



EL MODELO BARCELONA DE ESPACIO PÚBLICO Y DISEÑO URBANO:

Small-Scale Public Interventions as Urban Acupuncture

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ABSTRACT

Any city in the world suffers from density problems. From an urbanistic standpoint these problems are related to a shortage of public spaces and the presence of areas in poor conditions of ventilation and light, filled up with degraded buildings and small residual spaces that are misused or transformed into mere parking.

In this final project I am studying small-scale public interventions as a system or method of urban acupuncture and hygiene that has been applied across the districts of Barcelona tackling important problems related to public spaces.

I am studying the process of restoring, urbanizing and converting these degraded areas –that were occupied by 'infected' buildings and deteriorated factories, or remained as left over junctions– into useful public spaces, mainly squares and gardens.

My research is based on the concept of urban acupuncture and hygiene. Just like the Asian medical acupuncture heals and unblocks energy channels in the body so does urban acupuncture in a city. Much like the pressure points on a human body, punctual operations on the urban fabric are chosen to apply urban acupuncture causing by that a ripple effect -what Bohigas called metastasis- that provides the city with a chance to breathe in a new positive energy, render a better image and improve the usage of the new public space. In short, offering the citizens a better quality of life.

All the research is based on the 'Barcelona Model', where for the last two centuries, urban projects in every corner of the city were being carried out using the same system of urban acupuncture and hygiene.

As case studies, several small-scale public interventions are selected in the districts of Barcelona, and analyzed according to their history, transformation, design approach, usage, choice of materials, urban furniture and greenery.

Keywords: urban acupuncture, metastasis, punctual operations, hygiene, sanitation, urban design, small-scale, public space, squares, regeneration.

RESUMEN

Cualquier ciudad del mundo sufre de problemas de densidad. Desde un punto de vista urbanístico estos problemas se traducen en una falta de espacios públicos y en la presencia de áreas en malas condiciones de ventilación e iluminación que están llenas de edificios degradados y pequeños espacios residuales que se malogran o acaban convirtiéndose en meros aparcamientos.

En este proyecto final estoy estudiando intervenciones públicas a pequeña escala como un sistema o método de acupuntura urbana e higienización que ha sido aplicado en los diversos distritos de la ciudad de Barcelona, abordando así los problemas de los espacios públicos.

Estoy estudiando el proceso de restaurar, urbanizar y convertir estas áreas —que permanecían ocupadas por edificios infectados, fabricas deterioradas o cruces descuidados— en espacios públicos útiles, en especial plazas y jardines.

Mi investigación está centrada en los conceptos de acupuntura urbana y de higienización. Así como la acupuntura médica cura mediante el desbloqueo del flujo de energía del organismo, la acupuntura urbana hace otro tanto con una ciudad. Igual que los puntos energéticos en el cuerpo, ciertos puntos del tejido urbano son escogidos para aplicar la acupuntura provocando un efecto de onda –lo que Bohígas llamó "metástasis"-que permite la ciudad a respirar con una nueva energía positiva, mejora su imagen, fomenta el uso de sus espacios públicos y aporta a sus ciudadanos, en definitiva, una mejor calidad de vida.

Toda la investigación está basada en el Modelo Barcelona, gracias al cual, durante los dos últimos siglos, los proyectos urbanos en cada rincón de la ciudad se están llevando a cabo utilizando los sistemas de acupuntura urbana y de higienización.

Como casos prácticos, varias intervenciones públicas de pequeña escala han sido seleccionadas en los distritos de Barcelona y analizadas según su historia, transformación, enfoque en el diseño, uso, elección de materiales, mobiliario urbano y zonas verdes.

Palabras Claves: acupuntura urbana, metástasis, operaciones puntuales, higiene, saneamiento, esponjamiento, diseño urbano, pequeña escala, espacio público, plazas, regeneración.

RESUM

Qualsevol ciutat del món pateix de problemes de densitat. Des-d'un punt de vista urbanistic aquests problemes es tornen aparents en la manca d'espais publics i la presència d'àrees en males condicions de ventilació i il-luminació, que estan plenes d'edificis degradats i petits espais residuals que es fan malbé o acaben tornant-se simples aparcaments.

En aquest projecte final estic estudiant intervencions públiques a petita escala com a sistema o mètode d'acupuntura urbana i higienització que ha sigut aplicat als diferents districtes de la ciutat de Barcelona, amb la intenció de tratar els problemes dels espais publics.

Estic estudiant el procés de restaurar, urbanitzar i convertir aquestes àrees –que estaven ocupades per edificis infectats, fàbriques deteriorades o cruïlles oblidades- en espais públics utils, en especial places i jardins.

La meva investigació es centra en els conceptes d'acupuntura urbana e higienització. Així com la acupuntura mèdica cura mitjançant el desbloqueig del fluxe d'energia del organisme, l'acupuntura urbana fa el mateix amb una ciutat. Al igual que els punts energètics en el cos, certs punts del teixit urbà son escullits per aplicar l'acupuntura provocant un efecte d'ona –el que Bohigas va anomenar metastasis- que permet a la ciutat respirar amb una nova energia positiva, millora la seva imatge, fomenta l'ús dels espais publics i aporta als seus ciutadans, en definitiva, una millor qualitat de vida.

Tota la recerca està basada en el Model Barcelona, gràcies al qual, durant els dos darrers segles, els projectes urbans a cada racò de la ciutat s'han dut a terme utilitzant els sistemes d'acupuntura urbana i higienització.

Com a casos pràctics, s'han seleccionat diverses intervencions publiques a petita escala i s'han analitzat segons la seva història, transformació, enfoc de disseny, us, elecció de materials, mobiliari urbà i zones verdes.

Paraules Claus: acupuntura urbana, metàstasi, operacions puntuals, higiene, sanejament, esponjament, disseny urbà, petita escala, espai públic, places, regeneració.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER 1 Barcelona Model, Small-scale Interventions and Public Art	12
CITAL LEG 1 Darcelolla Wodel, Silian-scale litter vertilolis and 1 dolle Art	12
I. Barcelona Model	
II. Small-scale Interventions	
III. On Public Art	27
CHAPTER 2 Urban Acupuncture in Relation to Urban Metastasis	30
I. Urban Acupuncture	31
II. The Character of Public Space: the Square	
III. Urban Acupuncture and Small-scale interventions	37
1. Center-Periphery	41
2. "Higienizar los centros"	
3. "Monumentalizar la periferia"	48
CHAPTER 3 Case Studies	52
	- 77
1. Plaça de la Mercè	
3. Plaça George Orwell	
4. Plazas de la Hispanitat and Pablo Neruda	
5. Plaça de Navas	
6. Jardins d'Olga Sacharrof	
7. Plaça Molina	
8. Plaça John Lennon	
9. Plaça d'Anna Frank	
10. Plaça de la Palmera	82
11. Plaça Can Robacols	86
12. Plaça d'Islandia	
13. Plaça de Sóller	
14. Plaça Salvador Allende	96
CHAPTER 4 Conclusion	100
DUDL LOCD A DULLY	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	106
NAME INDEX	111
FIGURE INDEX	113
ANNIEVEC	110

INTRODUCTION

Public space is everyday an essential part of the city and its citizens. Public space is not only a key element of urban intervention or a symbolic power for urban planning but is also a space used by citizens; a space of uncertainty; entertainment; conflict; socialization; cultural contact; collective action; and adaptability. It should not only be measured or analyzed by its identity, design and symbolic power but also by means of its social action (Benach, 2004). Urban regeneration through the improvement of public space is the main principle guiding many cities, especially in the city of Barcelona. Public spaces focus on revitalizing and structuring the surrounding environment causing instant results, especially when accurate actions are applied on small-scale public spaces.

