

Expansion and crisis in the neoliberal town planning process in Spain

María José Piñeira Mantiñán *

1. Introduction

The changes recorded in Spain in the economic and social fields since the 1980's have led to a series of changes in the organisation of urban space, in people's welfare and lifestyles. We could summarise these changes in the following items: economic growth and the most striking transformations of the productive structure, the consolidation of the town planning process and the emergence of a metropolitan reality, the revolution in the transport and communications system, the generalisation of a leisure culture and the proliferation of tourism, the global hegemony of the explanation of the changes that have taken place and the incorporation of ICT. As a result of all this, an innovative and strategic conception of the role of the city and urban systems has arisen from reflecting on their territorial dimension. This dimension is based on the consideration of the city as a unifying focus for the economic, social and cultural development of its area of influence ("gateway city"), which is complemented with other cities ("anchor cities") and small groups in its environment in order to achieve an integrated territorial development (Ortega, 2001). Cities are no longer mere containers of social action and are now seen as major players in economic development and as dynamic driving forces (González, 2007). The concept of a *global city* appears, in which neoliberalism and globalisation go hand in hand, focusing first on the new political, economic and social strategy for *planning* the city, while the latter is more related to components of an economic-geographical nature. In any case, what is clear is that cities fail to operate at a local level, and therefore the traditional concept of city becomes meaningless, and urban areas are growing in value, becoming production platforms for the global economy and understood as a business that has to be competitive in order to bring in profits. Consequently, cities are entering a competitive maelstrom in which local governments become true economic developers with support from the private sector. From this moment onwards, they become immersed in a market logic and completely lose the reference point of what people's needs are. Their interest is focused on reforming of urban space (infrastructures, residential, recreational, environmental), on the hunt for a prominent place

* Santiago de Compostela, University of Santiago de Compostela.

in the international ranking of cities that provides them an economic, demographic and social recovery (attraction of capital, property investment, increasing numbers of tourists etc), always looking for justification from third parties in criteria of urban, sustainability and promotion improvement. But to what extent can urban growth in recent decades be considered sustainable?

The twenty-first century urban directives promoted from Europe speak of the need to develop new formulae for governance, endowing cities with the best conditions to achieve “success” in the global urban network, very hierarchical and marked by competitiveness.

Achieving this requires implementing various basic community principles: economic and social cohesion, guiding public action to solve imbalances among regions, the balanced competitiveness of territories faced with the new challenges posed by increasing competition, sustainability, not only environmental but also economic and social, to modify current patterns of human activity and, finally, subsidiarity, which attributes management to the level closest to people (Ortega, 2001).

It is essential for new forms of urban government to foster co-operation and the involvement of all players, and this means including people, and an integrated vision of town planning, linked to other sectoral policies for the environment, infrastructures and the management of natural and cultural resources. We should also reflect on what the indicators to ensure urban sustainability are. Of course, high built-up densities and real estate speculation are not included, and they seem to be the criteria that prevail for most of the local players, but aspects such as improving the economic base, diversification in cities heavily dependent on one particular activity, the innovative design of intercity and city transport and public transport as the basis of infrastructure and the intelligent management of the urban ecosystem through policies of location and land planning, paying special attention to curbing uncontrolled urban sprawl, in contrast to the “compact city” model and with a mixture of uses (Ortega 2001), quality of life, the workforce and education.

2. *The neoliberal city, urban segregation and social inequality*

A great number of Spanish cities are the result of a neoliberal planning system that N. Smith (2009) bases on three pillars:

- The enthronement of the market economy as the only legitimate currency of social interaction;
- The concomitant (or partial) deregulation of certain state functions, and the state’s rejection of the Keynesian social aid project;
- The sanctity of private property together with the privatisation of social resources.

This model is coherent with overall socio-economic restructuring processes but its town planning strategies have nothing in common with the governance formulae recommended from Europe:

- First of all, town planning's interest in introducing order into the expansion of the city is replaced by the main target of converting different cities into spectacular spaces, where the most striking contemporary architecture is used to create a powerful image of global projection (Balsa, Lois, 2009). Works of art become new urban symbols and tourist attractions, such as the Agbar and Gherkin Towers in Barcelona and London respectively.

