than first generation. Furthermore, since they are more integrated, they do have upward aspirations and access to collective goods, which results in xenophobe narratives from national residents. However, as Martínez-Veiga (1999) postulates, second generation immigrants suffer higher rates of social and economic marginality. Besides, Wacquant argues that they are exposed to ethnic stigma

²⁶ Only one of the interviewees (J) reported violence episodes and fear to go outside during nights blaming non-European immigrants. Nevertheless, after the interviews were done, as a result of a fight between Romanian and Moroccans one man died in Badia del Vallès. Thus, some violent conflicts between different nationalities are taking place in the city.

due to age, place of residence and ethnic (2008). By following the reasoning of Martínez-Veiga and Wacquant, it can be concluded that second generation of immigrants suffer high marginality and socio-ethnic stigma, but at the same time, they have upward aspirations. Therefore, the combination of high socioeconomic and group fragmentation result in more frustration; and thus, more conflicts with higher social categories.

It can be therefore said, that Badia del Vallès has a similar situation as other urban peripheries of Western Europe. Conversely, international immigration is more recent phenomenon than other Western European urban peripheries. Thence, could be argued previous explained phenomenon are not yet as develop as other Western European urban peripheries, such as French *banlieues*²⁷.

On the side, in Badia del Vallès it has been identified two other social characteristics. Firstly, there is social group that suffered downward and came back to Badia del Vallès. Due to the limits of this research it was not possible to analyse what narratives they have, and how will they confront other narratives. As hypothesis, it can be argued that probably frustration will be mixed with narratives of fear to downward mobility of international immigrants. Nevertheless, to know more about these narratives it is needed to develop a deeper analysis. The second difference is the original social homogeneity of the area. It could be taught that the strong social homogeneity ideal that was behind the construction of Badia del Vallès, could mean stronger group identity of Spanish residents, and thence more differentiation as Spaniards; therefore more racism. Broad analysis is needed to understand if these characteristics could mean an emphasis of fragmentation and conflicts between social groups.

8.2. The identity of Badia del Vallès

Civic associations and community ties developed during the eighties created an identity of the city. Howbeit, current narratives remark the deterioration of relations between neighbors, the lack of community engagement, and the general individualization of inhabitants; unlike idealized past life, when social ties were strong. As in the case of French *banlieues*; where, several studies proved that one of the main problems were the lack of social ties and communication among citizens (Tissot, 2008). The interviewers consider that the reasons of this disengagement are general individualization of society, economic crisis, international immigrants and temporal living patterns in Badia del Vallès. By following the hypothesis that Badia del Vallès will continue accommodating temporally low and ethnic social categories, thence the perception of social ties will keep deteriorating.

²⁷ French 'banlieues' (literally, 'suburbs'), refers to segregated peripheral parts of urban areas (Hargreaves, 2010)

On the other side, the theory defended by Goffman, Pierre Bourdieu and Wacquant argue that as answer to territorial stigma, residents develop strategies disaffection; they enhance the private sphere of the family. Thus, public stigma deteriorates the sense of place and social ties of the residents and obstructs socioeconomic integration and civic participation, which is called by Wacquant as 'neighbourhood effects'.

Contrarily, other social scientists -as Authier, Gilbert, Bacqué, Renahy, Retière and Fol- argue that 'neighbourhood effect' is a poor approach, thence only concerns negative effects (Authier, 2006 in Gilbert, 2011). Actually, they agree that the negative notion of 'neighbourhood effects' obfuscates the diverse capitals that social ties ought to offer to residents of these areas (Retière 1994; Renahy 2005 in Gilbert, 2011). Furthermore, Bordetas-Jimenez et al. (2012) concludes that civic movement developed in Barcelona metropolitan area, during seventies and eighties was developed on the basis of: narratives of exclusion and abandonment from institutions and higher social categories, social homogeneity of the residents, similar labour conditions and life experience. Thus, residents developed solidarity networks by enhancing exclusion narratives

In the case of Badia del Vallès, by accepting the results of the analysis, it can be said that the political independence, the change of name and socio-economic development of the city, reduced spatial stigma. Besides, negative narratives of the city could provide union narratives trough residents; as example residents organized municipal patrols during nineties against crimes in the city; or the struggle to claim for independence and change the name of the city. Therefore, it could be argued that 'neighbourhood effect' did not notably deteriorate the local ties in Badia del Vallès.

Regarding the weakening of social ties, it can be hypothesised that the causes of their deterioration are multiple. In this sense, the development of new labour market frame meant new marginality, and fragmentation and diversification of social groups; thus, social homogeneity base was rescinded. Furthermore, ethnic diversification of social groups complicates communication between inhabitants, and thence weakness community ties. Additionally, a connected phenomenon that also obstruct community ties is the national trend towards individualization, which links with national detachment of political and community life, especially among youth (many studies have been done in this vein, as Montero, Gunther and Torcal, 1999; Gomez, 2006; Torcal, Morales and Pérez-Nievas, 2005; Benedicto and López-Blasco, 2008).

On the side, the interviewers claim that social ties have been deteriorated due to the decline of shops in ground floors and material deterioration of the city, what reduces daily social interactions in the streets of Badia del Vallès. Likewise, the interviewers also blame the temporal living patterns of new residents. Nonetheless, agreeing to the data some of the residents that move out are still involve in civic associations in the city and express strong identity feelings of Badia del Vallès, mainly concerning sports and business associations. Therefore, it could be argued that temporality is not a main obstacle for social ties; rather, fragmentation of social categories and mistrust to different social groups, especially ethnically different groups.

By following the reasoning of Martínez-Veiga and Wacquant, fragmentation and diversification of low social categories is the new social frame for working class of XXI century. Therefore, local ties in Badia del Vallès will continue towards deterioration. Even so, in the case of Badia del Vallès, the severe economic crisis - which increases marginality- resulted in several solidarity community projects; some of them social and ethnical integral²⁸. The economic crisis could decrease social fragmentation? In some of the narratives analysed, it can be identified expressions of same socioeconomic belonging, although different ethnic group. These narratives can be detected specifically the interviewers involve in community associations. Furthermore, interviewers involved in community associations express narratives against racism. Hence, a positive feedback process: more involvement in community life reduces group fragmentation, and creates stronger community identity and struggles racism narratives.

8.3. Franco's regime memories

The interviews analysis showed how Badia del Vallès residents perceived Franco's regime as distant, something that happen long time ago. Logically, time will increase this distance with Franco's dictatorship. Additionally, inhabitant's narratives also express a negative vision of Franco's government, yet lack of freedom and poverty. Lack of freedom and poverty are narratives reproduce by first and second generation. Therefore, it could be argued that these narratives will keep reproducing by further generations.

On the side, narratives concerning difficult live conditions suffered before arriving to the city, and thence feeling privileged for their houses in Badia del Vallès are notably reproduced by

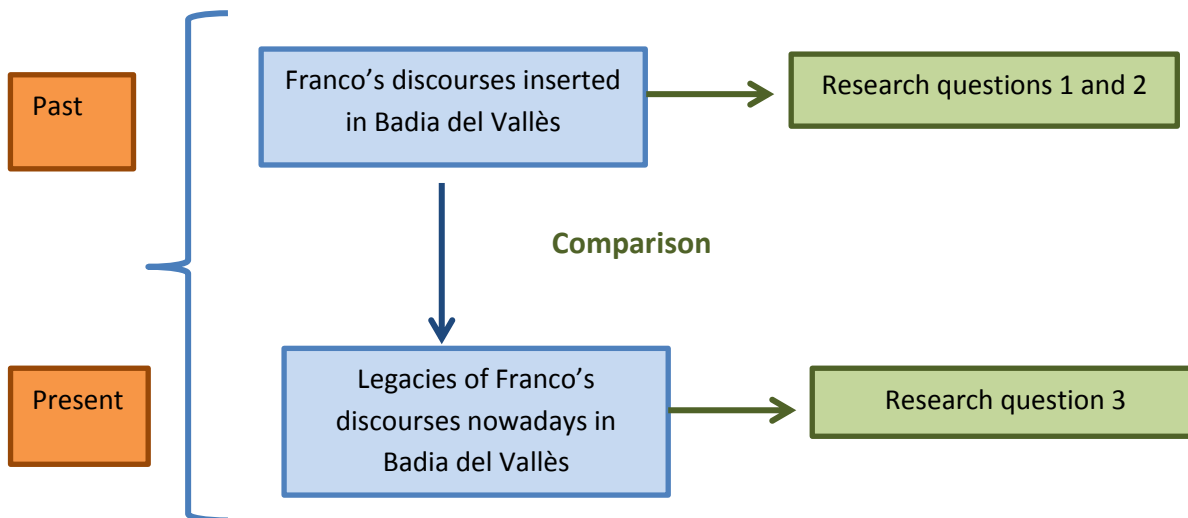
²⁸ Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca Badia del Vallès, PAH (Movement of Mortgage Victims). PAH is a movement that struggles against subprime mortgages and decent housing. Furthermore, several food banks and others exceptional actions are taking place in the city.