This fact leads us to the main subject of this Master final project which investigates the relationship between small-scale public spaces and urban acupuncture as a process of healing and sanitizing the city, mainly the city of Barcelona. In the 1960s and 1970s Barcelona fell victim to the chaos of large-scale, degradation, high population density, and opportunistic constructions, especially outside the limit of the 19th century Cerdà plan. Thus, with the transition to democracy and the catalytic effect of the 92 Olympic Games, many changes and new projects had to be developed and applied. For this reason, in the beginning of the 1980s, projects for urban renovation started by creating or renewing small-scale public interventions. It was a new strategic method of "making city" first applied by Oriol Bohigas relying on his concept "higienizar el centro y monumentalizar la periferia." It was a process of urban acupuncture whose concept is to focus on urban "pressure points" to create positive ripple effects that affect the entire community. It consists of taking action in deteriorated or 'sick' zones in the city and creating a punctual intervention, mainly, a public space. In this case, the pressure points are micro or small-scale projects such as squares and gardens that replaced old degraded buildings or factories, took advantage of road junctions and free spaces, and were simply used as tools of mere urbanization in the peripheries. Bohigas also gave urban acupuncture the term "metástasis", claiming that, "tan eficaz como la actuación directa en la vivienda y en la construcción de nuevos equipamientos ha sido la renovación del espacio público según un criterio que podriamos denominar "osmótico" o "metastásico" -si se me permite utilizar este termino fuera de su habitual dramatismo" (1999: 204). He added that "in any handy dictionary one may read that 'metastasis' is the transfer of a bodily function, pain or disease, originally fairly well-established in one part or organ, to another. That has in fact been one of the positive advances in planning method made in Barcelona..." (1987: 11).

To Bohigas these small-scale interventions not only encouraged social interaction but also provided a better climate and light to the surrounding buildings. Hugues states that the main objectives of those times is modest: "to reassert the claims of the 'barri' as Barcelona's main social unit; to reconstitute the squares and arcades, the open spaces and gardens, which are the lungs of the neighborhood; and when sculpture is there, to introduce it in a more modest role than that of authoritative commemoration" (1987: 26).

As a matter of fact, the concept of urban acupuncture -especially for the purpose of hygiene or sanitation-through the creation of public spaces can also be found in Barcelona's earlier plans, before and after Franco's dictatorship. It was applied in Cerdà's plan and the GATCPAC's Macià Plan, and later in the General Metropolitan Plan (PGM), and the special reformation plans (PERI), till our present day.

Throughout the century urban acupuncture took many names; Oriol Bohigas called it "metastasis", GATCPAC called it "urban surgery" or "cirugía urbana" and others called it "esponjamiento" or "higienización".

Squares or plazas, from the standpoint of contemporary Barcelona, are very important public spaces closely related to urban structure, strongly endowed with civic content and with intense usage demands. Their role is to articulate and link the urban tissue whether at a global city level or at a neighborhood level. And gardens, though limited by their size, are multi-functional spaces with their interior structure designed in a way to accommodate the intensity and diversity of their usage. Both the square and garden are recreational and civic spaces with trees, greenery, fountains, children's playgrounds and public arts, and are used for walking, relaxing, exercising, crossing and many other activities.

Objectives

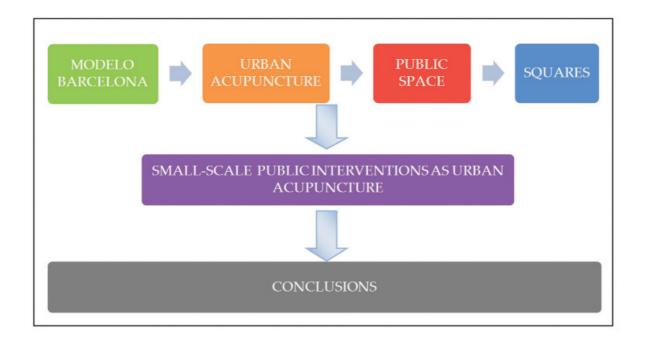
- To research the Barcelona Model and its public spaces.
- To study the creation and development of Barcelona's public spaces in particular the small-scale interventions.
- To understand the concept of urban acupuncture, its connection with public space, and its way of healing the city.

Methodology

- In order to understand Barcelona's urban planning especially its public space, it is necessary to study thoroughly the Barcelona Model in all its aspects by going briefly into history, then focusing on the context of public space and the process of "making city", and then narrowing it all into small-scale public spaces and public art.
- After the Barcelona Model, come the three fundamental aspects of this Master final project: urban acupuncture, public space, and squares. They are defined and studied in their general concept and explored in their types and forms before establishing a connection between them.
- Moving from definitions, the study evolves and moves forward by connecting and analyzing the urban acupuncture hygiene squares relationship referring by that to the historical facts of Barcelona's squares

and the small-scale urban developments applied in the city's historic centers and peripheries during and after the 92 Olympic Games.

- To give examples, a list of case-studies is selected from every district as examples of urban acupuncture.
- The selected squares and gardens are studied and analyzed according to their history, morphology, evolution, politics, design, usage, equipments, and materialization.
- The arguments and analyses are backed-up by plans, sections, maps, and pictures.
- In the end general conclusions are derived according to the collected data.





I. Barcelona Model

Towards the Barcelona Model

All the changes and projects that took place in Barcelona, from the demolition of its medieval walls and Cerdà Plan to the Universal Expositions of 1888 and 1929, helped in forming the history, structure and image of the city as we know it nowadays. During the "Franquismo" (1939-1975), the city underwent severe degradations due to the waves of migration and immigration, the densification and deterioration of the old town, and the construction of mass housing estates in the peripheries without preliminary partial planning. All which led to never ending public interventions, lack of urban planning and services, social segregation and social oppositions like the urban social movements or "asociaciones de vecinos" in the 50s and 60s. They played a very important social and political role in the city, they became "the catalyst of the transformation of the social relations of society (...)" concerned with "everyday problems specific to particular neighborhoods; «to win a set of traffic lights, to have some running water in the houses, to have drains, asphalt, to put an end to the dust and dirt in the streets "(Calavita, Ferrer, 2000: 797). One of their basic demands was to provide public facilities (areas for open space and parks) and urban spaces in the neighborhoods. The biggest opposition was during the administration of Mayor Josep Maria de Porcioles (1957-1973) against the Comarcal Plan and its Partial Plans whose purpose was to increase densities without

preliminary partial planning and in place of public facilities. At that time Barcelona was called "grey Barcelona" or "Barcelona Grisa" and the "porciolismo"¹ (Calavita, Ferrer, 2000). All these negative factors left the country in an economical crisis and endless social and urban problems. Barcelona's urban fabric was severely degraded and congested and the infrastructure was weakened.