It is interesting to imitate building models from the great metropolis, without stopping to consider whether it is more beneficial to obtain a global urban landscape or to have one that reflects the historical development of the city and represents its culture, a landscape with which people can feel identified and make the city a unique place where people can experiment new experiences and sensations;

- There is an exacerbated struggle to host the Olympic Games and international exhibitions, as these events are true launching platforms for international promotion. No matter how great the investment that the civil service has to carry out in reshaping the city, improving the infrastructure and facilities, the important thing is that the city has a global projection. Moreover, the number of tourists will compensate the investment. The problem is that these assumptions are not always met. On the other hand are the cities that decide to borrow money for Pharaonic development projects, as is the case of the City of Arts and Letters in Valencia or the City of Culture in Santiago de Compostela, a project that certainly stands out thanks to its architectural composition, but whose future use is still under debate (Fig. 1 and 2);
- Large urban projects arise, which in many cases threaten districts or municipalities. Such is the case with the prolongation of the Avenida Blasco Ibáñez through the neighbourhood of El Cabanyal (Fig. 3).

A controversial action, subject to litigation, in which it is proposed to increase one of the main historical axes of the city (Guàrdia, Monclús, Oyón, 1994) towards the Mediterranean, leading to the destruction of part of a unique neighbourhood of fishermen and popular classes. This intervention will change the appearance and the internal organisation of the city, and will affect the preservation of a neighbourhood that is internally coherent, with undeniable values in popular architecture and that was declared under protection as an Asset of Cultural Interest (BIC in Spanish) in 1993 (Balsa, Lois, 2009).

- Processes of urban segregation and social inequality are evident: If the 1960's and 70's were characterised by a process of industrialisation which led to a solid growth of cities linked to the creation of residential areas

for workers, the following years were marked by the disappearance of traditional industrial plants due to conversion processes arising out of the crisis in 1973. Cities in which industry had been the basis of the economy saw how the services sector gradually became increasingly important, the financial sector grew and logistical and commercial activities were on the rise; there was thus a shift in the range of local employment to more managerial positions, which gave rise to what Goldthorpe (González Rodríguez, 2008) defined as *service class*.



Figures 1 and 2. City of Arts and Letters and City of Culture.

Source: Balsa, Lois, 2009 and Google.



Figure 3. Current image of the Avenida Blasco Ibanez and Cabanyal neighbourhood.

Source: Google Earth.

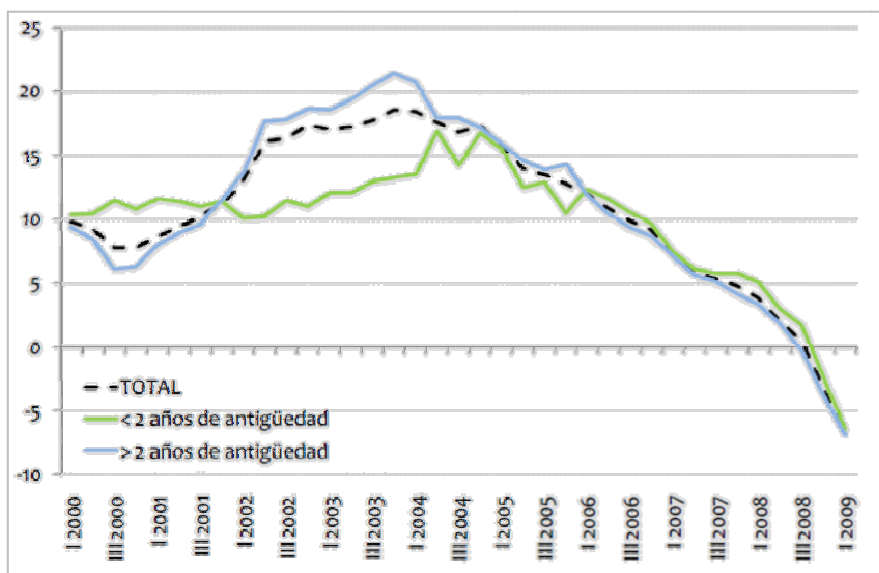


Figure 4. Price per square meter of free housing (change in percentage).

Source: Caixa Catalunya, 2009.

An urban renewal was taking place, characterised by a construction boom that fostered excessive prices for housing (Fig. 4). The hierarchical price system caused social segregation in terms of purchasing power and a homogenisation of residential areas. This phenomenon from the past has been solved on the one hand by the loss of diversity and complexity traditional spaces were born with – they are more heterogeneous and to an extent for all social classes – and on the other hand, by pro-

moting an urban reality formed by residential ghettos designed for middle-high classes, usually located in the suburban area. These areas rely on a rapid and high capacity transport infrastructure (Roch, 2008) to access the city centre, and where social interaction with the environment hardly exists. Increasingly, cities have seen the degradation of their collective centrality spaces or certain sectors such as historic city centres. They have lost their centrality and are being occupied by disadvantaged groups (the low-income elderly, immigrants and people at risk of social exclusion);