first generation of inhabitants. These narratives are also replicated by second generation of residents that previously lived in other cities of Barcelona metropolitan area (hence, citizens not born in city, but raised there). However, their memories are vaguer, thus their narratives are less powerful. Additionally, second generation of inhabitants that did not live previously in other cities, does not reproduce narratives related to privileged perception for their houses in Badia del Vallès; instead they express discontentment about the city and their housing situation. As a result, narratives referring privilege for housing in Badia del Vallès will probably vanish in the future.

Some hypothesis can be drawn of the consequences of the evaporation of these narratives. In this sense, the intention of Franco's regime was to develop fortunate and thankful narratives, through improving housing situation. These narratives were supposed to work as retaining wall for dissatisfaction discourses and actions, hence to implement order and control. Once, these narratives are vanished; frustration and anger against higher social groups and institutions could remerge easily and stronger. Yet, it has been noticed in the interviews that second generation of inhabitants are expressing more anger and detachment with political and economic system.

9. Conclusions

In this chapter it is summarized the main results of this research; thus, what is the relevance of Franco's past discourses for present narratives in Badia del Vallès . The utility of identifying such legacies relates to understand the reasons of present discourses through the revision of past discourses, to identify what the future progresses of discursive realities and narratives could be. To understand the reasons of current discourses is necessary tool to work towards transformation; thence to work in the direction of better future. But from a bottom-up perspective, therefore by informing actors of current narratives and possible evolutions and to empower them –actors and narratives- to promote changes.



9.1. Franco's discourses inserted in Badia del Vallès

The analysis has shown the ideas of modern planning notably exist in the city; so far, New Town was the main base of the Master Plan of Badia del Vallés. Hence, the Master plan proposed open green areas and minimum services to provide the city with minimum life and independence. Therefore, the analysis proved that fascist discourses of planning and architecture are not strongly present in Badia del Vallès. Still, it can be found some material fascist legacies, such fascist symbols.

Although fascist planning and architecture discourses are not strongly present, it can be proved that there are some similarities between The New Town and organic theory planning; which was the planning approach defended by falangist and national-catholic forces. In this

regard, falangist and national-catholic conceived cities as reaction against urban liberalism and freedom. Consequently, cities had to be harmonious organic city systems where functions had to be differentiated and hierarchized. Parallel, New Town and modern architecture movements argued for differentiated and hierarchized functions in the city. The similarities between Falangist, national-catholic forces and modern architecture movements, meant an inclusion of modern architecture discourses within Franco's regime discursive realities.

Modern planning paradigm was strongly based on city levels; ground level for roads and commercial activities, higher levels private spaces for residential activities. On the other side, falangist based the ideal city on rural aesthetics. Therefore, national-catholic aesthetic discourses had to be transformed towards modernist criteria –height, technology and functionalism-. Accordingly, Badia del Vallès is functionally divided in levels: roads, green areas, pedestrian spaces and commercial activities in the ground floor; to the contrary, houses in high levels.

While the modern architecture typology of Badia del Vallés, it has been found that the first inhabitants recall their experiences of first living years in Badia del Vallès similar to organic city paradigm. Thence residents recall similar living patterns to traditional rural societies; in this regard, they especially remark the strong community ties and they perform metaphors linking Badia del Vallès living experience to rural societies.

Furthermore, the first years of the city were characterized by social homogeneity and spatial segregation; Social homogeneity in terms of income, origin, level of education, work and age; Spatial segregation because the city was not connected to surrounding infrastructure and cities. Thus, the possibilities for an «official life» were to study until high school, go to church (in the geometric centre), daily shopping and few basic services. The city had no capacity to provide jobs to citizens and diverse leisure and cultural services. Nonetheless, sports facilities were constructed faster than other facilities. In this respect, Riordan (2002) claims that sports were used during the regime for the rise of national pride.

In terms of social homogeneity, the largest group in the area were young married couples. Yet, in accordance with Franco discourse analysis, Franco's regime discursive realities considered family conception as central element of social organization; therefore, family was seen as a basic element for social control, for perpetuating traditional family roles and other Franco's discourses in terms of social organization.

On the side, the analysis developed has shown that social housing projects as Badia del Vallès were promoted through media as a gift from Franco to Spanish people. Basically the analysis of discourses in media revealed narratives about Franco as provider to Spaniards with modern, green and spacious cities, where kids could play and air was clean; thenceforth, providing to citizens an important improvement of living conditions. Hence, they could be grateful to the regime. Consequently, social housing during Franco's regime could be understood as a donation from the regime to Spaniards, to enhance the propaganda of the regime and the figure of Franco. At the same time, through planning and designing of social housing areas the regime attempted to perpetuate discourses and traditional family roles.

In the case of Badia del Vallès the discourses that led the construction were to reinforce the figure of Franco and his goodness and to create an island for working class, where they could be controlled and to perpetuate traditional family roles.

9.2. Legacies of Franco's discourses nowadays in Badia del Vallès

The analysis of the legacies of Franco's discourses has shown that the idea of being fortunate is still present. Nevertheless, it has to be taken into account the current crisis of housing market in Spain; where many families, especially low income groups, have enormous difficulties to pay mortgage, hence they have to face eviction. In Badia del Vallès, is not a common problem; since is a social housing area, and thus the prices of the houses are lower than national average and most of the houses were paid through mortgage during the first years of the city. Still, fear of suffering face eviction could empower the discourse of being privilege by the fact of owning a house in Badia del Vallès.

Furthermore, the perception of being fortunate is accompanied by acceptance of being part of lower layers of society. Again, this discourse could be understood – albeit not limited to - as consequent to the actual context of economic crisis. In this regard, during past prosperity periods, lower income groups were able to improve their socio-economic status. In opposition, nowadays due to the economic crisis lower income groups are suffering a general worsening of their socio-economic status. Therefore, comparatively to a past in which lower-income groups could improve their condition, the current general difficulty of finding affordable housing makes Badia del Valles a district perceived with higher value than in the pre-crisis past. In other words, the financial crisis may have enhanced the perception that Badia de Valles is still a place wherein the perception of being 'lucky' despite the generally modest economic conditions, has its proper collocation.

On the side, it has been reported a deterioration of to community ties and daily relations between the inhabitants, which is accompanied by a nostalgic conception of the past. This nostalgia for past times is not a rare phenomenon; humans construct positive images of past times. In the case of Badia del Vallès, there is an idealization of past social cohesion and community live (sports centers, civic movements, shops in ground floors, playing on the street, etc.). This idealization has meant a negative conception of the presumed causes that deteriorated social cohesion and community live; diversification of social homogeneity due to migration flows -especially international immigration-, profitable economic periods and economic crisis.

It is not clear when this idealized past took place. The idealized past is vague in terms of real time. Yet, the interviewees agree that it was approximately the first years after the inauguration of Badia del Vallès, probably during the eighties. Although, when the interviewer ask more information about this period, interviewees express the lack of services and the bad reputation of Badia del Vallès. Logically, a nostalgic vision of the past tends to eliminate the negative aspects.