A new plan was necessary, therefore a new master plan known as the General Metropolitan Plan (PGM) was approved in 1974 as update to the 1953 Comarcal Plan. It was influenced by the Milano Metropolitan Plan 'Piano Intercomunale Milanese' presented in October 1967. During the same year, the 'Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation' or the 'Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona' was created as the entity that included Barcelona and 26 municipalities. However, it received strong criticism both from popular sectors and from land and property owners (Esteban, 2004). The "asociaciones de vecinos" felt that not enough areas had been designated for public use and some road structures would have to cut through some of the historic neighborhoods such as Gràcia and Sants. The land owners protested since they saw the possibility for land speculation severely reduced by the plan, thus, devaluing their properties. The PGM passed through a lot of difficulties during this time and further complaints came from the citizens especially in

^{1.} This period was called "Barcelona Grisa" and "porciolismo" in particular as per the family name of Barcelona's Mayor Josep Maria Porcioles. This was due to the fact that during his sixteen-year mandate (1957-1973) there was a clash with the neighborhood associations as a reaction to the 1953 Comarcal Plan and the Partial Plans that increased densities without a corresponding provision of public facilities—at times preempting spaces dedicated to public facilities. The plans had been used to satisfy the interest of speculators, during the long administration of Mayor Porcioles, and became the "root of all speculation". As a result, housing estates were approved without preliminary partial planning, an increase in building levels were permitted and granted by an absolutely permissive government, and the city's demography changed drastically. Corruption and drastic damages were inflicted on the city, dwellings in new areas were built in poor quality, and facilities and infrastructure were left in shambles, a fact that caused some citizens to abandon their neighborhoods. In 1973 there was an attempt to pass a partial plan that would have destroyed 4,370 homes, but the neighborhoods involved fought against it and occupied the City Hall. This forced the central government in Madrid to depose Porcioles the next day (Calavita, Ferrer, 2000).

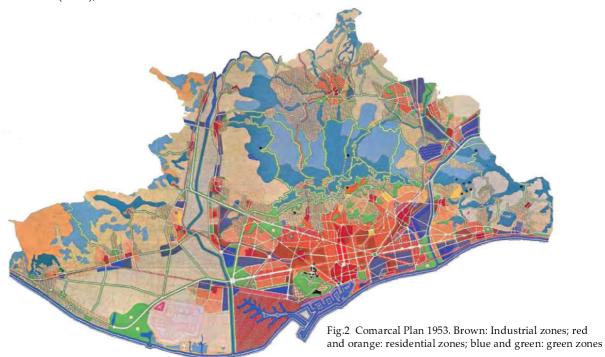
the period of mayor JoaquimViola (1975-1976) who was a friend of Porcioles (Calavita, Ferrer, 2000).

In 1976 the PGM was re-modified and approved and the new mayor Josep María Socías (1976-1979) played a role of conciliatory between the neighborhood associations and the PGM. Joan Antoni Solans, the planning director of the PGM, started buying land designated for parks, gardens, schools and other public facilities and organized the territories according to two concepts; spaces set aside for public or communal use and areas devoted to private use (Calavita, Ferrer, 2000).

The plan was designed in accordance with the regulations and laws laid down by legislation on land use and town planning. It imposed, on the area, a new legal planning framework and proposed a clear organization of public spaces and "systems". It proposed a considerable quantity of land to be used for green zones and public facilities (Esteban, 2004).

According to Oriol Bohigas in his book 'Reconstrucció de Barcelona' (1985), the PGM is the start of the so called "Modelo Barcelona". As a matter of fact, what is known as the "Modelo Barcelona" took form as of the first democratic elections in 1979, the long preparation for the 1992 Olympic Games, and the post-Olympic period (22@ in 2000, Diagonal Mar and the Universal Forum of Cultures in 2004) till our present day where we still encounter projects of renovation, regeneration and improvements in every area and corner in the city. "Cuando se habla del modelo Barcelona normalmente se alude a la intervención en el urbanismo (...) La idea del modelo se ha aplicado también, generalmente de forma encomiástica, a otros aspectos, como la participación o las políticas culturales, en las que se pretende que Barcelona sería también ejemplar." (Capel, 2006).

From the beginning of Barcelona's transformation, new public spaces played an outstanding role by, first, being a central character of the urban processes of renovation that culminated in the organization of the Olympic Games and, second, by being part of a unique way of conceiving and designing a competitive city (Benach, 2004).



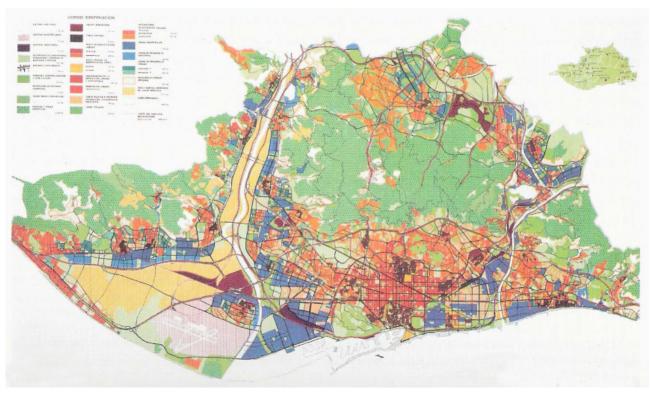
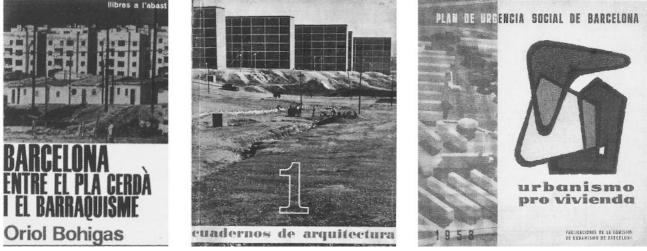


Fig.3 Approval of the General Metropolitan Plan (PGM) 1976



 $Fig. 4\ \ Documents\ and\ critical\ studies\ about\ the\ housing\ situation\ in\ Barcelona\ in\ the\ 1960s,\ and\ proposals\ for\ future\ actions.$

Transition to democracy

The period of "transition to democracy" was very important in the history of Barcelona because it marked the end of the "franquismo", the dictatorship and the isolationism. A cultural, political, economical and urban awakening was made possible by the weakening hold of the regime. The landowners feared that with the death of Franco (1975) the city will be moving towards socialism and their properties will be expropriated at low prices. The economic recession of that period and the scarcity of capital for developers helped even more to bring the price of land down (Busquets, 2005).