- There is an inclusion in urban decision-making by private sector players who see in the housing sector a perfect way to get rich. Not only do they affect the anarchic growth of cities, but they also make the most of urban areas affected by severe landscape, social and economic deterioration processes (historical city centres, abandoned industrial spaces, port facilities, old markets in popular neighbourhoods subject to divestiture processes) to reap significant benefits. After buying the property at a good price they restore the houses, transform warehouses into apartments and lofts for the upper classes, create green areas and rebuild adjacent promenades. These sectors are thus re-evaluated, to such an extent that they become true “golden miles” in which the price per m² is very high. This process might be positive *a priori*, as it involves the restoration of degraded areas, although really it leads to a gentrification of the area, which contrasts with adjacent sectors where people affected by relative or severe poverty reside;
- Finally, it is worth noting that there is little community involvement in the design of the city. It is true that the new strategies of urban governance advocate community involvement, but in practice people remain outside decisions. Dialogue with authorities is too complicated and it requires a great effort to change decisions already made in advance. Even so, citizen movements against the construction or extension of major infrastructure projects aimed to improve cities’ competitiveness have started to take place (airports, high-speed trains, ports), against urban renewal plans with high social costs for popular urban sectors (such as the restoration of the neighbourhood of Lavapies in Madrid or the destruction of Cabanyal in Valencia), and against great mega-projects oriented to the territorial and economic restructuring of certain cities, as was the case in Barcelona and the holding of Forum 2004 (Díaz Orueta, 2006).

3. *The housing stock: the main foundation of urban economy*

Housing markets are one of the main vehicles for capital accumulation in neoliberal town planning in terms of generating employment, allowing increased tax revenues and boosting tourist activity (Smith, 2004).

In this regard, the construction sector becomes a profitable business, mainly led by large private operators with whom a host of people with more modest resources operate, trying to obtain maximum profits and/or satisfactions (those derived from feeling rich due to owning various properties, using them for rental income, holding property while waiting for its value to go up or simply the desire to make money in all these processes) (Lois, Piñeira, 1998). But there are in addition a number of other factors that favour the housing market.

On the one hand, we are witnessing a transformation of households, increasing the mononuclear and individual type (González Rodríguez, 2008).

On the other hand, the number of second homes is increasing, used during the weekends or holiday periods, and there are more empty houses, as a result of both the process of depopulation suffered by some localities, and of the process of inheritance and speculation, which are usually linked to the deterioration of property due to lack of use.

During the period 1950-2001, 16.917.054 homes were built in Spain, of which 29.84% were holiday homes or were empty. However, if we analyse the evolution of construction in detail we can distinguish two main periods.

The first took place from 1950 to 1970 and is known as the *developmental stage*. Its importance is based on the fact that the economic changes which took place at that time stimulated a new logic of territory: peasant societies declined due to the emigration of young people from the rural world and the progressive opening of agricultural farming to the market.

The villagers who had to endure a miserable life during the postwar years were leaving to work abroad as Spain was overcoming the isolation it was subject to in 1947, and a stage of urban and industrial growth was consolidated in countries in Northwest Europe and in areas of manufacturing tradition in Spain (more specifically in Madrid, Catalonia and the Basque Country). As for cities in this period, they were subject to interventionist industrialisation (supported by Planning and Development Poles) and a significant increase in employment in the service sector, which led to previously unknown population growth rates (Tab. 1) (Lois, Pineiro, 1998).

This remarkable increase in population was accompanied by an unfortunate urban expansion to meet the housing demands of the new citizens, characterised by closed apartment blocks (5 or more storeys).

The result was an overdensified urban landscape, with serious shortages of infrastructures and equipment and no green spaces (Pineiro, 2005).

What mattered was to build on a large scale, while neither aesthetics or building quality were taken into account. Currently, these areas are suffering from serious deterioration, and attempts are being made to solve the problem with regional aid.

However, this aid is limited to conditioning and improving building fronts and the installation of lifts in order to improve the living conditions of an increasingly aging population.