In addition, the analysis has proved that traditional family roles have changed. In 1981 there was low participation of women of Badia del Vallès in the labour market, in concordance with the presumed role that the regime was giving to women. Data from 2013 (see table 21) show an enormous increase of women unemployment because of women entrance to the labour market. Furthermore, before the crisis women unemployment was higher, this is a common situation in western economies. Nonetheless, in 2009 the situation changed. This can be explained because of the impact of the crisis to the construction sector, mostly composed by men. Likewise, another factor to take into account could be the return of housewife roles. To say that due to the lack of opportunities to find a job, the reduction of household income and the increase of social services, women return to housewife roles. However, this research could not include a deep study of this phenomenon; hence it is needed further research. Besides, this future research should take into account the impact of international immigration and the discourses that this group has in relation to women roles.

On the other side, the analysis has shown some relations between the relevance that the regime was given to sport and current narratives. According to Riordan (2002), Franco's regime conceptualized sports as national pride builder and evasion. In the cases of interviewees related with sports practice and associations, three main narratives have been detected; which are social community ties, evasion and local identity. It could be argued that these narratives

and their relation to sport is not a distinguishing element of Franco's regime. Therefore, it cannot be said Franco's discursive realities behind sport are still present in Badia del Vallès. Though, the amount and relevance of sports facilities in the city could be seen as material legacy of Franco's regime. Since this report has not deeply analysed sport conceptualization and practice, no precise conclusions can be deduced.

Another possible legacy that was out of the scope of this report is the discourses related to housing ownership. As it previously explained, the housing policy of Second Francoism aimed at developing a housing market inscribed in markets structures by promoting private capital investments and housing property. According to some authors, Franco's housing policies are the main base of the current housing market structure in Spain, characterized by housing property and a complex conglomerate of builders, promoters and financial institutions – (Abadía, 2002; Naredo, 2010)-. Eventually there are some materials legacies, since the building companies and promoters developed under Franco's regime are nowadays the main elements of these complex conglomerates (Abadía, 2002; Naredo, 2010).

9.3. Future discourses in Badia del Vallès

Wacquant (2008) argues that new marginality has meant a fragmentation of social categories and individualization of citizens. Furthermore, these groups are now confronted (Wacquant, 2008). In Badia del Vallès it has been detected some confrontation between social categories; especially noticed between Spaniards of second generation, not involve in civic associations, against international immigrants. In general, international immigrants are seen as menace by native residents.

The case of second generations of international immigrants is particularly controversial. Martínez-Veiga (1999) and Wacquant (2008) state that second generation of international immigrants suffer high marginality and socio-ethnic stigma, but at the same time, they have upward aspirations. Therefore, the combination of high socioeconomic and group fragmentation result in more frustration; and thus, more conflicts with higher social categories.

Badia del Vallès has a similar situation as other urban peripheries of Western Europe. However, international immigration is more recent phenomenon than other Western European urban peripheries. Thence, could be argued previous explained phenomenon are not yet as develop as other Western European urban peripheries, such as French *banlieues*²⁹.

²⁹ French 'banlieues' (literally, 'suburbs'), refers to segregated peripheral parts of urban areas (Hargreaves, 2010)

Furthermore, in Badia del Vallès it has been identified two other social characteristics. Firstly, there is social group that suffered downward and came back to Badia del Vallès. Due to the limits of this research it was not possible to analyse what narratives they have, and how will they confront other narratives. As hypothesis, it can be argued that probably frustration will be mixed with narratives of fear to downward mobility of international immigrants. The second difference is the strong original social homogeneity of the area, could mean higher differentiation as Spaniards towards international immigration; therefore more racism. Broad analysis is needed to understand if these characteristics could mean an emphasis of fragmentation and conflicts between social groups.

On the side, the deterioration of social ties are, according to the interviewers, due to general individualization of society, economic crisis, international immigrants and temporal living patterns in Badia del Vallès. By following the hypothesis that Badia del Vallès will continue accommodating temporally low and ethnic social categories, thence the perception of social ties will keep deteriorating.

Moreover, it can be hypothesised that the causes of the deterioration of community links are diverse. In this sense, the development of new labour market frame meant new marginality, and fragmentation and diversification of social groups; thus, social homogeneity base was rescinded. Furthermore, ethnic diversification of social groups complicates communication between inhabitants, and thence weakness community ties. Additionally, a connected phenomenon that also obstructs community ties is the national trend towards individualization. On the side, the interviewers claim that social ties have been deteriorated due to the decline of shops in ground floors and material deterioration of the city, what reduces daily social interactions in the streets of Badia del Vallès. Therefore, future urban interventions should go in the direction to enhance socially dynamic ground floors.

By following the reasoning of Martínez-Veiga and Wacquant, fragmentation and diversification of low social categories is the new social frame for working class of XXI century. Therefore, local ties in Badia del Vallès will continue towards deterioration. Nonetheless, in the case of Badia del Vallès, the severe economic crisis –which increases marginality- resulted in several solidarity community projects; some of them social and ethnical integral.

Additionally, narratives related to privileged perception for their houses in Badia del Vallès will probably vanish in the future; and narratives of discontentment about the city and housing situation will become stronger. Narratives related to privileged perception for their houses in

Badia del Vallès were supposed to work as retaining wall for dissatisfaction discourses and actions, hence to implement order and control. Once, these narratives are vanished; frustration and anger against higher social groups and institutions could remerge easily and stronger. Yet, this frustration could also work as a common narrative for fragmented social groups; and thence, these narratives could decrease social fragmentation. However, ethnic division could be an excessively powerful obstacle to shrinkage social fragmentation.

Finally, it has been identified a positive feedback process; more involvement in community life reduces group fragmentation, and creates stronger community identity and struggles racism narratives. Future social interventions should consist in enrich common narratives, such as solidarity and neighbourhood network to struggle marginality and economic crisis. Moreover, other initiatives could be to promote sport as a mean for encouraging community identity.

9.4. Recommendations for future actions

Some basic recommendations can be drawn from the results and conclusions of discourse analysis in Badia del Vallès. Accordingly, since other Western European cities are going through the same process, it could be useful to research what actions and programs are being developed in other cities.

Wacquant (2008) contends that main studies proved that one of the main problems of marginal urban areas are communication between residents and social ties. Therefore, future planning should strength social ties and local associations. In this direction, it has been proven that residents involve in community activities show more empathy toward international immigration; thence, again community ties and citizen associations have to be promoted. Some of residents are already working in this direction. For instance (J) is promoting a boxing association with young inhabitants, especially young international immigrants, of Badia del Vallès. Residents already involve in building community ties, should be main key actors in future strategies to promote community projects and general citizen participation. Moreover, the strong relation that the city has with sports could be used to promote civic associations related to sport; besides, sports practice is integral and unifying. Additionally, the existing local media are also integral, unifying and providing sense of local identity, thence, they should be more promoted.

On the side, current narratives remark the disappearance of shops on ground floors, but the few new shops on the ground floors are managed by international immigrants. Thence, it could be possible to enrich narratives referring to international immigration as needed stimulation for the reactivation of social and economic dynamics of the city.

The main obstacle to the improvement of social ties is safety; in unsafety areas, social dynamics and community bonds outside the private realm are hard to progress. At the same time, the development of community bonds work to improve safety (American Planning Association, 2014; Chinchilla, 2011; Cattell, 2001; Ross, Jang, 2000).

10. Discussion

10.1. The limits and values critical and postmodern planning

Main two theoretical approaches of this research – critical spatial planning and Foucauldian discourse - aim at understanding the internal logic and function of cities derived from the interest of political and economic powers. Thence, both theoretical approaches are used to understand contextual realities. Furthermore, the core of both theories is to change society rather than purely comprehend and study it (Allmendinger, 2002). However, such theories seek a more radical concept of social justice and democracy³⁰; for instance Sandercock defends to produce a new urban citizenship out of the existing new global disorder, based on based on an enhancement of difference and inclusionary agreements through discussion (Allmendinger, 2002). In this sense, Marcus (in Allmendinger, 2002) argues that plans ought not to be forced upon society but reached through free pact.

Allmendinger (2002), claims to achieve radical change the particular objectives are lost. Thence, the gap between theory and practice increases. Accordingly, Allmendinger (2002) also states that scientists not know how critical and postmodern planning should be developed in practice. Main opponents to critical and postmodern planning, remark the lack of prescription of critical and postmodern planning (Allmendinger, 2002). Still, how can critical and postmodernism Planning be prescriptive? Both approaches disagree with the prescriptive character of planning; both approaches argue that modernism Planning imposes supremacy of one knowledge over minorities. In this regard, it could be argued that it cannot be bridged the between theory and practice; or that both approaches are more suitable to analysis and reflection.