Urban regeneration and rehabilitation projects were first realized with the Mayors Narcís Serra (1979-1982), Pasqual Maragall (1982-1997) and later Joan Clos (1997-2006) and Jordi Hereu (2006-2011). The preparations for the Olympic Games of 1992 started in 1980 and were the main catalyst for urban and infrastructure projects that the city had needed since the 1960s.

In 1979 the first municipal elections took place, the Left won and Narcís Serra (1979-1982) was elected as the new mayor. A new planning director, Oriol Bohigas, started planning and designing the new acquired lands providing them with many public facilities and spaces especially parks and plazas. To respond to the citizens' demands, he started working from general to particular, from fastest to cheapest and from master plan to local and smallscale projects (Busquets, 2005). At the School of Architecture, the 'Laboratorio de Urbanismo' directed by Manuel de Solà-Morales, had put forward analysis and methodological systems and actions to be implemented in the city. "It was at this juncture, when many of the needs of the neighborhoods were taken care of, that the city could turn its energy to solving its citywide needs..." (Calavita, Ferrer, 2000: 794).

The urban transformation of Barcelona was of a national and international interest. According to Casellas the 'Urban Regime Analysis' upholds that "a pesar de que la transformación urbana de la ciudad de

Barcelona desde las primeras elecciones locales de 1979 hasta 2006 (...) la dinámica de la transformación de la ciudad ha evolucionado hasta crear un régimen urbano de desarrollo. Este régimen da prioridad al crecimiento económico por encima de otras consideraciones sociales y urbanísticas, con importantes implicaciones sobre el modelo de planificación resultante, tanto en sus aspectos físicos como sociales." (2006: 76)

Characteristics of the Model

The Barcelona model is configured by several factors²:

- 1) The new industrial economic structure, though in crisis, characterized by diversity, entrepreneurship and human resource skills.
- 2) The participation of the private sector in financing urban projects.
- 3) Administrative reform that reduced and organized the local public function, computerized its operations and promoted functional decentralization.
- 4) The creation of autonomous entities to manage the urban planning process, including design and management.
- 5) The consensus developed between public administrations.
- 6) The introduction of strategic planning.
- 7) The socialization of usage and utility, promotion and marketing of the city and the use of culture and large events as transformation strategies.
- 8) The cohesive social structure and a common urban culture, despite the diversity and sometimes inequality.
- 9) The elections of a socialist government more cooperative with local and regional entities.

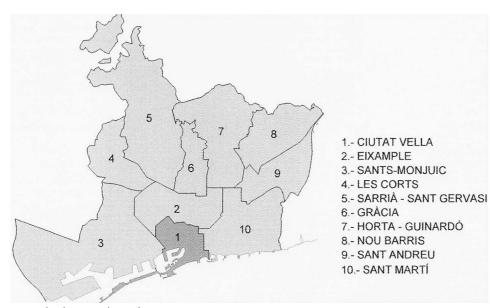
- 10) Citizen participation and cooperation.
- 11) The social urban policy of creating new public spaces and equipments in all neighborhoods.
- 12) The political force, during the 92 Olympic Games, linked to the urban scheme's consistency, and the citizens' social and cultural support for the whole project.

As a result of the above factors, Barcelona started to improve on many different levels and terms:

- Economic and touristic level: The economic success of the transformation of the city is reflected in the large and increasing number of tourists. In 2004, the number of tourists visiting Barcelona exceeded 4.5 million, representing a significant sharp increase of 165% from the just over 1.7 million tourists of 1990 (Casellas, 2006). It changed from an old industrial city to a modern capital characterized by advanced services and physical transformations (Borja, 1995).
- Business and commerce level: The city is a big attraction for the Business and investment world ahead of Madrid, Berlin and Munich. In 2004 the annual study of the European Cities Monitor placed Barcelona as the best European city to live in, given the high quality of life offered to workers and businesses (Casellas, 2006).
- Administrative level: It involved administrative reorganization of the city territory into new municipal districts and a political decentralization into 10 new districts; Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuïc, Les Corts, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, Gràcia, Horta-Guinardó, Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Sant Andreu. It allowed an integral action of neighborhoods, brought citizens, especially in the peripheries, closer to the administration and municipal politics.
- Governance level: This stage is characterized by the leadership of the public sector in defining objectives and design proposals (Bohigas, 1985). The

- government used a special commitment to generate a good atmosphere and environment by improving the aesthetics and safety, creating small public spaces where it is possible, promoting traditional fairs and events in the neighborhoods and cultural initiatives such as concerts and exhibitions (Borja, 1995).
- Industrial level: It also led to a global restructuring of the industrial system since the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona concentrated 60% of Catalonia's investment in the industrial recovery of the 80s. The R+D (research and development) and ZUR (urgent reindustrialization area) became the new profile for industrial development. The rivers Llobregat and Besòs were joined with the other side of the Collserola (Vallès corridor, Vallvidrera tunnel) connecting the city to important industrial cities such as Sabadell, Terrasa, Sant Cugat, Vallès and Vallvidrera (Busquets, 2005).
- **Urban level:** the success of the urban renewal of the city is widely recognized. In 1990, the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University gave Barcelona the Wales Prize in Urban Design for the improvement of public spaces in the city during the 1980s. The first principle that inspired the transformation of Barcelona was the sanitation of the old downtown and the revaluation of the peripheral neighborhoods.³

According to Jordi Borja (1995) all these improvements played an important role in the rapid transformation of the city. Development was according to a case-by-case planning of different scales of work from urban restructuring that changed the city's morphological organization to urban rehabilitation, sectoral plans, communication, drainage, transport (railway, airport), telecommunication (Foster and Calatrava towers) and sport and leisure infrastructures. In the beginning projects were of small scale connected to public spaces and the way of "making city", and later they extended to large scale urban regional interventions.



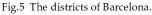




Fig. 6 Norman Foster's telecommunications tower on the Collserola

Barcelona Regenerated

In Barcelona's urban development, since the restoration of democracy, there has been a meticulous selection and a progressive change of scale in its new interventions. They were of small-scale and large-scale urban interventions and according to Casellas they formed part of the Maragall municipality's six objectives that started actually taking place in 1980:

1) The renovation of the historic city; Ciutat Vella and Eixample:

Many residential areas, in bad conditions, were rehabilitated or demolished and many facilities, infrastructures and public spaces were constructed. In 1986 Ciutat Vella was classified as an 'Integrated Rehabilitation Area' (ARI) in order to obtain the necessary financing from the Spanish and Catalan Governments. It became a part of the 'Integrated Actions Program' (PAI) that had six major lines of action: urban planning, social welfare and facilities, infrastructure and mobility, the promotion of

economic activities, public safety and the use of public areas, and promotion of private restoration⁴.

2) Improving the suburbs and peripheries:

Mass housings and self-constructions were rehabilitated, streets were urbanized, road networks were reorganized and many old factories were substituted with places of interest such as, Fabra in Sant Andreu, Paperera in Poblenou, Vapor Vell in Sants and FECSA in Poble sec.