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Table 1. Evolution of population growth and housing in Spain in the period 1960-2001

Territory	1961-1970			1971-1980			1981-1991			1991-2001		
	Population	Housing	Difference	Population	Housing	Difference	Population	Housing	Difference	Population	Housing	Difference
España	11,03%	17,56%	6,53%	11,15%	23,79%	12,64%	4,48%	13,76%	9,28%	4,27%	16,15%	11,89%
Andalucía	1,32%	16,14%	14,82%	7,87%	25,40%	17,53%	9,30%	17,18%	7,88%	5,15%	18,58%	13,40%
Aragón	4,27%	16,40%	12,13%	5,24%	19,28%	14,04%	0,70%	14,47%	13,78%	-12,94%	15,16%	28,10%
Asturias	5,69%	17,87%	12,19%	7,78%	19,92%	12,14%	-2,51%	11,04%	13,55%	-2,13%	14,43%	16,56%
Balears	25,93%	16,35%	-9,58%	22,71%	25,14%	2,43%	8,88%	15,69%	6,80%	17,79%	12,32%	-5,47%
Canarias	23,91%	17,18%	-6,73%	23,45%	25,47%	2,02%	13,36%	16,18%	2,82%	8,78%	17,39%	8,61%
Cantabria	8,10%	15,60%	7,50%	9,35%	17,40%	8,05%	3,81%	12,38%	8,57%	1,35%	18,93%	17,54%
Castilla y León	-7,90%	15,42%	23,32%	-1,83%	19,25%	21,09%	-0,47%	14,26%	14,73%	-3,25%	15,79%	19,05%
Castilla - La Mancha	-13,62%	13,08%	26,70%	-4,67%	20,66%	25,33%	1,54%	17,44%	15,90%	6,25%	18,98%	12,73%
Cataluña	30,49%	19,60%	-10,89%	16,31%	25,30%	8,99%	2,64%	10,13%	7,49%	4,02%	13,85%	9,83%
Comunitat Valenciana	23,88%	18,14%	-5,74%	18,66%	26,10%	7,44%	7,60%	13,51%	5,91%	7,10%	15,64%	8,54%
Extremadura	-16,93%	11,18%	28,11%	-8,32%	17,14%	25,46%	0,61%	15,87%	15,26%	1,59%	18,43%	16,84%
Galicia	-0,74%	14,69%	15,44%	6,59%	21,67%	15,08%	-1,21%	14,85%	16,06%	0,45%	16,59%	16,13%
Madrid	45,52%	21,90%	-23,62%	24,64%	27,04%	2,40%	6,43%	12,09%	5,66%	6,79%	16,08%	9,27%
Murcia	3,98%	15,62%	11,64%	15,09%	24,35%	9,26%	10,62%	19,24%	8,62%	12,34%	19,23%	6,89%
Navarra	15,63%	18,80%	3,27%	9,14%	19,41%	10,27%	3,19%	10,71%	7,51%	6,25%	18,96%	12,72%
Pais Vasco	36,96%	23,33%	-13,63%	13,63%	21,13%	7,49%	-1,21%	7,41%	8,61%	-0,35%	11,00%	11,35%
Rioja (La)	2,55%	12,80%	10,25%	7,46%	23,10%	15,64%	5,78%	10,04%	4,26%	0,92%	20,31%	15,39%
Ceuta y Melilla	-13,21%	7,48%	20,69%	-2,13%	14,69%	16,82%	5,85%	10,76%	4,91%	5,55%	20,03%	14,47%

Source: INE.