³⁰ For instance Sandercock (in Allmendinger, 2002) advocates for the total demolition of modern planning and “create a new order of urban civility out of the current new world disorder” (Allmendinger, 2002, p.182) base on five principles;

1- A broader definition of social justice, not limited to material realm.

2- The politics of difference, “based on an inclusionary commitment through discussion. Such a discursive commitment would emphasize the positive aspects of difference” (Allmendinger 2002, p.183).

3- Fluidness and in constant reinterpretation of the concept of citizenship.

4- Reformulation of the concept of community towards a multiple communities and multiples identities.

5- Reject traditional view of public interest because it assumes a certain degree of uniformity within society. Hence, Sandercock advocate for a heterogeneous public interest; “Allowing hidden voices to speak will change existing processes and outcomes to the appeal to some overall concept of justice.”(Sandercock, 1998; at Allmendinger 2002, p.184). Therefore, public interstate turn to a civic culture based on the idea of “togetherness in difference” (Sabercock, 1998; at Allmendinger 2002, p.184).

Additionally, it could be argued postmodern and critical planning succumb to modernist mistakes. To say, the total rejection of modern planning, or traditional public interest and to work towards an overall model of justice could be interpreted, as imposing the supremacy of one world view over others; thus, to suppress difference. Ironically, postmodernism thinking wants to ban instrumental rationality and homogenous views. However, postmodern planners would argue that new overall model of justice should be defined by free agreement, similar future discursive realities.

Nevertheless, another obstacle for planning practice appears; difficulties to reach agreements in a diverse and fragmented decision process. In this direction, the advocates of Habermas ideas and collaborative planning support the idea of consensus and agreement. Instead, authors such as Lyotard, Rorty and other Foucault supporters, consensus is perceived as “anathema”, (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998, p.227), still it could mean a defeat of difference. Yet, as Haber reasons whether postmodern defends the empowerment of hidden voices, these could need temporal agreement among them to confront leading voices (Haber, 1994 in Allmendinger, 1998).

10.2 The value of discourse analysis

On the side, the theory frame of this research is translated in methodological terms to discourse analysis. Discourse analysis assumes that discourse “is a practice within which discursive realities are produced” (Duineveld and Dix, 2011, p.70), and hence analyses the process of discourse production, reproduction and transformation. Therefore, through discourse analysis is possible to understand the causes of construction and transformation of discursive realities. Furthermore, since according to theoretical framework used, discourses are grounded on previous discourses (Van Assche, Beunen et al., 2014), future discourses should consist of a development of the present ones. At that point, future paths of discursive realities could be drawn.

On the side, Van Assche, Beunen, et al (2014) postulate that discourse formation processes are in concordance with the interests of power. Hence, a ‘discourse’ is a set of structured concepts that allows access to certain aspects of reality, while masking other aspects according to the interest of power (Howarth 2000; Foucault 2002; Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). Thus, through discourse analysis is possible to unmask discourse formation processes, and allow ‘hidden voices’ to speak. To say, that discourse analysis aims at empowering difference and

change current and future possible paths of discursive realities to reach overall model of justice.

Actually, discourse analysis consents to comprehend present through the revision of past, and to imagine possible futures. Furthermore, discourse analysis permits to understand the causes of current situation, the grounds of the existing discursive realities. The motives are the means to work towards transformation; thence to work in the direction of better future. But from a bottom-up perspective, therefore by informing actors of current narratives and possible evolutions and to empower them –actors and narratives- to promote changes.

10.3. The limits of discourse analysis

In accordance with the theory used for this research, discourses are self-referential practices. Thence, the results presented in the previous section point out that some of the discourses reproduced by the inhabitants nowadays, are grounded in past the discourses which led the development of Badia del Vallès. Therefore, it could be think that the theory frame of path dependence of discourses is in concordance with the results of the report.

Furthermore, according to Van Assche, Beunen, et al. (2014) discourse evolution is depending on internal existing elements. To say that discourse evolution works by autopoiesis and operational closure; thus, a closed system only based on internal forces as guides to transformation. Nonetheless, this research has found narratives not grounded on known previous discourses. What are the grounds of these discourses? Due to the limitedness of the research it is not possible to answer this question, since this report has not analysed a continuous discursive construction. Instead, this report studied a past discursive formation and it compared with the current situation. Thus, the analysis is missing a part of the constant transformation of discourses.

In this regard, it could be claimed that due the lack of continuous analysis, it is not possible to identify path dependence of some narratives; or that external forces had a role in the construction and transformation of these discourses. For instance, the results proved that discourses about traditional family roles have changed during the democracy period, towards modernization. Is modernization an external force? Besides, recent data show that woman role could experience a regression in the labour market due to the economic crisis. Can this regression be seen as indicator of return of traditional-catholic practices and discourses in

critical moments? Or new discourses are constructed due to an external force as the economic crisis?

To know whether external forces or non-identified path dependences interfere in discourse construction and transformation in Badia del Vallès, it is needed to develop a continuous analysis of discursive analysis formation; especially regarding narratives not grounded on previous discourses. Thence, it is needed to develop a path dependence analysis of the detected existing narratives not grounded on identified past discourses.

Furthermore, in concordance with Van Assche, Beunen, et al (2014) legacies can reside in objects, actors, institutions, relations, cultures, identities, etc. However, the current research did not explore deeply the legacies of path dependencies in institutions, relations and identities. Instead, it has been focused on objects and actors. Once again, the research is a partial study of discursive realities transformation. Therefore, future analysis should also research legacies of path dependencies in institutions, relations and identities.

On the side, Van Assche, Beunen, et al, (2014) argued that the relevance of path dependence is not equally in each discursive reality; in *images of history*, or historical narratives the relevance of path dependence is more relevant. Historical narratives are less questionable; making reflexivity and transformation harder (Van Assche, Beunen, et al, 2014). In the case study, this statement has been proved by the idealization of past life in Badia del Vallès. The image of history that inhabitants have is not questionable for most of the citizens. The regime through the media constructed an image of Badia del Vallès as a peaceful place to live, which is still alive in memories of the residents.

Finally, by accepting that discourses future discourses should consist of a development of the present ones, it is admitted a deterministically view of time, to say a non-disturbed a line of continuity between past and present; which excludes the intrusion of external forces, chaos and indeterministic progression. It could be claimed that the results of this research shown some possible non-predictable and discontinuous narratives. For instance, several solidarity community projects, that promote social and ethnical integration; which diverge dominant narratives of socio-ethnic fragmentation. Thus, it could be that reality is far more complex than non-disturbed a line of continuity between past and present. But, for this research it is needed defined some boundaries to be able to understand contextual realities in Badia del Vallès; nevertheless, it is a partial understanding of the contextual realities in Badia del Vallès.

The broadness that discourse analysis is aimed at analysing it is another obstacle for this methodology.

10.4. Other added values

During the democracy transition period until last decade there was a non-written agreement between elite politics for amnesia as a way to not reopening old wounds (Morán, 1991; Colmeiro, 2011; Labanyi, 2007). However, in the last decade the memory debate has also been reopened in the political arena (González-Ruibal, n.d.). Moreover, recent years some social sectors are pushing towards a revision of the agreements achieved during the democracy transition. The deep understanding of legacies of path dependences nowadays are needed to complete a real revision of the agreements achieved during the democracy transition and their evolution.

11. Annex I

Table 1.

		men	women
Working place of the head of the households (%) 1977	In the municipality	5	21
	Adjacent cities	28	33
	Barcelona region	57	42
	other	10	4

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Table 2.

		men	women
Previous living place of the head of the households (%) 1981	Adjacent cities	27	27
	Barcelona region	61	61
	Catalonia	4	4
	Outside Catalonia	8	8

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Table 3.

		men	women
Born place of head of households. %. 1977	Barcelona region	12	14
	Catalonia	1	2
	Spain	87	83
	Abroad	0	1

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Table 4.

		1977
Employed population. By economic sectors. %. 1977	Agriculture	
	Industry	31
	Construction	6
	Services	63

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Table 5.

		men	women
Employed population. By companies. %. 1977	Public administration	30	22
	Private company	70	88

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Table 6.