3) Improving communication networks:

In Barcelona the road network and accessibility had to be improved without destroying the urban fabric. The road intervention took several phases with, first, "active" projects that provide spaces for buildings and activities such as the Gran Via, Diagonal and the Moll de la Fusta constructed by Manuel de Solà-Morales, and, second, "passive" projects where pre-existing constructions shape the

space and the roads' arrangement such as Via Julia (Busquetes 2005). Many studies and restructure were made on the "Ronda" ring roads and junctions facilitating the connections; on main roads and Boulevards organizing public transport and tertiary and advertising activities; on local streets that formed the urban fabric; on pedestrian spaces in the historic areas of the city; and on the interchanges with other networks. Some of these road systems can form meeting places as in Republica Argentina and urban parks as in the Trinitat junction. Underground treatment was the key to solving these infrastructures. The "Rondas" were designed as a mixed two levels route, one that is placed in underground tunnels, segregated, without traffic lights, and used for medium and long distances and a second level located in the urbanized city's basic dimension, integrated with the streets, with traffic lights, and acts as a distribution route (Acebillo, 1999).

In this process of restructuring, the Diagonal was very important with its special layout across the urban fabric and typography. Unlike its west side were the land values were very high with few empty spaces, the east side lacked in organization, structure and identity. The intervention on the east side was connecting the Diagonal to the sea, thus, the railway line of Estació de França to Aragón was lowered allowing the continuation to the sea through the Plaça de les Glories configuring it as a meeting point for the Diagonal, Gran Vía and Meridiana axes (Busquets 2005).

4) The opening of the city to the sea:

Opening up to the sea is also one of Barcelona's major urban restructuring. In the past the city had always its back to the sea, from the walled city to the expansion inland. In the Industrial Period the seafront was used for new industries, working class dwellings, slums, and railway lines. Therefore, the port was rehabilitated, the sewer system was restudied, and the beaches were transformed into new and clean ones with seafront promenades. The Avinguda Icària and new residential buildings

appeared and the Villa Olímpica project began – by a team made up of Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay and Puigdomènech- and in 1987 the demolition of the residential buildings and industries in the area started (Busquets, 2005).

5) Building the necessary infrastructure for the Olympic Games (stadiums, hotels, housing):

The 4 Olympic areas within the city (Montjuïc, Diagonal, Vall d'Hebron, Villa Olímpica) were strategic points undergoing radical preparations and transformations. As mentioned before, on the seafront, the Villa Olímpica and Avinguda Icària projects began and the necessary preparations started taking place. New housings, stadiums, hotels and roads started to appear. Large-scale parks were a major intervention in Barcelona and made an effective impression on its internal spaces and system of green. In addition to the seafront restructuring, the western side of Montjüic was prepared for the Olympics and installed with new stadiums, parks and projects. In Vall d'Hebron residential lands were retrieved for use as a large park with facilities. The Diagonal Park was converted into the city's large sport area with international hotels and housings (Busquets, 2005). And many numerous existing sports installations were incorporated into the Games' program. "The planning in this area was characterized by a vanguardist model that proposed new regulations and even tested new materials for the treatment of urban space. The inclusion of new public facilities (...) and the provision of various well-placed sculptures in these new urban spaces was a clear example of the integration of the periphery by means of actions that can be understood as included in the concept of monumentalization" (Esteban, 2004: 124).

6) The creation of new central areas or "arees de nova centralitat" to attract economic activity and improve quality of life at the neighborhood level:

The central spots of Barcelona took a new form and the tertiary sector became important in city planning. Before, centrality meant easy accessibility to major road and transport infrastructures, where as now, it means easy accessibility to quality urban spaces and information systems (Busquets, 2005). Twelve areas of centrality were proposed by Joan Busquets in 1987, into which entered the four Olympic areas and also what we could call "urban junctions", that is to say, junctions of great importance which appear where the great traffic lanes cross, where infrastructures such as railway stations and lines disappear (thereby freeing central urban land) or where there are border spaces separating one neighborhood from another (Montaner, 1990). Activities, infrastructure and strategic facilities played an important role in determining centrality. For example, due to Sants station, Barcelona Fira, Escorxador and Espanya Industrial Parks, Carrer Tarragona became an important area and a place for hotels and offices.

Another example is Plaça Les Glories. Despite the enormous work and restructuring, it is an important place full of hotels, commerce and offices and that is due to the strategic facilities of green spaces, the National Theatre of Catalonia and the Auditorium (and later 22@).

These projects generated the beginning of public-private participation, and many new companies emerged such as 'Villa Olímpica Sociedad Anónima' (VOSA) (1986), 'Nova Icària, SA' (NISA) (1988) and 'Promoció de Ciutat Vella SA' (PROCIVESA) (1988) (Casellas, 2006).



Fig.7 New central areas: 1- l'Illa. 2- Carrer Tarragona. 3- Renfe-Meridiana. 4- Plaça Cerdà. 5- Villa Olimpica. 6- Port Vell. 7- Plaça de les Glòries. 8- Vall d'Hebron. 9- Sagrera- Sant Andreu. 10- Diagonal Mar. 11- Diagonal. 12- Montjuïc.

In addition, many campaigns for the city and public services were launched with slogans such as "Barcelona más que nunca" and "Barcelona posa't guapa" where many facades and buildings have been rehabilitated (Borja, 1995). "...es en este contexto cuando se empieza a crear un modelo de participación público-privada que, como se analizará más adelante, creará las condiciones para la formación de un 'urban regime' en la ciudad en el que la participación del sector privado empezará a influenciar en el diseño de propuestas urbanísticas del Ayuntamiento." (Casellas, 2006: 70)

According to Borja (1995) the principle cause for the public-private partnership was urban rehabilitation and development that helped the public administration in balancing the intrests. Many ambitious public-private operations were developed especially in the new central areas. The public sector was pushing the private sector to present "project plans" in order to enable immediate implementation, control the quality of the projects, and guarantee the balance of uses. The public-private cooperation also involved in promoting Barcelona internationally by creating institutions such as the 'Consorcio del Turismo'; ad hoc associations such as the 'Banco federal europeo'; companies and employment creation such as 'Iniciativas, S.A.' and 'Barcelona Activa'. They also managed and financed economic and cultural infrastructures such as the 'Palacio de Congresos' and 'Museo de Arte Moderno', etc.

The Strategic Plan or 'Plan Estrategico' (1991, 1994, 2000) is probably the most complete formalization of the public-private cooperation. It is a political and social contract, between the two sectors, to establish a diagnosis and common objectives, and propose strategies and actions for the projects of the 92 Olympic Games and beyond. It acted as means of public pressure to ensure and promote the fulfillment of its objectives. Borja adds that "los grandes proyectos post 92 (como la operación Diagonal Mar en el frente marítima creado por la Villa Olímpica y la ronda litoral) dependen en gran parte de la iniciativa privada que desarrolla la acción inicial pública. Se demuestran

entonces las limitaciones de esta cooperación: el sector privado no actúa hasta que no se asegure la rentabilidad a corto plazo de la operación. Si la coyuntura no parece muy favorable el desarrollo es más lento que el previsto" (1995: 15).