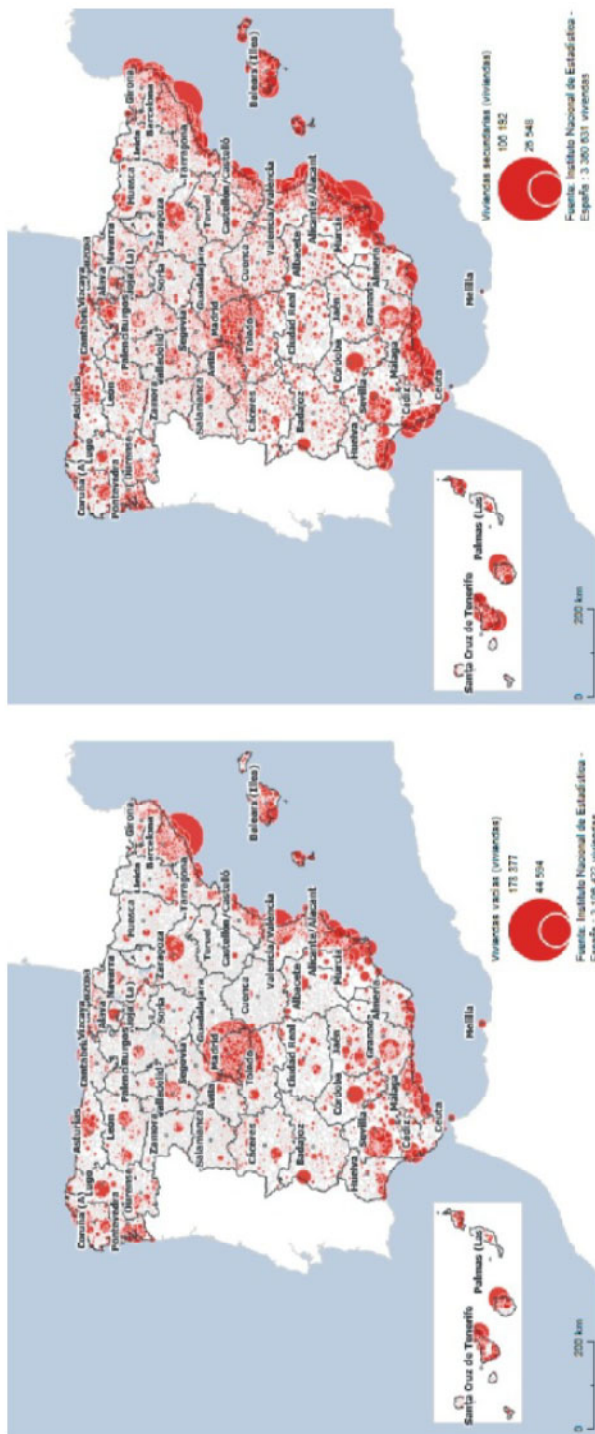


Figure 5. Number of second and empty homes by municipality in 2001.
Source: Atlas digital de las áreas urbanas de España (www.atlas.vivienda.es).

At this time, the growth of the city was linked to population growth. However, it was a period in which despite the existence of a land law and urban development plans in most municipalities, there was a total absence of control over urban growth, and so speculation was the norm in all Spanish cities. It became the *normal* process, accepted by the local authorities, on numerous occasions because they were involved in it, and against which people could do precious little. However, people were the big losers, as not only were they affected by forced expropriations, but they were also moved out to suburbs where infrastructures and basic facilities were poor.

Moreover, in these years the international political situation favoured the tourist re-appraisal of places that until then had had no market value. They were turned into tourist destinations associated with a model of sun and sand, and thus started a great speculative real estate boom – detached houses, apartment complexes and hotels – which profoundly transformed zoning (Fig. 5).

With hindsight, we could say that they were territories hit by a massive growth of cities, a fact that was at no time analysed from a critical perspective by territorial agents. Growth slowed down as a consequence of the 1973 crisis, although it took off again from the 1980's down to the present. However, this time the construction boom was not so much in response to housing demand arising from population growth, but was more of a purely speculative process, favoured by the following aspects, among others:

- Town planning policies were promoted in which everywhere was building land, except that under special legislation (coastal) or considered as protected heritage. However, real estate developers did not always respect the protection of these areas, causing their destruction and degradation;
- If in the past it was the public authorities that were in control of urban growth and companies that were involved in it, in this new stage it was companies that were in control and used the public authorities to their own benefit. Speculation went hand in hand with urban corruption. Greenpeace recorded a total of 478 cases of corruption in 2009; Valencia recorded the highest number of cases (169) followed by Andalusia (114) and Balears (79) (Greenpeace, 2009). In the case of Valencia, for example, in less than 10 years small promoting enterprises became large companies with enormous capacity for political pressure and new operating strategies. They negotiated directly with the City Council, rezoning land and thereby deciding urban growth, outside of any democratic control (Díaz Orueta, 2006);
- Buildable land was purchased by financial institutions, which benefited from low mortgage policies for land sales at highly speculative prices and expanded their clientele;
- The positive economic situation and low bank interest rates encouraged the population to purchase houses, and even people with only an average salary ventured to take out loans to make a down payment on the house. Mortgage loans increased sixfold in ten years, from 100,000 million Eu-

ros in 1997 to almost 600,000 million in 2007. Many foreigners also wished to establish permanent or secondary homes in our country, attracted by the quality of life and the climate. Groups such as *Promotores Inmobiliarios Turísticos* favoured investment by foreign tourists to buy homes. In 2003, from 800.000 to 1.700.000 European families were prepared to buy property in Spain (Díaz Orueta, 2006);

- To this we should add major changes in infrastructures, transport and information and communication technologies, which gave a new character to cities and created a new zoning logic. People fled from the city chaos towards suburban belts to set up their main residence or second home. Natural environments and small traditional villages thus became suitable locations for accommodating new residents. As a result, these spaces underwent population increases in just a few years, their fields were built up and their landscapes altered.