		1981
Registered unemployment. By sex. %. 1981	Men	78,1
	Women	21,8

Source: Renau and Tarrés, 1987

Table 7

	1977	
	With vehicle	without vehicle
% Main homes subject to availability of vehicle 1977	63,24	36,76

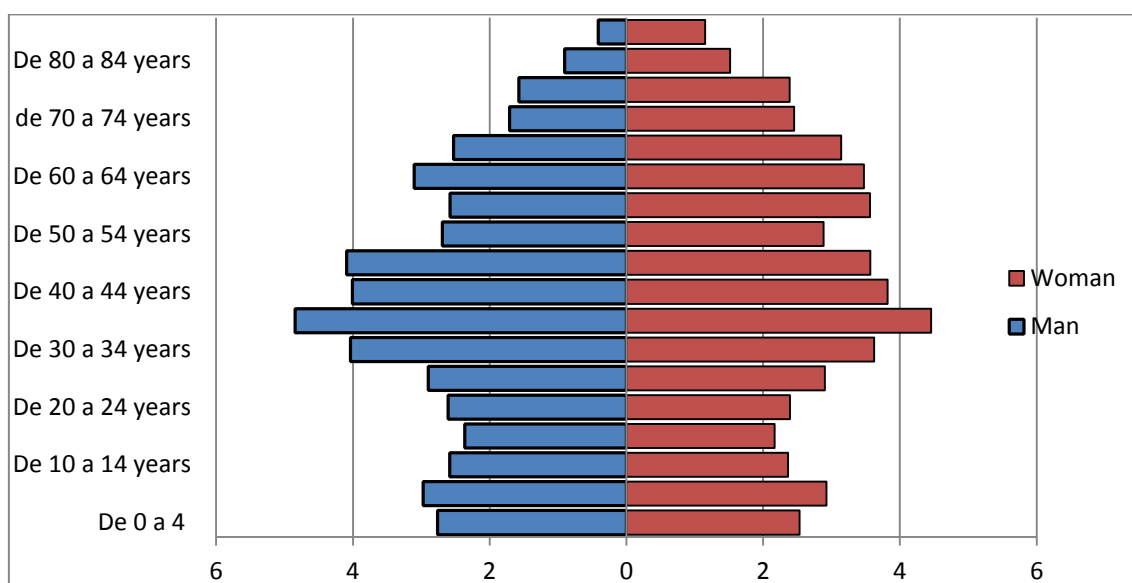
Source: Renau and Tarrés, 1987

Table 8

		1977
Population of 16 years and over. By level of education. 1977	No qualifications	12,65
	Primary level	55
	Secondary level	17,01
	University education	0
		*analphabet (15,30)

Source: Sanchez, 1982

Graph 1: Age pyramid Badia del Vallès 2013



Source: Renau and Tarrés, 1987

Table 9: Population Badia del Vallès 2013 and 1981

Population	2013	1981
	13,531	24700

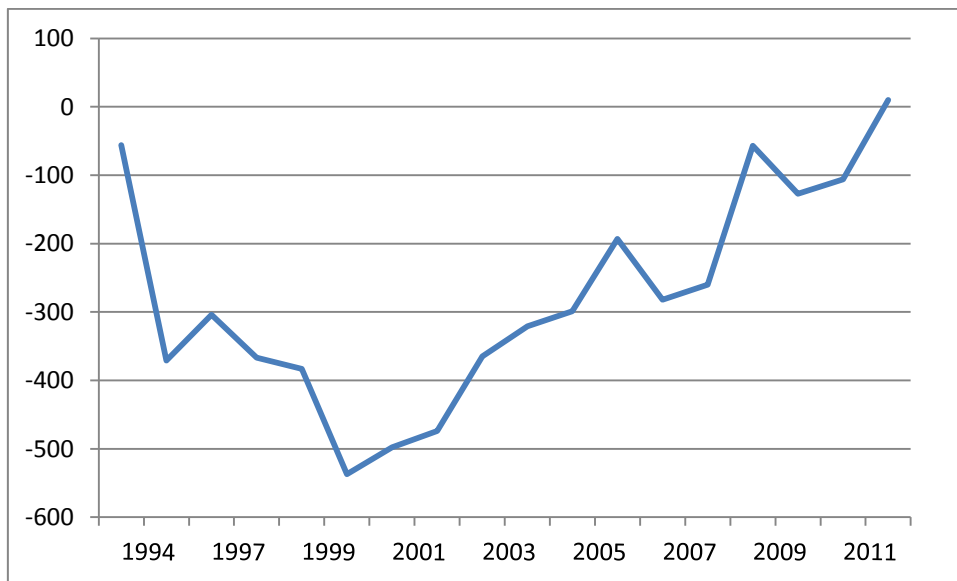
Source: IDESCAT

Table 10: Migratory movements 1994-2012

Year	Vallès Occidental	Barcelona's region	Catalonia	Spain	Total
2012	-49	72	2	-15	10
2011	-100	-21	7	8	-106
2010	-96	3	-7	-27	-127
2009	-81	-11	28	7	-57
2008	-144	-39	-25	-52	-260
2007	-152	21	-40	-111	-282
2006	-232	141	-39	-63	-193
2005	-243	40	-52	-44	-299
2004	-240	34	-84	-31	-321
2003	-267	23	-89	-32	-365
2002	-376	4	-49	-53	-474
2001	-380	-45	-37	-36	-498
2000	-390	-87	-30	-30	-537
1999	-342	8	-32	-17	-383
1998	-368	15	-13	-1	-367
1997	-245	-7	-37	-15	-304
1995	-310	-11	-18	-32	-371
1994	-115	37	-2	24	-56

Source: IDESCAT

Graph 2: Migratory movements 1994-2012



Source: IDESCAT

Table 11: % Population. By place of birth. 2013 and 1981

		2013	1981
		%	%
% Population. By place of birth.	Catalonia	60,59	44,85
	Rest of Spain	31,99	53,04
	Abroad	7,42	2,11

Source: IDESCAT

Table 12

% Population. By nationality. 2013	Spanish	94,16	97,89
	Foreign	5,8	2,11

Source: IDESCAT

Table 13

Main homes per year of arrival in the house 2001							1991	1981	1971	1961	1941	before 19
	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1990	1980	1970	1960	19
	191	153	216	179	190	144	469	924	2572	6	1	

Source: IDESCAT

Education

Table 14

		2011	1981
% Population of 16 years and over. By level of education	No qualifications	16,53	12,65
	Primary level	17,64	55
	Secondary level	60,31	17,01
	University education	4,52	0
Source: Renau and Tarrés, 1987 and IDESCAT			*analphabet (15,30)

Table 15

		2006	1977
Education centres	Kindergarten	2	5
	Kindergarten and Primary school	4	5
	High school	2	1

Source: IDESCAT

Households

Table 16

		Badia del Vallès	Vallès Occidental
% Households. By size. 2001	One person	14,67	16,21
	Two people	26,09	27,86
	Three people	26,28	23,69

	Four people and over	32,96	32,22
	Total	100	100

Source: IDESCAT

Table 17

		Badia del Vallès	Vallès Occidental
% Households. By type of nucleus. 2001	One person	14,66	16,21
	Two people or more without nucleus	2,87	3,0309402
	Couple without children	20,77	23,2386359
	Couple with children	48,54	46,6116082
	Father or mother with children	11,21	8,69993536
	Two nuclei or more	1,9	2,20584227
			100

Source: IDESCAT

Mobility

Table 18

		2001	1981
% Commuting by economic sectors 2001	Live and work in the municipality	9,07	7,67
	Live in and work outside the municipality	67,26	92,33
	Live out and work in the municipality	7,29	
	Total working in the municipality	16,36	

Source: IDESCAT

Economy

Table 19

		2011	1977	Catalonia
% Population. By relation with economic activity. 2011	Employed population	39,72	75,60	50,50
	Unemployed population	26,00	21,84	17,61
	Active population	63,00		68,11
	Inactive population	37		55,22

Source: IDESCAT

Table 20

		2011	1977
% Employed population. By economic sectors. 2011	Agriculture		
	Industry	39,76	31
	Construction	26,24	6
	Services	62,69	63