This private-public cooperation is sometimes not being well managed and private and public interests are not being in favor of the popular classes especially that in some occasions, this management is promoting gentrification, excessively dense urban areas, and high-priced dwellings. (Capel, 2005)

Montaner claims that, nowadays, this partnership is not very successful since the City Council no longer has the power, the clairvoyance nor the ability to achieve strong social and urban compensations of private operators, as accomplished in the mideighties. "Ha cambiado la gestión municipal, mas próxima a los intereses privados y llevada por técnicos menos competentes. En la reciente etapa la peor parte se la lleva la gestión del urbanismo. Los instrumentos de la disciplina urbanística, ya de por si marcados por la sospecha de complicidad con la especulación, están cada vez más en entredicho" (Montaner, 2007)



Fig.8 L'Illa sector on the West side of the Diagonal





Fig. 9 The Nus de la Trinitat, an example of combining major road interchange with a large urban park

Post-Olympic

During the Olympic Games of 1992 Barcelona received a big international recognition that led to constant flows of foreign visitors, promoting hotels, businesses, services, and large cultural infrastructures such as the MACBA, CCCB, the 'Auditori de Musica de Barcelona', the 'Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya', the 'Teatre Nacional de Catalunya', 'El Archivo de la Corona de Aragon', among others. The majority of industries had moved from the center, leaving a place for tertiary and service sectors, which caused the industrial sectors to incorporate more refined technological systems with higher productivity and an open structure allowing the flow of international services, production factors and goods, thus, improving the economy (Busquets, 2005). Nevertheless, after the Olympics, the city was in a situation of debt and an economic slowdown was noted especially in the touristic sector. Although the public sector was working on stabilizing and recovering this situation of debt, the improvement of urban spaces continued in all the municipalities generating a qualitative change in public spaces. Many of the projects that began before or during the Olympics were finalized after 1992 (Busquets, 2005).

In 1997, Joan Clos (1997-2006) replaced Pasqual Maragall and "a nivel urbanístico, éste es el periodo de la consolidación del «modelo Barcelona», especialmente en lo que respecta a la participación de la inversión privada en la financiación de la transformación urbana y a la realización de macro proyectos urbanísticos" (Casellas, 2006: 71). In 1993 'Barcelona Regional' was established as a corporation with the function of providing technical assistance to institutions and public enterprises in the metropolitan area. During this period, economic competitiveness and management efficiency became recurring themes in local politics. In 1994 the second Strategic Plan or 'Plan Estrategico Metropolitano de Barcelona' (PEMB), mentioned before, was approved which focused on economic development issues, emphasizing the need for technological infrastructure and improving the services generated from both public and private sectors (Casellas, 2006). In 1999 the exposition 'Barcelona 2004: Planes de futuro' was celebrated, which reflected and exemplified the urban and financial characteristics of many public-private proposals for the city.

As for the network capacity, it improved distri-

bution but at the same time changed the volumes of through-traffic in the city causing an increase in traffic. As a result, several improvements were made, with the contributions of the 'Infrastructure Master Plan' (PDI), such as, adjusting the private mobility, parking, and collective transport according to an integrated logic; and enhancing spaces and avenues by modifying roads with car-centered logic like for example, the Meridiana and Gran Vía from which their road capacity was reduced to recover spaces for pedestrians, cyclists and greenery. Also Plaça Cerdà became an urban space rather than a road intersection; Via Carles III, now Avinguda Brasil, was converted into a 2 kilometers tunnel; and Carrer Tarragona was transformed into a spacious promenade due to the new tower blocks (Busquets, 2005).

In addition, several important macro projects intended to improve transportation by the creation of the L9 metro, the new railway network high-speed terminal (AVE) in Sagrera area, and the expansion of the airport, port, Logistical zone and the 'Zona Franca Consortium' along the river Llobregat.

In the new 'Barcelona Exhibition Area' we find strong tertiary and residential developments, such as the Plaça Europa, the Legal City (Ciutat Judicial), Can Batlló, the new Marina district, Portal de la Fira, the 38 district, etc. (Acebillo, 2006).

The prolongation of the Diagonal finally reached the sea by way of a large esplanade that covers infrastructures and facilities. In the same area, urban redevelopment was related to the 'Universal Forum of Cultures' project developed with the support of the UNESCO in 2004, and it was part of a large-scale transformation process along the river Besòs. As a result emerged Herzog and de Meuron's Forum building or 'Museu Blau', Diagonal Mar park and shopping center, and many high quality residential buildings and hotels.

All these interventions turned into areas of new centrality in addition to other projects, among them; the macroblock of the shopping center L'Illa com-

pleted in 1994; the Port Vell a major leisure, shopping and service operation on the Moll d'Espanya wharf with quality open spaces, a large office complex and a footbridge that connects the pedestrian flows from the Rambla to the port where it receives passenger ships from the Balearic Islands; 'La Maquinista' in Sant Andreu a former industrial sector transformed into a large shopping center with a residential area; and the Can Dragó leisure center in RENFE-Meridiana sector that joins the area between Sant Andreu and Nou Barris.

The industrial heritage was reused for the new tertiary economy, and new building typologies were applied that are capable of successfully combining hybrid programs (Acebillo, 2006) such as the famous '22@BCN'. This project, approved by the Barcelona City Council in 2000, involved the transformation of 200 hectares of land assigned to be the nucleus of a new tertiary technological district through the transformation of obsolete 19th century old industrial fabric of the Poblenou. Old industrial constructions were being turned into buildings geared to housing the activities of the new economy. New infrastructures, urban services, public spaces and facilities started to appear. As a project of urban regeneration, it responded to the need of restoring the economic and social dynamism of Poblenou. It created a diverse and balanced environment with new production centers, social housing, new businesses, facilities and green space, and university campuses involved in the fields of new technologies, knowledge, communication, and R&D (research and development). They all aimed at improving both the quality of life and of the workplace. Of this 200 hectares and 115 city blocks it occupies, 3.2 million m² were allocated to offices and commerce, between 3500 and 4000 to new dwellings and 220,000 m² of new equipments and green zones. Thus, the 22@ Barcelona project opts for a high quality, compact, mixed, sustainable urban model which results in a better balanced, more hybrid, ecological, and efficient city of greater economic weight and cohesion. Thus it forms part of the overall strategy

"Barcelona, the City of Knowledge".5

22@ is a model of the public-private participation whose objective is the creation of a new productive district focused on knowledge-intensive activities that will attract new businesses (Casellas, 2006).

This introduction of tertiary industrial zoning aspired to reactivate production activity in the city. Due to that the Plaça de les Glòries took up a new central position that contrasts with the perception of this spot as a frontier between the consolidated Eixample and the industrial periphery of the city (Busquets, 2005). Designed as a 16 hectares park, it acts as a hinge between the 22@ district and the Eixample and Ciutat Vella. Jean Nouvel's Torre Agbar, located next to the Plaça de les Glòries was finished in 2004 which is a building for Barcelona's water company 'Aigües de Barcelona' and became one of the city's symbols. In addition to the renewals and constructions done in Poblenou, another tertiary service space was constructed and that is the Rambla del Poblenou which stretches from Avinguda Diagonal to the beach, and is the main commercial street. Poblenou's seafront was also renewed and 5 blocks that combine residential and tertiary uses were constructed.