Housing became the central asset of families and their number increased rapidly, to such an extent that in regions like Castilla y León, Castilla-La Mancha and Extremadura, where population quotas were reduced, the number of homes continued to grow at around 20-25% (Tab. 1). And while it is true that there was a demand for primary residences as a result of the conversion of homes and the arrival of an immigrant population, this fraction of the demand for first homes was not so high as to justify the large supply (Mata, 2007) or to explain the housing bubble in Spain from the 1980's onwards. We should therefore evaluate the importance of residential tourism as it accounts for the construction boom in second and empty homes. This process was traditionally focused on the coast, but it gradually spread towards the mountains and rural areas in general.

In general, it was low-density urban growth, spread through the territory, compared to the continuous and dense model of the developmental period. While the compact city grew around 13.000 Ha, lax fabrics, and separate housing developments and housing with gardens took up over 67,000 Ha. According to figures provided by the Ministry of Public Works (2005), 40% of housing built in Spain up to 2005 were detached and semi-detached or terraced houses.

Among the areas most affected was the coastal zone. Data provided by CORINE in 2000 indicated that 34.2% of the first kilometer of land on the peninsular Mediterranean coast was completely built up, over 50% in some provinces (Málaga, Barcelona, Alicante). And even now, land use is continuing, to the point where development colonies are springing up on a second coastline around 2-5 km from the sea.

Coastal protection figures are useless in comparison to the profits derived from property development. Even coastal areas that were left outside of the first phases of tourism promotion and urban expansion have been affected by the occupation of the coast in recent years. These are not large urban projects like those on the Mediterranean, but an offer of second homes, hotels and rural lodgings, scattered and hardly taking up land area, and which

because of their size can hardly be analysed by land change tools such as Corine Land Cover. They should be analysed though as they lead to the rapid and irreversible loss of valuable nature and the deterioration of the landscape (Mata, 2007). In Vizcaya, for example, there are projects to build more than 2,000 homes, while in Guipuzcoa, only in Orrio the plan to raise 300 flats along the coast is nearly completed. Zoning projects already approved by the Government permit, in the Basque case, the construction of 20,000 homes by the sea, only on the Biscay coastline, over the next eight years, and this figure is expected to be doubled when documents corresponding to the coast of Guipúzcoa are approved. Galicia has experienced the largest land rezoning in recent years in all its history, much of which has been done on the coast. Among the 86 coastal municipalities 800,000 new homes are expected to be built in the coming years, a similar number to what has been built on the Galician coast in all its history (816.000 homes). The municipalities that will be most affected are Malpica, Miño, Oleiros, Porto do Son, Ribeira, Sada, Valdoviño, Foz, Viveiro, Ribadeo, Barreiros, Sanxenxo and O Grove (Greenpeace, 2007).

But the coast is not the only area affected by the housing bubble. This has also reached rural and mountainous areas located in the suburban belt of the main Spanish cities or near their area of influence in recent years. In this regard, we should think of the effect of improved roads and motorways and the arrival of the high speed train, which facilitate the movement of city-dwellers to these areas. Metropolitanisation processes have led to many municipalities around the major cities recording population increases exceeding 100%, while small-volume traditionally rural institutions with populations of around 100 people are doubling their population with the construction of large housing developments (Quintanaortuño, Zaratán, Caracena, Pascualcorbo, Magaz de Cepeda, Moronta, etc.) (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Housing development in Zaratán.

Source: Google Earth.

As mentioned earlier, these phenomena that we find to a greater or lesser extent around large urban agglomerations and medium Spanish cities, although in relation to the number of second and empty homes recorded, the regions of Castilla y León and Castilla-La Mancha (the provinces of Soria, Segovia and Guadalajara recorded a rate close to 50% of temporarily occupied dwellings (secondary or empty) and 56% in the case of Ávila), Aragón – especially in Teruel – and Catalonia, particularly Girona and Tarragona – all stand out (Fig. 7).

The consequences of the housing boom are tragic. Large areas of land have been transformed from a social, economic and landscape standpoint. Nothing has been learned from past mistakes in the developmental period when Fordist capitalism generated overdensified cities, where quality of life and social welfare were questionable. Neoliberal growth and its tricks to reclassify space and generate new residential projects has led public authorities to forget that cities are places to live, enjoy, work and walk. There is no planning criteria in line with the market, and this causes environmental damage in the territory, which is increasingly out of balance and impaired.