Source: IDESCAT

Table 21

		2011	1977
% Registered unemployment. By sex. 2013	Men	52,58	78,1
	Women	47,4	21,8

Source: IDESCAT

Table 22

% Registered unemployment. By sectors. 2013	Agriculture	0,53
	Industry	15,09
	Construction	18,35
	Services	59,81
	Without previous employment	6,199

Source: IDESCAT

		Badia del Vallès	Catalonia
Gross disposable household income (base 2008). 2010	GDHI (Thousands of euros)	165,797	125,141,484
	GDHI per capita (Thousands of euros)	12.3	16.9
	GDHI per capita (Catalonia index=100)	73.1	100.0

Source: IDESCAT

Table 24

% Offices by activity 2001	active	112
	non-active	5
	total	117

Source: IDESCAT

Table 25

% Offices by economic sector 2001	Health	8
	Education	4
	Cultural or sports	0
	Social welfare	4
	commercial	59
	offices	28
	industry	9
	Agriculture	0
	others	5

Source: IDESCAT

Others

Table 26

	2013	1977
Hospitals	0	0
Community health centre	1	1
Elderly house	0	0
Cultural facilities	0	0

Source: IDESCAT

Table 27

		2013	1977
Sports facilities	Pavilions	2	1
	Multisport courts	10	3
	Multisport fields	3	1
	Sports halls	7	1
	Indoor swimming pools	3	2
	Athletics tracks	0	0
	Other spaces	10	8
	Total	37	16

Source: IDESCAT

Table 28

		Badia del Vallès	Catalonia
% Population of 2 years and over. By knowledge of Catalan. 2011	Understand	91,73	95,12
	Speak	52,78	73,16
	Read	66,31	78,71
	Write	40,1	55,70
	Do not understand	8,2	4,88

Source: IDESCAT

Table 29

% Main homes available for second homes 2001	2013		1977	
	Without second home	With second home	Without second home	With second home
	91,37	8,62	87,9	12,1

Source: IDESCAT

Table 30

% Main homes subject to availability of vehicle 2001	2013					1977	
	With vehicle			without vehicle	Total	With vehicle	without vehicle
	one	two	three or more				
	2669	833	117	1366	5045		
71,73			27,08		63,24	36,76	

Source: IDESCAT

Table 31: Main results interview analysis

name	age	sex	birth place	arrival to Badia del Vallès	residence before Badia del Vallès	work	place of work	reasons to move	current situation	first impressions	memories	current perception and feelings
G	58	man	Castilla la Mancha	1975	Hospitalet de Lobregat	commercial	Barcelona	public adm.	retired	ugly	dormitory town	Deterioration, anger
E	51	man	Andalusia	1977	Sabadell	industry	Sabadell	large family	entrepreneur	Beautiful, green	Good relations	Deterioration, resignation
I	64	man	Albacete	1975	Barcelona	public	Barcelona	large family	retired	green	Good relations	Deterioration, resignation
J	60	man	Castilla la Mancha	1977	Cerdanyola	industry	Sabadell	large family	unemployed	Wide, modern	lively	Deterioration, resignation
B	49	woman	Andalusia	1978	Cerdanyola	industry	Cerdanyola	large family	entrepreneur	Modern, new		Deterioration, anger
M	60	woman	Andalusia	1975	Barcelona	public	Barcelona	public adm.	retired	Green, modern		Deterioration, resignation
C	63	woman	Andalusia	1975	Badalona	housewife	Badia del Vallès	public adm.	housewife	Calm and wide	lively	Deterioration, resignation
L	59	woman	Aragon	1976	Barcelona	public	Barcelona	public adm.	retired	Clean, green, modern	Good relations	Deterioration, anger

J	34	woman	Badia Del Vallès	1976	Barcelona	public	Barcelona	public admi.	unemployed	Big	Many kids	Deterioration, anger
P	40	man	Badia Del Vallès	1974	Badia del Vallès	commercial	Cerdanyola	large family	unemployed	Wide, modern	lively	Deterioration, resignation
M	34	woman	Badia Del Vallès	1980	Badia del Vallès	commercial	Sabadell	public admi.	commercial	Green, modern	Games in street	Deterioration, anger
J	37	woman	Badia Del Vallès	1977	Badia del Vallès	commercial	Badia del Vallès	large family	unemployed	Playgrounds	Bad reputation	Deterioration, resignation
J	40	woman	Barcelona	1989	Badia del Vallès	industry	Barcelona	Large family	employed	Wide, green	Games in street	Deterioration, resignation
O	34	woman	Badia Del Vallès	1974	Badia del Vallès	construction	Badia del Vallès	public admi.	commercial	modern	Games in street	Deterioration, anger
H	35	man	Morocco	2001	Sabadell	construction	Sabadell	Cheap rent/family, friends	unemployed	-	-	temporal
N	35	woman	Morocco	2001	Sabadell	housewife	Badia del Vallès	Cheap rent/family, friends	housewife	city	-	temporal
H	35	man	Algeria	2003	Terrassa	Construction	Sabadell	Cheap rent/family, friends	unemployed	ugly	-	temporal

Source: Liliana Solé Figueras

Table 32: Unemployment rate 2005-2013

Year	men	women
2013	968,7	873,5
2012	989,4	873,6
2011	878,4	745,3
2010	862,1	713,8
2009	827,3	691,7
2008	473,5	515,8
2007	311,6	460,6
2006	327,7	471,1
2005	389,7	502,3

Source: IDESCAT

Table 33

Population by sex and age. Catalonia 2014			
Age	Man	Woman	Total
De 0 a 4 years	202606	190089	392695
De 5 a 9 years	215226	203410	418636
De 10 a 14 years	190423	180207	370630
De 15 a 19 years	176352	163366	339718
De 20 a 24 years	186688	179603	366291
De 25 a 29 years	218766	222045	440811
De 30 a 34 years	291108	284001	575109
De 35 a 39 years	354854	331282	686136
De 40 a 44 years	328672	306932	635604
De 45 a 49 years	296676	285263	581939
De 50 a 54 years	254475	258765	513240
De 55 a 59 years	221390	232467	453857
De 60 a 64 years	193265	208195	401460
De 65 a 69 years	176537	198108	374645
de 70 a 74 years	129545	150671	280216
De 75 a 79 years	111352	146283	257635
De 80 a 84 years	86778	133656	220434
De 85 years and more	64368	139558	203926
Total	3699081	3813901	7512982

Source: IDESCAT

Table 34

Foreign population 2000-2013 Catalonia					
		Foreign population			
	Population	total	% to(1)	absolute	%
2013	13.531	789	5,83	-40	-4,83
2012	13.563	829	6,11	-15	-1,78
2011	13.643	844	6,19	21	2,55
2010	13.703	823	6,01	-10	-1,2
2009	13.679	833	6,09	13	1,59
2008	13.829	820	5,93	71	9,48
2007	13.975	749	5,36	246	48,91
2006	14.123	503	3,56	149	42,09
2005	14.230	354	2,49	147	71,01
2004	14.313	207	1,45	91	78,45
2003	14.553	116	0,8	51	78,46
2002	14.600	65	0,45	17	35,42
2001	15.032	48	0,32	17	54,84
2000	15.533	31	0,2	:	:

Source: IDESCAT

12. References

- Abadía, R. B. (2002). De aquellos barro, estos lodos: la política de vivienda en la España franquista y postfranquista. *Acciones e Investigaciones Sociales*(16), 25-67.
- Allmendinger, P. (2002). Towards a post-positivist typology of planning theory. *Planning Theory*, 1(1), 77-99.
- Allmendinger, P. (2009). *Planning theory*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Alted Vigil, A. (1989). *Las mujeres en la sociedad española de los años cuarenta*. Paper presented at the III Jornadas de estudios monográficos, Salamanca.
- APA. (2014) *American Planning Association* [Online] Available from: <https://www.planning.org/> [Accessed 09th September 2014].
- Benedicto, J., & López, A. (2008). Jóvenes y participación política: investigaciones europeas. *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 81, 13-28.
- Blume L, D. S. (2001). The interactions-based approach to socioeconomic behavior. . In Y. H. e. Durlauf S (Ed.), *Social Dynamics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- B.S. (2011) Spanish Books [Online] Available from: <http://www.classicspanishbooks.com/20th-century-history.html> [Accessed 01th April 2014].
- Bordetas Jiménez, I., Marín Corbera, M., & Ysàs Solanes, P. (2012).
- Calavita, N., & Ferrer, A. (2000). Behind Barcelona's Success Story Citizen Movements and Planners' Power. *Journal of Urban History*, 26(6), 793-807.
- Campos, I. S. (2004). Fascism, fascistization and developmentalism in Franco's dictatorship. [Social History]. *Social History*, 29(3), 342-357. doi: 10.1080/0307102042000257629
- Candilis, G. (1968). En busca de un nuevo sentido para la palabra arquitecto. *Hogar y arquitectura*, 79, 5-7.
- Carrillo Navarro, P. (2011). La propaganda electoral predemocrática en España. estudio de las campañas de dos referendos: 1966 Y 1976. *Tonos Digital*, 21(0).
- Cattell, V. (2001). Poor people, poor places, and poor health: the mediating role of social networks and social capital. *Social science & medicine*, 52(10), 1501-1516.
- Chinchilla, M. (2011). *Social cohesion and community safety in new and redeveloped mixed income housing*. University of California, Berkeley.
- Colmeiro, J. (2011). Nation of Ghosts?: Haunting, Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain. *452ºF. Electronic journal of theory of literature and comparative literature*, 4, 17-34, .

- Cooke, P. (1990). Modern Urban Theory in Question. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 15(3), 331-343. doi: 10.2307/622675
- Cuesta, J. (1998). Memoria e historia. Un estado de la Cuestión (Memory and history. A State of the Question. *AYER*, 32, 204-246.
- David, P. (2007). Path dependence: a foundational concept for historical social science. *Ciometrica*, 1(2), 91-114. doi: 10.1007/s11698-006-0005-x.
- del Águila García, A. (1973). La industrialización de la edificación y sus influencias múltiples. *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar*(5), 57.
- Dovey, K. (2008). *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*: Routledge.
- Dovey, K. (2009). *Becoming Places: Urbanism / Architecture / Identity / Power*: Taylor & Francis.
- Dovey, K. I. M., & Dickson, S. (2002). Architecture and Freedom? Programmatic Innovation in the Work of Koolhaas/OMA. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 56(1), 5-13. doi: 10.1162/104648802321019128.
- Duineveld, M., & Dix, G. (2011). Power and discipline in transitions: Michel Foucault. In S. Vellema (Ed.), *Transformation and sustainability in agriculture* (pp. 69-78): Wageningen Academic Publishers.
- Duineveld, M., & Van Assche, K. (2011). The Power of Tulips: Constructing Nature and Heritage in a Contested Landscape. [Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning]. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 13(2), 79-98. doi: 10.1080/1523908x.2011.572655.
- During, R. (2010). *Cultural heritage discourses and Europeanisation : discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europe of the regions*. (Proefschrift Wageningen Met lit.opg. - Met samenvatting in het Engels en Nederlands). Samenvatting o.d.t.: Erfgoed voor de lieve vrede : het vertoog van het cultureel erfgoed in het Europa van de regio's), s.n.], [S.l. Retrieved from <http://edepot.wur.nl/151739> .
- Durlauf, S. N., & Young, H. P. (2004). *Social Dynamics*: MIT Press.
- Fernández-Puig, A. (2011). La dictadura franquista: régimen político, evolución social y económica. *Clío*, 37.
- Fernández-Riquelme, S. (2010). Breve historia del corporativismo católico. *La Razón histórica: revista hispanoamericana de historia de las ideas políticas y sociales*, 11, 54-64.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *Archaeology of Knowledge*: Routledge.
- Frampton, K. (1992). *Modern architecture: a critical history*: Oxford University Press.
- Gallego, F. (2011) "Sobre héroes y tumbas. La guerra civil y el proceso constituyente del fascismo español" In Morente, F. (ed.): *España en la crisis europea de entreguerras*, Madrid, Los Libros de la Catarata, 2011, 249-268

- García-Álvarez, J. (2009). Lugares, paisajes y políticas de memoria: una lectura geográfica (Places, landscapes and memory politics: a geographical review). *Boletín de la A.G.E.*, 51, 175-202.
- Gilbert, P. (2011). "Ghetto", "relégation", "effets de quartier". Critique d'une représentation des cités. *Métropolitiques*.
- Gómez, J. A. (2006). VIII. barrios desfavorecidos: diagnóstico de la situación española. *Exclusión social y estado de bienestar en España*, 5, 155.
- González-Ruibal, A. (n.d). Topography of terror or cultural heritage? The monuments of Franco's Spain. [online] Accessed 13/06/2013.
- Goverde, J. M. (1992). Representation of power in the built environment. [Netherlands journal of housing and the built environment]. 7(3), 239-261. doi: 10.1007/bf02496673
- Ley de Bases de régimen local 17/07/1945. Madrid, Edit. Reus, 1945, 4º, 50 págs .
- Ley organica del Estado 1967 (Organic Law 1967) 11/01/1967. BOE nº 9, 466 a 477
- Guillén, M. F. (1997). Scientific management's lost aesthetic: Architecture, organization, and the taylorized beauty of the mechanical. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 682-715.
- Gutierrez, I. (1987). Los servicios sociales del franquismo a la Constitución. *Cuadernos de trabajo social*, 135-158.
- Hagen, J. (2010). Architecture, symbolism, and function: the Nazi Party's 'Forum of the Movement'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(3), 397-424.
- Hargreaves, A. G. (2010). Identities, Discourses and Experiences: Young People of North African Origin in France. *French Studies*, 64(2), 233-233.
- Hernández, S. (1985). *Primera historia de Ciutat Badia: 10o. aniversario*: Centre Cultural.
- Hernández. (1972). Dimension familiar y social de los grupos de la Obra Sindical del Hogar y arquitectura. *Hogar y arquitectura*.
- Hirst, P. (2005). *Space and Power: Politics, War and Architecture*: Wiley.
- Howarth, D., & Howarth, D. R. (2000). *Discourse*: Open University Press.
- Huyssen, A. (2000). Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia. *Public Culture*, 12(1), 21-38. doi: 10.1215/08992363-12-1-21.
- Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*: Stanford University Press.
- IDESCAT (2014). *Statistical Institute of Catalonia* [Online] Available from: <http://www.idescat.cat/es/> [Accessed 21th August 2014].

- B.S. (2011) *Spanish Books* [Online] Available from: <https://www.planning.org/> [Accessed 09th September 2014].
- J.M., A. (1978). Notas sobre el franquismo. *Papers: revista de sociología*, 0(8), 27-51.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*: Random House LLC.
- Jan, G. (1987). *Life between buildings: using public space*: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, New York.
- Jensen, O. B., Town, U. o. N. u. T. D. o., & Planning, C. (1997). *Discourse analysis and socio-spatial transformation processes: a theoretical framework for analysing spatial planning*: Department of Town & Country Planning, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Jones, P. (2011). *The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities*: Liverpool University Press.
- Jubert, J. La OSH y la política de vivienda: la política de vivienda del estado y la OSH una cronología paralela. *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo*(105), 42-47.
- Jubert, J. (1974). La OSH: características de la gestión de la Obra Sindical del Hogar. *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo*(105), 36-41.
- Juliá, S. (2006). Bajo el imperio de la memoria (Under the empire of memory). *Revista de Occidente*, 302-303(7-19).
- Jumilla, J. A. (2007). Política Social franquista. Del organicismo social al Estado autoritario del Bienestar [1939-1977]. *La Razón histórica: revista hispanoamericana de historia de las ideas políticas y sociales*, 1.
- Libro Blanco de Ciutat Badia*. (1978). Comisión de Partidos Políticos de Ciutat Badia.
- Linz, J. J. (1968). *From Falange to Movimiento-organización: The Spanish Single Party and the Franco Regime (1936-1968)*.
- Linz, J. J. (1991). Church and State in Spain from the Civil War to the Return of Democracy. *Daedalus*, 120(3), 159-178. doi: 10.2307/20025392
- Londoño, W. (2011). Más allá del patrimonio: a modo de introducción. *Jangwa Pana*, 7-12.
- Lopez-Diaz, J. (2002). La vivienda social en Madrid, 1939-1959. *UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, VII, 297-338.
- Lozano, D. H., Herrán, J. C., & Publicaciones, E. M. d. I. V. S. C. d. (1969). *La protección oficial en la construcción de viviendas*: Ministerio de la Vivienda, Servicio Central de Publicaciones.
- M. Alier, J. R. (1987/1988). economía política del cooperativismo en el estado español del Franquismo al Posfranquismo. *Reis*, 4, 25-62.