Furthermore, projects to recover squares and small urban spaces continued to one of Barcelona's most effective programs in all its districts especially in Ciutat Vella that reached an appreciable level of effectiveness and opportunity.



Fig.10 The opening of the Diagonal to the sea. Before (Feb 1996)/After (Feb 1999)



Fig.11 22@ Barcelona, the innovation district.



Fig.12 View of the Diagonal and the Forum 2004.

II. Small Scale Interventions

These projects were part of the interior reformation taking place in the center and in the periphery. In addition to demolishing buildings, reconstructing new ones, renovating old ones and fixing the road network and axes inside the historic city, small-scale projects of open spaces, squares, and gardens were taking place as a form of qualitative urban regeneration. In fact the road towards the Olympics and towards the city's revitalization started with these punctual interventions.

After Spain's dictatorship, and the global crisis, the only guarantee for improving the citizen's quality of life was the local government. After investing in basic equipments, the government moved to the progressive politics of public spaces in the direction of what Antonio Font (2000) called "urbanismo remedial", referring by that to the late 70s and early 80s democratic restoration and the attempt to resolve the deficits of our inherited city. The process of "making city" at that time had three processes: subdivision, urbanization and construction, whereas during Franco's time it was only based on subdivision, and construction (Remesar, Grandas, 2005).

Font also called this period as the "nuevo urbanismo" or the "urbanismo urbano". "En el inicio, su preocupación primordial por la resolución de las carencias de la ciudad hace que denominemos los planes como remediales, correctores de los déficits en los elementos de carácter público o colectivo recomponiendo, así, la ordenación urbana (...) Bastante de los planes remediales se quedan en ejercicios contables sobre las necesidades en términos de zonas verdes y equipamientos, de la ciudad o de cada uno de sus barrios, luego traducidas en reservas de suelo para satisfacer a aquellos requerimientos derivados de los estándares vigentes" (Font, 2000: 67).

Antoni Remesar states that in the peripheries, Font's "remedial urbanism" simply consisted in "poner la calle", "poner la plaza", "poner el jardín", "poner el parque", and in the historical centers it took

a surgical character of "esponjar el centro y valorarlo como el territorio simbólico por excelencia de todos los ciudadanos" (Remesar, 2008: 99).

During the 80's the "recovering" of the city started with "urban improvements in the form of numerous small schemes for squares and parks, leading to a far more complex urban development program... centering on obsolete or abandoned spaces..." (Busquetes, 2005: 343).

These punctual and small-scale interventions mostly took place between 1980 and 1987, "en siete años se construyeron unos ciento cuarenta proyectos (como una técnica de acupuntura), que regeneraron los barrios y devolvieron la imagen que el espacio público de Barcelona había perdido" (Acebillo, 1999: 225).

The first projects started by applying numerous small projects and the process was not to create a new model but to fix it with "reparaciones urbanisticas" in all the neighborhoods according to the slogan "funcionalizar el centro y escultulizar la periferia" (Acebillo,1999) or "higienizar el centro y monumentalizar la periferia" (Bohgias, 1999). What is meant by this saying is to rehabilitate the center so that it will return being a good residential recipient that avoids displacement and exile to non-urban areas, and do everything possible to urbanize the city's outskirts not only by drawing functional roads and public spaces but by introducing the fundamental concepts of centrality and urban requalification.

In 'Reconstrucción de Barcelona' (1986), Bohigas states that immediate action was an absolute priority for the system of urban spaces and green spaces. He thought of maximizing the city's public spaces throughout the entire urban fabric. It was necessary to work on the small empty gaps in the urban fabric and available spaces adjacent to the residential fabric. These interventions will improve the life of

the neighborhoods and the inhabitants. Therefore, parallel to the PGM, which according to him master plans of such sort have only global visions of the city (Bohigas, 1999), a new plan was needed which organizes projects of small and medium-scales, singular management, and sanitation better than the PGM itself. As a result, new plans became available, the 'Special Interior Refrom Plans' (PERI), which started with punctual small-scale interventions like squares, streets, gardens, and parks strategically placed according to the concept of urban acupuncture and hygiene that became a means for integrated projects and urban and social processes.

In addition to the large-scale metropolitan interventions, small-scale and punctual interventions started in the neighborhoods, "es preciso empezar estudiando la ciudad por barrios" (Bohigas, 1999: 200) and from this idea came what is known as the urban project or "proyecto urbano" when the City Council, in 1980, created the Urban Project Service or 'Servicio de Proyectos Urbanos'. "The urban project refers to design on an intermediate scale, to ensure the quality of architecture and public space and to improve the conventional urban planning of large scale on technocracy, defining zoning and uses, standards and measures" (Montaner, 2011: 2). Each neighborhood was studied from an urban point of view, that is, defining its public space, determining its functional and symbolic characteristics and finally, along with the citizen participation, projecting a new, adequate, and flexible form and function for the neighborhood (Bohigas, 1999).

Public space in Barcelona is not an external element to the global projection of the city. From the beginning of the planning to the final execution of the project, the city fixed through small architectural projects was always kept in mind. They were projects of multiple and diverse usage where one can always find a space to stroll and rest, a space with vegetation, trees, playgrounds, street furniture and public equipments and a space for reunions and activities.

In the Barcelona's suburbs many projects were applied from parks, squares and pedestrian streets to

maintenance of existing buildings and cultural reuse of old factories.

In the Eixample, the buildings' heights were releveled, and the 1986 'Ordinance on Rehabilitation and Street Blocks in the Eixample' stated that the inner courtyards of the 500 blocks, that were meant to be green public spaces, should be free of buildings and landscaped. As a result, many of the Eixample's inside blocks were transformed into public spaces.

As for Ciutat Vella, these kinds of interventions were taking place throughout its history, from the demolition of its walls till the present day. The program and projects of sanitation, hygiene and urban acupuncture were the basic concepts of many of Ciutat Vella's reform plans; Cerdà Plan, Baixera Plan, Darder Plan, Ribera Plan, Florensa's plans, Macià Plan, PGM and the PERI.

Problems in the old town were very complex with dreadful housing conditions especially in the Raval area, Santa Catarina and Barceloneta. The process included improving, creating and reusing public spaces and dwellings including the maintenance of what existed. It also included enhancing the appreciation of heritage by reactivating economic and cultural activities such as "From the Liceu to the Seminary" study that was carried out by the architects Lluís Clotet, Òscar Tusquets and Francesc Bass, aiming at creating a series of historical legacy of the Raval and architectural possibility of a cultural reutilization of the spaces (Barrio Artístico) (MACBA, CCCB and Liceu). Further studies were made of the ownership structure, typological classification, sociological characteristics, and of the way to minimize the designation of undeveloped public property.