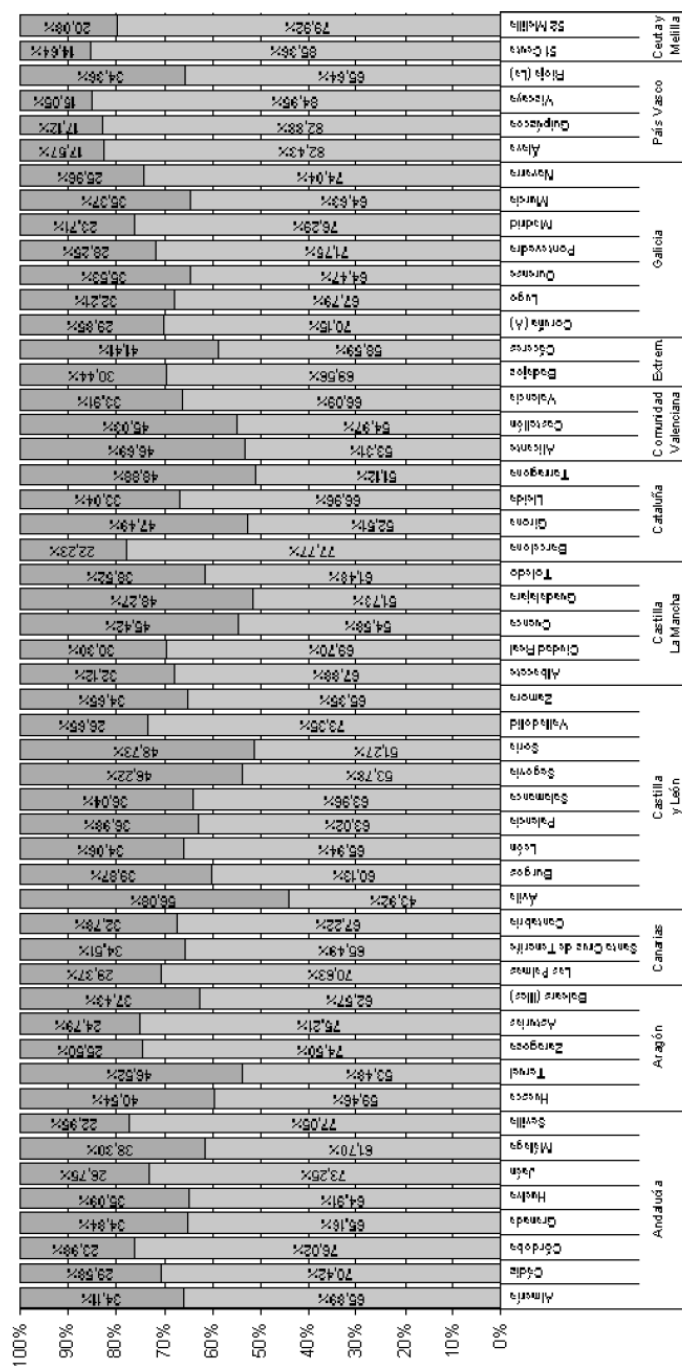
Cities are becoming a disjointed sum of internally homogeneous areas, areas defined by the ability to purchase (and get into debt) of those who buy houses (Díaz Orueta, 2006). Housing prices have become a factor of social segregation, and depend on the ups and downs of the commercial situation or liquidity cycles (Roch, 2008).

But the worst came with the construction slump from mid-2007 on. In just three years, free housing transactions fell from 908,000 registered in 2006 to 460,000 in 2009 (Ministry of Housing, 2010). To this was added the fact that there was a stock of one million unsold homes (López, Rodríguez, 2010), which would not find buyers as the population entered a state of economic insecurity. Unemployment rose rapidly, affecting four million people, and despite the fact that public funds were transferred to the financial sector no credit was available.

Many families saw they could not meet their obligatory payments and were immersed in a situation of poverty and marginalisation, especially those with a low income (Fig. 8). In 2008, of the 16.7 million households recognised, 15.7 had outstanding loan payments taken out to purchase durable consumer goods, 9.8 for the purchase of equipment related to housing, 6.7 million had outstanding mortgages for the purchase of a home other than the main one, 3.7 for refinancing, 2.7 for investments and business, 900,000 for vacation expenses, another 900,000 for health care costs and 600,000 to pay for education costs (Lopez, Rodriguez, 2010).

And what happened to the stock of unsold houses? The answer is that they have generated genuine *urban cemeteries*.

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□ Principales ■ Secundarias/Vacías

Figure 7. Percentage of primary and secondary homes by provinces and regions.

Source: INE.