- Maestrojuan, F. J. (1997). Ni un hogar sin lumbre ni un español sin hogar. José Luis de Arrese y el simbolismo ideológico en la política del Ministerio de la Vivienda. *Príncipe de Viana*, 58(210), 171-190.
- Manrique-Arribas, J. C. (2003). La educación física femenina y el ideal de mujer en la etapa franquista (The feminine physical education and the woman ideal in the franquista stage). *Revista Internacional de Medicina y Ciencias de la Actividad Física y el Deporte*, 3(10), 83-100.
- Martí-Martí, C. (1975). Magisterio Colegial del Episcopado Español sobre las relaciones Iglesia-Comunidad Política en España, a partir de 1931. *Salmanticensis*, 21, 235-262
- Miguel, A. (1970, 7 March 1970). O.S.H. La política de la vivienda y una sugerencia de Amando de Miguel. *Diario de Barcelona*.
- Molinero, C. (2006). El reclamo de la política social en las políticas de consenso del Régimen franquista. *AYER*, 56, 93-110.
- Montero, J., Gunther, R., & Torcal, M. (1999). Legitimidad, descontento y desafección. *Estudios Públicos*, 74.
- Morán, G. (1991). *El precio de la transición*: Planeta.
- Moreno-Seco, M. (2002). Creencias religiosas y política en la dictadura franquista. *Pasado y memoria: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 1, 111-130.
- Naredo, J. M. (2010). El modelo inmobiliario español y sus consecuencias. *Boletín CF+ S(44)*.
- Neumann, I. B. (1999). *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation*: Manchester University Press.
- Opus Dei (2014) Information Office. Opus Dei Information Office
Available from: <http://www.opusdei.org/es-es/> [Accessed 05th March 2014].
- OSH. (1973). Suplemento y resumen informativo. *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar*, 5(106), 57.
- Pajares, E., & Alcalá, C. España es uno de los países del mundo con mayor número de inmi. *AGRO*.
- Payne, S. G. (1961). *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*: Stanford University Press.
- Payne, S. G. (1967). *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain*: Stanford University Press.
- Payne, S. G. (1973). *A History of Spain and Portugal*: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Payne, S. G. (2008). *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II*: Yale University Press.
- Pazos, C. F. (1965). La "superación" del movimiento moderno. *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar*(58), 21.

- Pazos, C. F. (1973). La Construcción Industrializada: Características económicas de la industrialización. Análisis de las supuestas ventajas e inconvenientes. *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar*(106), 31.
- Pérez-Agote Poveda, A. (2003). *Sociología histórica del nacional-catolicismo español*: Universidad del País Vasco: Servicio de Publicaciones.
- Petrovici, L. (2008). Power Meaning in Architecture in the XXth century. *Intersections*, 5(5), 3-10.
- Pradas, R. (1972, 16 August 1972). Los pisos de la O.S.H. versión de la propia entidad: Sobresaliente actuación. *El Correo Catalán*.
- Sanchez-Lopez, R. S. (1999). *El Sindicato Vertical: Dimensión Teórica y Ámbito Pragmático de una Institución del Franquismo. El Ejemplo de Murcia*. Univeristy of Murcia.
- Riordan, J. (2002). *The international politics of sport in the twentieth century*: Taylor & Francis.
- Ross, C. E., & Jang, S. J. (2000). Neighborhood disorder, fear, and mistrust: The buffering role of social ties with neighbors. *American journal of community psychology*, 28(4), 401-420.
- Rubert, M. (2009). Polígonos sin alrededores. In F. A. Tàpies (Ed.), *Archivo F.X.: la ciudad vacía: política* (pp. 538-556).
- SÁNCHEZ, J.-E. (1982). El polígono Ciutat Badia. Un ejemplo de producción urbana bajo el franquismo. *Revista de Geografía*, 16-17(1), 147-158.
- Sanz, J. (2013). "Falangismo y dictadura. Una revisión de la historiografía sobre el fascismo español" In M. Á. e. Ruiz Carnicer (Ed.), *Falange: las culturas políticas del fascismo en la España de Franco, 1936-1975* (pp. 25-60): Institución Fernando el Católico.
- Sklair, L. (2006). Iconic architecture and capitalist globalization. [City]. 10(1), 21-47.
- Sladky, J. (2012). A Program for a Christian Social Order: The Organic Democracy of René de La Tour du Pin. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America.
- Solé. (2000). Inmigración interior e inmigración exterior. *Papers: revista de sociología*, 60(2000), 211-224.
- Sudjic, D. (2011). The edifice complex: The architecture of power: Reprinted in.
- Tarrés, M. C., Renau, A.J., Geografia, U. A. d. B. D. d., & Habitatge, C. D. G. d. A. i. (1987). *Ciutat Badia: barri, ciutat i sistema metropolità: tesi de llicenciatura presentada a la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona el desembre de 1985*: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Política Territorial i Obres Públiques. Direcció General d'Arquitectura i Habitatge.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M., & Allmendinger, P. (1998). Deconstructing communicative rationality: a critique of Habermasian collaborative planning. *Environment and planning A*, 30(11), 1975-1989.

- Tissot, S. (2007). The role of race and class in urban marginality. *City*, 11(3), 364-369. doi: 10.1080/13604810701669017.
- Tomàs, E. B., & Muñoz, C. V. (2009). *La nova indústria: el sector central de l'economia catalana*: Departament d'Innovació, Universitats i Empresa, Observatori de Prospectiva Industrial.
- Tomàs, J. M. (2013). La unificación: coyuntura y proyecto de futuro. In M. Á. e. Ruiz Carnicer (Ed.), *Falange: las culturas políticas del fascismo en la España de Franco, 1936-1975* (pp. 169-177): Institución Fernando el Católico.
- Torcal, M., Morales, L., & Pérez-Nievas, S. (2005). España: sociedad y política en perspectiva comparada. *Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch*.
- Torrecillas, V. J. M. (2008). *Arquitectura social y estado entre 1939 y 1957: La Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas*. Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- Vale, L. J. (1992). *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*: Yale University Press.
- Vallès, M. B. d. (2012). Municipality Badia del Vallès.
- Valls, J. F. (1973, 13/08/1973). Vallès Occidental, hacia la ordenación racional del territorio. *El Correo Catalán*, p. 15.
- Van Assche, K., Beunen, R., & Duineveld, M. (2013). *Evolutionary Governance Theory: An Introduction*: Springer.
- Veiga, U. M. (1999). Pobreza, exclusión social y segregación espacial. *Madrid, Universitat Autonome de Madrid*.
- Vidal Castaño, J. (2012). De la violencia política, la represión franquista y el "holocausto español". *Hispania Nova: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 10, ISSN-e 1138-7319.
- Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (1947). *Viviendas protegidas*. Madrid.
- Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (1974). *La nueva ciudad Badía*: El Instituto.
- Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (1975). *Una Tierra bajo techo: veinticinco años del Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda en Cataluña*: Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda.
- Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (1974). *Viviendas de protección oficial, cupo 1974*: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid.
- Wacquant, L. (2008). Ghettos and anti-ghettos: an anatomy of the new urban poverty. *Thesis Eleven*, 94(1), 113-118.
- Whyte, W. H., Spaces, P. f. P., Division, N. Y. T., Konheim, & Ketcham. (1986). *Improving how a street works for all users: final report*: Project for Public Spaces, Inc.
- Yiftachel, O. (1998). Planning and Social Control: Exploring the Dark Side. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 12(4), 395-406. doi: 10.1177/088541229801200401

Young, J. E. (1993). *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*: Yale University Press.

Zira, B. (2012). El cuerpo de la nación. arquitectura, urbanismo y capitalidad en el primer franquismo. *Revista de Estudios Políticos (nueva época)*, 155, 151-181.