Many other projects, of the same scale and concept of "higienizar el centro y monumentalizar la periferia", were carried out and they include:

1) Urban parks replacing and reusing the industrial and service sites such as the Escorxador, Espanya Industrial, El Clot and Pegaso, among others.

- 2) Squares and gardens located on subterranean parkings or between residences such as Plaça Salvador Allende, Baixa de Sant Pere, Plaça Sant Agustí Vell, Plaça de la Mercè, Plaça George Orwell, Fossar Les Moreres, Jardins d'Emili Vendrell, Plaça Can Robacols, and Plaça Sòller among others, regardless of the fact that some of these squares were called "architecture of void" (Busquets, 2005: 356).
- 3) Gardens with facilities that were private spaces turned into public ones with new functionalities and their old building remodeled as a facility for the community. These gardens were mostly located in the Collserola such as Vil.la Cecília, Can Altamira, Torre Groga, La Creueta del Coll and La Tamarita.
- 4) Urban axes that were interventions to prioritize the pedestrian access. They were linear, acted as connectors between roads and public transport system and contained private businesses, commerce and parking, such as, Avinguda Gaudí, Avinguda Tarradellas, Carrer Tarragona, Avinguda Maria Cristina, Saló de Sant Joan, Rambla Catalunya, Avingunda Mistral, Via Júlia and Carrer de Prim that revived the Besòs areas, among others.

All these stages, transformations, and local politics show how, from the early 1980's, Barcelona's governance and urban model have transformed a local policy agenda –motivated initially by providing a better quality of life for the citizens- into a model more focused on economic growth and urban regeneration. "Los espacios públicos construidos tuvieran una utilización muy clara después de los Juegos y que fueran piezas fundamentales para la transformación de la ciudad" (Bohigas, 1999: 210).

III. On Public Art

The majority of these public interventions contained public art and works of sculpture that were considered as elements of the town planning projects commissioned by the city of Barcelona. The planned integration of contemporary sculpture into the fabric of the city is not merely unusual, but unique. As part of the Barcelona model, "one outcome of the design of new spaces was the improvement of many neighborhoods, but even more important was the creation of prestigious spaces, thanks to their architectural design and the use of street sculptures" (Benach, 2004: 153).

The concept of public art, as we know it today, started in the second half of 19th century richly growing in parallel with the urban growth, planning and regeneration. Hence, "(...) coincidente con un tiempo de auge económico y de expansión y crisis urbana, también social, renace el interés por el arte público, una actividad relacionada con la revitalización y mejora de los centros y áreas urbanas, que el purismo y el funcionalismo del planeamiento contemporáneo habían deshumanizado y vaciado de significado" (Gómez, 2004: 40).

Public art "trasciende la idea de escultura conmemorativa o monumento, para significar 'el arte de hacer ciudad" (Remesar, Ricart, 2010).

In some cases sculptures were regarded as architectural elements such as in Plaça de Sóller and Plaça de la Palmera, and in other cases they were regarded as an added prestigious element in a public space (Benach, 2004). In both cases sculptures functions as landmarks, as a focus of attention, as an object of commemoration, as a collective memory and as a symbolic and historical identification.

They affect public spaces in that "se intenta recuperar el valor de los espacios urbanos a través del arte, crear lugares para la ciudadanía, que amortigüen las agresiones del urbanismo duro moderno y aporten espacios vivibles. Con ese propósito se impulsan proyectos técnicos (operaciones de micro urbanismo, equipamiento público, mobiliario urbano, diseño ambiental...), pero también

artísticos (jardinería, arte público, arquitectura de autor...), con resultados muy dispares" (Gómez, 2004: 40-41).

According to Acebillo (1999), urban space in addition to being structural should also be significant by stressing on its focal points. Its significance could be understood through two points:

First, is the necessity to symbolize facts and pay homage to important figures. This aspect is very important in Barcelona because during the dictatorship certain tributes and honors—that represented ideas that were reprehensible according to those who were in power- were taken down. Therefore, one of the first tasks of the democratic period is recuperate the old monuments and build new ones.

Second, is the role of artists in creating, from beginning to end, new articulations, singularities and universality that adds complexity to the space. These artists contributed not in a better decoration or "decorar mejor" of the space but to secure the project's techniques, materials, textures and colors that permit to go beyond the functional and reveal the space's complexity and universality.

In Barcelona, incorporating public art and sculptures not only gave value and a better quality of life to the public spaces, but also it played an important part in the "monumentalization" of the periphery, "en este sentido, el arte público es fruto de un proceso histórico de monumentalización de la ciudad, y se comporta como elemento referencial, aglutinante de la imagen urbana tan necesaria para la construcción y desarrollo de procesos de identidad social" (Remesar, Ricart, 2010).

This was inspired by the urgency of urbanizing all the neighborhoods that had been abandoned during the "porciolismo". One of these first interventions was Joan Miró's 'l'Escorxador de Dona i ocell', in 1983. Following it was Antoni Tàpies's 'Homenatge a Picasso' and Xavier Corberó's 'Homenatge a les illes'. Many other artists collaborated in this "Barcelona operation", among others, Rich-

ard Serra, Marcel Martí, Eduardo Chillida, Naum Gabo, Antoni Clavé, Anthony Caro, Roy Lichtenstein, Màrius Quintana, Bryan Hunt, Pablo Palazuelo, Ellsworth Kelly, etc.

However, there are some opinions that do not totally agree with the perfect role of sculptures especially that "this skepticism expresses itself in the argument that 'the street is not a museum'. Out on the street, this argument goes, a sculpture has to defend itself against an environment which is not simply indifferent, like Nature, but almost malignant" (Hugues, 1987: 27).

To the architect Ignasi de Solà-Morales, sculptures are regarded as architectural elements "not to contribute to a museographic idea, but to their use in urban space". He adds that "the reconciliation of architecture and sculpture is, of course, not equally good in all cases, so that, while some public spaces offer a careful and symbiosis and well-studied inter-relationship, in others the role of the sculpture is just to be an added piece of ornament, sometimes splendidly placed, at others a mere space filler; sometimes it is charged with meaning, at others it becomes an iconographic joke; sometimes its power fills the whole planning development, at others it does no more than influence a restricted, if not, marginal area" (1987: 15).

Acebillo says that we should be careful not to overdo and overstep in these matters, since the urban space is not the best place for designers and artist to demonstrate their personal passions. "Es cierto que una calle no es una carretera, pero también es cierto que "una calle no puede ser una galería de arte" (1999: 227).

These statements became a key to successful urban planning that architechts, urban designers and sculptors in Barcelona always tried to apply, they can be summarized in:

"la calle no es una carretera", "la avenida no es una autopista", "la ciudad no es un museo", and "el espacio público no es un almacén de trastos".⁷









Fig.13 "poema visual" by Joan Brossa (top left). Fig.14 "Cap de Barcelona" by Roy Lichtenstein (top right). Fig.15 "Mistos" by Claes Oldenburg (bottom left). Fig.16 "Pajaritas" by Ramón Acín (bottom right).