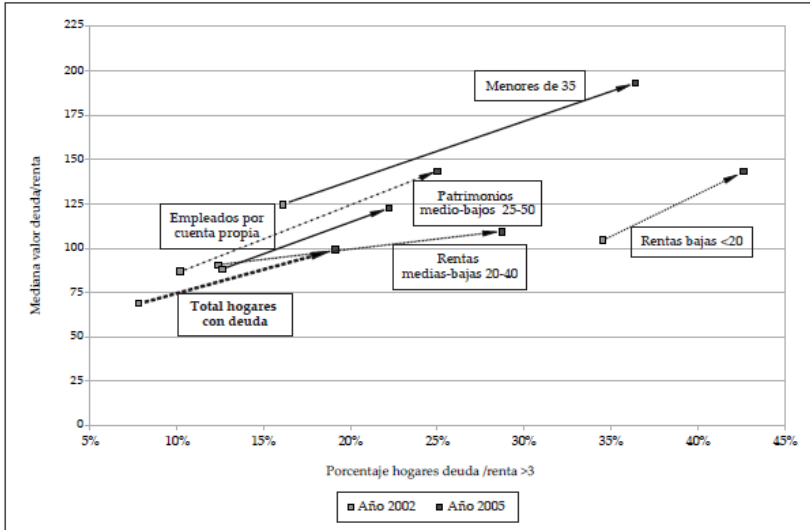


Figure 8. Over-indebted public sectors. Evolution 2002-2005.

Source: López, Rodríguez, 2010.

Such is the case of Isla Canela in Huelva and Costa Esuri, where homes were planned for 30,000 people and only 100 live there (Fig. 9); resorts, with green and sports areas which require care and maintenance, and which currently make up a desolate landscape, as we see blocks and more blocks of empty or half-built homes with “for sale” signs. If this continues, they will doubtless end up as deteriorated urban areas.



Figure 9. Costa Esuri.

But the recession not only affects newly created residential complexes, but also others that are already established, such as Marina D'Or, where many owners are trying to sell against the current, either because they need the money or because they are tired of living in an artificial and massified environment. It is the twilight of the sun and sand equation galore, a death foretold so brilliantly by Robert Juan-Cantavella in "El Dorado":

When the roller coasters and hot water pools no longer work, there will be nothing else left here, hundreds of these huge buildings constructed like a sinister Rubik Cube repeated for thousands of apartments in six colours to choose from.

4. Conclusions

Globalisation is the perfect justification for many local governments for generating conditions (legal, economic etc.) enabling the deployment of a neo-liberal urban model (Smith, 2004). This model opted for the homogenisation of urban landscapes and the loss of local identity, for the establishment of the city from homogeneous areas that were unrelated to each other, a city where there is no comprehensive planning in which people can take part.

In this sense, new approaches are necessary to build a city (Güell, 2004):

- Promoting strategic thinking;
- Establishing an ongoing process of reflection-planning-execution-management;
- Developing organisational skills;
- Massively incorporating new technologies in planning management;
- Empowering local governments for land management;
- Creating social capital and ensuring greater transparency.

In other words, it means that a new urban governance is necessary, promoting comprehensive action steps aimed at urban, social and economic renewal, participatory by nature and aimed at strengthening competitiveness. One of the problems that will face local governments will be the residential cemeteries that have arisen as a result of the housing bubble and the crisis in the construction sector, and selling the accumulated stock of housing. The promotion of officially subsidised housing, cheaper rent and lower costs are seen as possible solutions to a problem that goes back to the 1960's, a problem in which local governments have shown no interest at all and in which the local population has felt impotent.

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Riassunto

In questo lavoro, si forniscono elementi di riflessione riguardanti le modificazioni rilevate nell'organizzazione degli spazi urbani a partire dal 1980. Nello specifico, vengono riassunti gli aspetti e i cambiamenti concernenti: la struttura economica e produttiva; il sistema sociale, quello dei trasporti e quello delle comunicazioni; la crescita della popolazione e delle strutture insediative; i nuovi progetti residenziali; il mercato turistico. In questo modo, si fornisce uno spaccato che sottolinea l'importanza: di una rinnovata amministrazione urbana; della promozione di azioni congiunte finalizzate al rinvigorismento del sistema socio-economico, oltre che urbano; di nuove strategie per aumentare la competitività.

Résumé

Dans ce travail, on fournit des éléments de réflexion concernant les modifications des organisations des espaces urbains à partir de 1980. En l'occurrence, on présente un tableau récapitulatif des aspects et des changements: de la structure économique et productive; du système social, du système des transports et des communications, de l'augmentation de la population et de l'aménagement du territoire, des nouveaux projets urbains ainsi que, pour finir, du marché touristique. Ainsi, on fournit un point de vue soulignant l'importance: d'une administration urbaine renouvelée, de la mobilisation d'actions convergentes pour la rehaussement du système socio-économique et urbain; de nouvelles stratégies pour accroître la compétitivité.